

Bilâl N. Şimşir

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TÜRK TARİH KURUMU



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**İNGİLİZ BELGELERİNDE
ATATÜRK**

(1919-1938)

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ÖNSÖZ VE GİRİŞ

Bundan önceki ciltte de belirtildiği üzere, *İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk* dizisi 1919-1938 yıllarını kapsayacak biçimde tasarlanmıştır. Kitabın ilk dört cildi 1919-1922 yıllarını, yani Türk Kurtuluş Savaşı dönemini kapsamış ve 1973-1984 yıllarında yayımlanmıştı. Kitabın, Ekim 1922-Aralık 1925 dönemini kapsayan beşinci cildi, on beş yıllık bir gecikmeyle ancak 2001 yılında tamamlanabilmiş ve bu satırların kaleme alındığı günlerde baskıya verilmiştir.

Kitabın bu altıncı cildi 1926-1929 dönemini, yani Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin üçüncü, dördüncü, beşinci ve altıncı yılları ile ilgili İngiliz belgelerini kapsamaktadır. Bu yıllarda Türkiye, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal önderliğinde önemli atılımlar gerçekleştirmekte; yabancı ülkelerle anlaşmazlıkları gidermeye ve dostluk ilişkileri kurmaya yönelmektedir. Genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, iç ve dış politikasıyla, yeni kurum ve kuruluşlarıyla gitgide pekiştirilmektedir. Gelişmeler, Türkiye'deki İngiliz diplomatları ve ajanları tarafından yakından izlenmekte, yorumlanmakta ve Londra'ya sürekli rapor edilmektedir. Yıl sonunda Türkiye ile ilgili yıllık raporlar kaleme alınmakta ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti adeta mercek altında tutulmaktadır. Bu ciltte, Türkiye ile ilgili olarak İngiltere Büyükelçiliği tarafından kaleme alınmış dört adet Yıllık Rapor bulunmaktadır. Tam metin olarak verilen bu raporlar 1925, 1926, 1927 ve 1928 yıllarını kapsamaktadır (Bkz. No. 17/1, 35/1, 78/1 ve 113/1).



Bu ciltteki ilk Türkiye Yıllık Raporu 1925 yılına aittir. Ağustos 1926'de Londra'ya gönderilmiş, bu nedenle 1926 yılı belgeleri arasında, bu ciltte yer almıştır ve bir bakıma cildin giriş belgesi niteliğindedir. Bu rapora göre, 1925 yılında Türkiye ile ilgili iç ve dış gelişmeler özetle şöyle görünüyordu:

1925 başlarında Fethi Bey (Okyar) kabinesinin bir geçiş kabinesi olduğu belli değildi. Mübadil statüsüne giren Fener Rum Patriği 30 Ocak'ta sınır dışı edilmiş ve Türk-Yunan ilişkileri gerginleşmiştir. 15 Şubat'ta Şeyh Said ayaklanmış, 22 Şubat'ta İsmet Paşa (İnönü) İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya dönmüş ve Güney-Doğu Anadolu'da sıkıyönetim ilân edilmiştir. Ayaklanma yayıldıkça yayılıyordu. Gazi'nin etkisiyle, 2 Mart'ta Fethi Bey istifa etmiş, ertesi gün İsmet Paşa Kabinesi kurulmuştur. Nisan'da Şeyh Said, otuz adamıyla birlikte yakalanmış ve ayaklanmanın bastırıldığı açıklanmıştır. Cahil bir Nakşibendi olan Şeyh Said, dini duygularla ayaklanmıştır...

Ayaklanmanın sonucu olarak Fethi Bey'in ılımlı politikası bırakılmış ve İsmet Paşa'nın sertlik politikası benimsenmiştir. Yeni Hükümet, Takrir-i Sükûn kanununu

Meclis'ten geçirmiş ve hemen uygulamaya koymuştur. Bazı gazeteler kapatılmıştır. İki İstiklâl Mahkemesi işe koyulmuştur, biri Ankara'da, diğeri Doğuda. Güney-Doğuya asker yağın Hükümet, Musul'a da gözlerini çevirmekten kendisini alamamıştır. Haziran'da Terakkiperver Parti kapatılmıştır. Haziran Sonunda Şeyh Said asılmıştır. 5 Ağustos'ta Gazi ile Latife Hanımın boşandıkları açıklanmıştır. Eylül'de şapka hareketi başlamış, fes terk edilmiştir. Tekke ve zaviyeler kapatılmış, tarikatlar lağvedilmiş, laiklik politikasında bir ileri adım daha atılmıştır. Fesin yasaklanması yüzünden bazı yerlerde karışıklıklar çıkmıştır. İstiklâl Mahkemeleri Hükümetin başlıca silâhi haline gelmiş, muhalefet susturulmuştur. Gazi, reformlarını sürdürmüştür.

1925 yılında Türkiye'nin yabancı ülkelerle ilişkilerine gelince: Musul sorunu, bütün yıl boyunca Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerine hükmetmiş. Yılın ilk günlerinde Milletler Cemiyeti, bu sorunu incelemek üzere bir alt-komite görevlendirmiş. Bu alt-komite, Ankara'da Dışişleri Bakan Vekili Şükrü Kaya ile kavga edip Irak'a gitmiştir. Orada da çeşitli güçlüklerle karşılaşmıştır. Şeyh Said ayaklanması tam bu sırada çıkmış ve bastırılmıştır. Nisan'da Türk basınında, Musul konusunda İngiltere aleyhinde bir kampanya başlatılmıştır. Temmuz'da Milletler Cemiyeti, Musul konusunda alt-komisyunun raporunu ve tavsiyelerini açıklamıştır. Tavsiyeler İngiltere lehineydi ve Türkiye'de tepkiyle karşılanmıştır. Sonunda Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyi, 16 Aralık 1925'te İngiltere lehine karar vermiştir. Yenik düşen Türk Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras), Milletler Cemiyetinin bu toplantısına katılmamış ve hemen Paris'e gidip orada Sovyet Dışişleri Komiseri Çiçerin ile buluşmuştur. Ertesi gün (17 Aralık 1925) Paris'te Türk-Sovyet Tarafsızlık ve Saldırmazlık Antlaşması imzalanmıştır. 21 Aralık'ta İngiltere Hükümeti, Türk-İrak ilişkileri konusunda Türkiye ile bir anlaşma yapmak istediğini açıklamıştır.

Türkiye ile İngiltere arasında, Musul sorunundan başka, İngilizlerin ifadesiyle bir de "Ankara sorunu" vardı. Türkiye, 1923 yılında Ankara'yı Türkiye'nin yeni başkenti olarak kabul etmişti. Eski payitaht İstanbul bırakılmıştı. İngiltere, hiç hakkı olmadığı halde, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin başkentini "boykot" etmeğe kalkmıştı. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Lindsay, ısrarla İstanbul'da kalıyor, Ankara'da oturmuyordu. Ankara'nın ancak birkaç yıl başkent olarak kalabileceğini, önünde sonunda başkentün tekrar İstanbul'a taşınacağını iddia ediyordu. Ama iddiaları boşa çıktı ve Ankara'nın geçici değil, değişmez başkent olduğu İngilizler tarafından da kavramğa başlandı ve gerginlik azaldı. Yıllık Raporda özetle şöyle deniyordu:

"Türk Anayasasına göre, Ankara Türkiye'nin başkentidir. Yeni başkentün ta-nınması konusunda 1924 yılında Türkiye ile Devletler arasında birçok yazışma yapıldı. Sonunda Türk Hükümeti, Elçilik binaları yapmaları için Devletlere bedava arsa vereceğini açıklayınca işler kolaylaştı. Mustafa Kemal'in durumu sağlam olduğu için Ankara başkent olarak durumunu güçlendirdi. Başkentün İstanbul'a taşınması aruk düşünülemez..." (No. 17'e Ek.).

Diğer Devletlerle Türkiye arasındaki ilişkilere 1925 Yıllık Raporunda şöyle değiniliyor:

"Fransa ile Türkiye arasında Osmanlı borçları, Türkiye'deki Fransız okulları ve Türkiye-Suriye sınırının çizilmesi gibi sorunlar halâ çözüm bekliyor. Türk-İtalyan ilişkileri iyi durumda. Ama İtalya'daki nüfus fazlalığı acaba Anadolu'ya yönelir mi, acaba İtalya Anadolu'ya göz diker mi soruları, zihinleri kurcalıyor ve Türkleri için için kaygılandırıyor.

Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, 1925 yılında da Lozan Antlaşmasını halâ onaylamamış, Türkiye ile ABD arasında normal diplomatik ilişkiler halâ kurulmamıştır. Ama Türk Hükümeti ABD ile kavgaya tutuşmaya pek istekli görünmüyor.

Mart'ta İsmet Paşa Hükümetinin kurulmasından sonra Türkiye-Sovyet Rusya ilişkileri daha da gelişmiş, Musul sorunu Türkiye ile Rusya'yı daha da birbirine yaklaştırmış ve Türkiye, Musul'u kaybedince 17 Aralık'ta Rusya ile Tarafsızlık ve Saldırmazlık Antlaşması imzalamıştır...

Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde 1925'te biraz iyileşme görülmüştür. Ama mübadil kategorisine giren Fener Rum Patriği Arapoğlu Konstantin VI'nın sınır dışı edilmesi, iki ülkeyi yeni bir savaşın eşiğine getirmiştir. Türkiye daha da sertleşebilir ve bazı metropolüleri de sınır dışı edebilirdi, ama etmemiştir. Nüfus mübadelesinden kaynaklanan sorunların çözümü için Türk-Yunan ikili görüşmeleri 1925 yılında da sürmüştür.

Türkiye ile Bulgaristan arasında epeyce zamandan beri devam eden çetin müzakereler 1925'te sonuçlanmış ve 18 Ekim 1925 günü Ankara'da Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Bulgaristan Krallığı arasında Dostluk Antlaşması ve İkamet Sözleşmesi imzalanmıştır... " (No. 17'ye Ek).

•

1926 yılındaki başlıca gelişmeleri kısaca hatırlayalım:

İngiliz Büyükelçiliğine göre, 1926'da Türkiye iyi bir yıl geçirmiştir. Musul sorunu çözümlenmiş, Mustafa Kemal'e karşı suikast girişimi zamanında ortaya çıkarılmıştır. 1925'le karşılaştırılınca Doğu Anadolu sakindi. Doğuda Şeyh Said ayaklanması bastırılmış, sükûnet geri gelmişti. Vergilerin artırılması tepki yaratmamıştı ve mali durum iyileşmişti. Ancak yönetimde suiistimallerin önüne geçilememişti.

16 Şubat'ta Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Fransa'nın Suriye Yüksek Komiseri Henri de Jouvenel'i kabul ediyor. 14 Mart'ta Gazi'nin anıları, "*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*" ve "*Milliyet*" gazetelerinde yayınlanmağa başlıyor. 18 Mart'ta Çanakkale Zaferinin yıldönümü kutlanırken Gazi'nin Anafarta'lardaki tarihi rolü de vurgulanıyor. 7 Mayıs'ta Gazi yurt gezisine çıkıyor: Mayıs içinde önce Konya'ya gidiyor, oradan güneye geçip Tarsus, Silifke, Merain, Adana ve Dört Yol'u dolaşıyor. Güneyden Batı Anadolu'ya

dönen Gazi, 19 Mayıs'ta Bozüyük'e, ertesi gün Bursa'ya geçiyor. 13 Haziran'da Balıkesir'i ziyaret ediyor. Oradan İzmir'e geçeceği sırada, 14 Haziran'da İzmir suikast girişimini ortaya çıkarılıyor ve geniş yankılar yapıyor (No. 13 & 14). 3 Ekim'de Gazi'nin İstanbul Sarayburnu'nda ilk heykeli açılıyor, 29 Ekim'de de Konya'da Gazi heykelinin açılışı yapılıyor ve Türkiye "Heykel çağı"na adını atıyor...

Yıl içinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, başta Türk Medeni Kanunu olmak üzere, reform veya inkılâp niteliğinde bir dizi yeni kanun kabul ediyor: 9 Ocak'ta Türkiye'de piyango çekilişinin yalnız Tayyare Cemiyetine ait olduğuna dair Kanun, 14 Ocak'ta Borçlanma Kanunu, 25 Ocak'ta Şeker, Petrol ve Benzin Tekeli Hakkında Kanun, 17 Şubat'ta İsviçre'den alınan Türk Medeni Kanunu, 1 Mart'ta İtalya'dan alınan Türk Ceza Kanunu, 3 Mart'ta Türk Kodeksi Hakkında Kanun, 17 Mart'ta Demir Sanayiinin kurulmasına ilişkin Kanun, 22 Mart'ta İspirto ve Alkollü İçkiler Tekeli Hakkında Kanun, Memurin Kanunu, Maarif Teşkilâtına Dair Kanun, 24 Mart'ta Türkiye'de petrol arama ve işletilmesinin Devletçe yönetilmesini öngören "Petrol Kanunu", 1 Nisan'da Zafer Bayramı Kanunu, 10 Nisan'da İktisadi Müşes-seselerde Mecburi Türkçe Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun, 19 Nisan'da Türkiye sa-hillerinde deniz taşımacılığını ve Türk limanlarıyla karasularında iş ve ticaret yapma hakkını Türk vatandaşlarına tahsis eden ve yabancıların kabotaj hakkına son veren Kabotaj Kanunu, 22 Nisan'da Borçlar Kanunu Meclisten geçiyor. 18 Mayıs'ta Meclis, Ankara ve Diyarbakır İstiklâl Mahkemelerinin görev sürelerini 7 Eylül'den itibaren altı ay uzatıyor. 28 Mayıs'ta 150'liklerin Türk vatandaşlığından düşürülmesi hakkında Kanun, 29 Mayıs'ta Türk Ticaret Kanunu, 30 Mayıs'ta Mülki Teşkilât Kanunu, 2 Haziran'da Genel Nüfus Sayımı Hakkında Kanun, TBMM'nde kabul ediliyor.

Milliyetçilik ve tam bağımsızlık ruhuyla hazırlanmış olan bu kanunların bazı-ları, özellikle ekonomi ve ticaret ile ilgili kanunlar, öteden beri Türkiye'de kapitülasyon rejimine alışmış olan yabancıları rahatsız ediyor ve İngiliz diplomatik rapor-larında eleştiriliyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Lindsay, bu yasaları İngiliz çıkarları için "tehlikeli" görüyor, Türk milliyetçiliği ve yabancı çıkarları konulu raporunda şu yolda görüşler ileri sürüyor:

"Türk milliyetçiliği, aslında Avrupa'daki milliyetçilik şeklinden pek farklı de-gildir. Ama daha serttir ve Gazi'yi izlemektedir. Yabancıları etkileyecek kanunlar çıkarılıyor. Yabancı şirketlerin meclislerinde Türk komiserler bulundurulması, yeni şirketlerin sermayelerinin % 51'inin Türk olması öngörülüyor. Şirket defterlerinin Türkçe tutulması isteniyor. Yabancıları zorluklar çıkarılıyor, tekellerin sayısı artırılıyor, işlere Türkler alınıyor, İngiliz şirketleri artık Türkiye'de pek kâr edemiyorlar. Yabancı devletlerin yüz yıldır Türklere karşı izledikleri politika yüzünden, şimdi Türkiye'de yabancı unsurlara karşı derin bir güvensizlik var. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti adeta bir Çin Seddi ile güvenceye alınmak isteniyor. Bu, Mustafa Kemal'in politika-sıdır ve bütün halk tarafından desteklenmektedir. Musul işinin hallinden sonra

Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerinde bir yumuşama olacaksa yukarıdaki tehlikenin de göz önünde tutulması lâzımdır." (Belge No. 4).

Yıl içinde kalkınma işleri de sürdürülüyor: 13 Mart'ta Kayseri-Ulukışla demiryolunun inşaatı hakkında kanun çıkarılıyor, 23 Nisan'da, Samsun-Kavak demiryolu işletmeye açılıyor. 6 Ekim'de Kayseri'de uçak fabrikasının, 26 Kasım'da Alpullu Şeker Fabrikasının, 17 Aralık'ta Uşak Şeker Fabrikasının açılışı yapılıyor. Yıl sonuna doğru, 25 Aralık'ta Samsun Limanının inşasına dair Kanun çıkarılıyor...

İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin tespitlerine göre: 1926 yılında Türkiye'de 338 kilometre ray döşenmiş, karayolu yapımında da, özellikle Ankara vilâyetinde ilerleme olmuştur. Demiryolu yapımı için Belçika ve İsveç şirketleriyle anlaşmaya varılmıştır. Teşvik kanunu, sanayiye biraz kamçılanmıştır. Liman yapımı için iki yabancı şirketle görüşmelere başlanmıştır. İhracat, bir önceki yıla göre % 21 artışla 193 milyon liraya yükselmiştir. İhracat en fazla İtalya, Almanya, ABD, Fransa ve İngiltere'ye yapılmaktadır. 1926'da tarım ürünü düşük olmuş. İthalat da 1925 yılına göre cıpeyce düşmüştür. Mali yılbaşı 1 Mart'tan 1 Haziran'a kaydırılmıştır. 1926-1927 bütçesinde gelirler 190.158.857 TL, giderler 190.091.784 TL olmuştur. Yani bütçe dengelenmiştir... (No. 35/1).

1926'da dış ilişkilerdeki başlıca gelişmeler de şöyle toparlanabilir: 5 Haziran'da Türkiye, İngiltere ve Irak Hükümetleri arasında Ankara'da Türk-İrak sınırını tespit eden antlaşma (Musul Antlaşması) imzalanmış ve Antlaşma, iki gün sonra TBMM'-nde onaylanmıştır. Türkiye, Milletler Cemiyeti'nin 16 Aralık 1925 günlü, Musul'u Irak'a bırakan kararına uymak durumunda kalmış, sınırda ufak değişiklikleri, petrolden yirmi beş yıl süreyle % 10 hak almanızı öngören antlaşma ile sorun kapanmıştır. Musul antlaşmazlığının böylece sona ermesi, Türkiye'ye karşı çok olumsuz bir tutum izlemiş olan İngiliz Büyükelçisi Lindsay'ın değiştirilmesi ve yeni İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk'in Türkiye'ye atanması ile birlikte Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkilerinde yeni bir dönem başlamıştır (Bkz. No. 27, 28 ve 30).

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, 16 Şubat'ta Çankaya'da Fransa'nın Suriye Yüksek Komiseri Henri de Jouvenel'i kabul ediyor ve 30 Mayıs'ta Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Suriye arasında Ankara'da Dostluk Antlaşması imzalanıyor. Türk-Fransız ilişkileri tam düzelme yoluna girerken, bir deniz kazası oluyor ve ilişkiler yeniden gerginleşiyor. Olay şudur: "Bozkurt" adlı Türk vapuru ile "Lotus" adlı Fransız gemisi 2 Ağustos günü Ege denizinde çarpışıyor. "Bozkurt" gemisi batıyor ve 8 Türk vatandaşı ölüyor. Ertesi gün İstanbul limanına gelen "Lotus" gemisi kaptanı ile "Bozkurt" kaptanı Türk makamlarınca tutuklanıyor ve Türk adaletine sevk ediliyor. Adli kapitülasyonlar yüzünden Türk mahkemelerinde yargılanmaya hiç alışık olmayan Fransızlar yaygarayı koparıyorlar. Sonunda dava Milletlerarası Lahey Adalet Divanına götürülüyor, Mahmut Esat Bey Türk tezini savunuyor ve Türkiye davayı kazanıyor (Hukuk tarihimizde anlamlı bir yeri olan "Bozkurt-Lotus" davasındaki başarısından dolayı, Mahmut Esat Bey ilerde "Bozkurt" soyadını alacaktır.).

Devam edelim: 22 Nisanda da Türkiye ile İran arasında Tahran'da Emniyet ve Dostluk Antlaşması imzalanmıştı. Böylece Türkiye'nin güney ve doğu komşuları ile anlaşmazlıkları gideriliyor, dostluk yolu açılıyor. Yıl sonuna doğru, 1 Aralık'ta batı komşumuz Yunanistan ile de Atina'da Ahali Mübadelesi Hakkında Anlaşma ve Ekleri imzalanıyor.

Türkiye, 1926 yılında uzak ülkelerle de dostluk ilişkileri kuruyor: 30 Ocak'ta Roma'da Türkiye-Şili Dostluk Antlaşması, 29 Haziran'da yine Roma'da Türkiye-Arjantin Dostluk Antlaşması imzalanıyor. Yıl içinde dost Sovyetler Birliği ve Macaristan ile Ticaret ve Seyrisefain Antlaşmaları imzalanıyor.

İngiltere Büyükelçiliği, 1926 yılında Türkiye'nin dış ilişkilerini kısaca şöyle değerlendiriyor:

"Türkler kendilerini örsle çekiç, İngiltere ile Rusya arasında hissediyor. Gazi, İngiltere'nin de desteğiyle, ülkesini Batılaştırmaya kararlı, aynı zamanda Rusya ile de iyi geçinmek istiyor. Türkiye, Musul sorununda yenilgiyi kabullenmiş ve yüzünü Batıya çevirmiştir. Uzun müzakerelerden sonra Türk-Yunan anlaşması imzalanmıştır. Türk-Suriye sınır anlaşmasına rağmen Türk-Fransız ilişkilerinde gerileme oldu, "Bozkurt-Lotus" olayı bir fırtına kopardı. Türk-Alman Ticaret Anlaşması yapıldı, Almanya'ya en çok kayırlan ülke statüsü tanındı. Musul krizi sırasında Türkiye'de Rus etkisi yüksekti, sorun çözümlendikten sonra Rus etkisi azaldı. Yıl içinde Türkiye bir çok anlaşma imzalamıştır, ticaret anlaşması ve saire...Musul sorunu çözümlendi. Ancak, Türkiye'deki İngiliz vatandaşları, Türk milliyetçiliği yüzünden sıkıntı çekiyorlar. Kapitülasyonlar kalkmıştır ve Türkiye'deki İngiliz çıkarlarının korunması konusunda Türkiye ile İngiltere arasında sürtüşmeler olmaktadır..."

Türkiye'nin dış ilişkilerinin karanlık yanı İtalya'dır. Türkiye-İtalya resmi ilişkileri dürüstçe ve kibarca devam ediyor. Türkiye'deki İtalyanlar hallerinden pek şikâyetçi değiller. İtalyan şirketleri Çukurova'da faaldirler ve olay yaratmadan çalışmalarını sürdürmektedirler. Türk Hükümeti, Türkiye'ye karşı İtalyan emellerinden kaygı duymaktadır. Zaman zaman çıkarılan bazı söylentiler de bu kaygıları yaygınlaştırıyor. İtalya korkusu Türkiye'yi İngiltere'ye yaklaştırıyor ve Rusya'dan uzaklaştırıyor..." (No. 35/1).

İngiliz değerlendirmesi bu yöndedir.

İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinin 1927 yılı Türkiye Genel Durum değerlendirmesi özetle şöyledir:

"Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal ve danışmanları, büyük projeleri olan Türkiye'nin çağdaşlaşması ve kalkınması üzerinde çalışıyorlar. Demiryolları, limanlar, okullar yapıyor ve Ankara örnek bir başkent haline getirilmek isteniyor. İki şey gerekiyor (i) Dış kaygılardan kurtulmak, ki bu sağlanmış; (ii) Ser-

maye bulmak, ki bu konuda pek başarılı olunamamıştır. İstanbul'da ise durum başka nürhü görölüyor.

Gazi, büyük amaçlarını, şu geniş temele dayandırıyor: Dış politikada macera-dan uzak durmak; iç politikada disiplin ve birlik. Bu politikanın üç esas unsuru İn-giltere'ye de uygun düşünüyor. Ancak, uygulamada Türkiye'deki yabancı çıkarları bal-talanıyor ve yabancı sermaye ürkütölüyor. 1927'de Türkiye'nin en sıkıcı anormallığı işte budur. Türk'e iş ve ticaret fırsatı verilmek istenirken Türk olmayanların çıkar-ları baltalanmış oluyor. Yabancılar karşı baskıları önlemek için büyük Devletlerin Türkiye'ye verdikleri kredilere ambargo koyabilecekleri akla gelirse de bu ütöpiktir, yapılamaz.

1927'nin başlıca gelişmeleri: Ankara-Kayseri demiryolunun açılması, Hazi-ran'da Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi'nin hastalanması, Temmuz'da O'nun İstanbul'a ilk zi-yareti, Büyük Nutuk, genel seçimler, yeni Meclis, yeni Kabine. Ankara'da Gazi'nin iki heykeli dikildi, opera binasının temeli atıldı. Bugünkü Türkler, davranışlarıyla, giyim kuşamlarıyla, saç-sakal tıraşlarıyla da kendilerini ciddiye alıyorlar. Bir görgü kitabı piyasaya çıkar çıkmaz birkaç günde 15000 adet satmıştır. Modanın aynası Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinin kendisidir..." (No. 78/1).

1927'deki bazı gelişmelere biraz daha yakından bakalım:

Gazi Mustafa Kemal, 16 Mayıs 1919'da İstanbul'dan ayrılmış ve bir daha yıllarca oraya dönmemişti. Cumhurbaşkanı olarak yurt gezileri sırasında vapurla İstanbul Boğazı'ndan geçmesi gerektiği zaman bile, İstanbul'a uğramamış ve Boğaz'dan transit geçmeyi yeğlemiştir. Gazi, sekiz yıllık bir aradan sonra İstanbul'u ziyaret et-meye karar veriyor. 1927 yılında halâ gelip Ankara'ya yerleşmemiş olan ve halâ İs-tanbul'da oturan İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk, bu ziyaret üzerinde epeyce duruyor ve 29 Haziranda özetle şöyle yazıyor:

"Gazi, nihayet İstanbul'u ziyaret etmeye karar verdi. Hazırlıklar yapıyor. Resmî program açıklandı. Ziyaret 1 Temmuz'da başlıyor. Basın sevinçten coşuyor. Ziyaret nedeni pek belli değil. Gazi'nin sağlığı konusunda kaygılı söylentiler var. Doktorlar kendisine deniz kıyısını salık vermiş olabilir, deniyor. Bu, doğru ise baş-kentin geleceğini de etkileyebilir. Ziyaretin başka nedenleri de olabilir. Ziyaret İs-tanbul'da oturan diplomatlar arasında da kaygılar yarattı. Bazı kararlar aldık: Elçilik binalarımıza bayrak çekeceğiz, Cumhurbaşkanının defterine adlarımızı yazacağız. Alman Elçisi Nadolny, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edilmemiz için girişimde bulundu." (No. 44).

Evet, Gazi 1 Temmuz 1927 günü İzmit'ten "Ertuğrul" yatı ile İstanbul'a geçiyor. Top atışlarıyla ve coşkuyla karşılanıyor. Dolmabahçe Sarayına yerleşiyor. İngiliz Bü-yükelçisi Sir George Clerk, "Bu ziyaret, bugünkü rejimin yerleşmiş olduğunu göste-ren bir aşamadır" diyor. Cumhurbaşkanı İstanbul'da oturan yabancı konsolosları kabul ediyor, fakat yabancı Elçileri kabul etmiyor. Bu davranışıyla Elçilere, devletin

başkentinde (yani Ankara'da) oturmaları gerektiği, İstanbul'da otururlarsa kendileriyle görüşemeyeceği yolunda bir mesaj vermiş oluyor. Türkiye'nin başkentini İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşımış olan Gazi'yi "Anadolu şampiyonu" olarak nitelendiren İngiliz Büyükelçisi, Müslüman olmayan azınlıkların ve yabancıların oturdukları Beyoğlu ve Galata'da "Anadolu şampiyonunun" biraz buruk karşılandığını, İstanbul Türk halkının ise Gazi'ye coşkuyla sevgi gösterdiğini söylüyor (No. 47).

1926 yılında Gazi Paşa'ya karşı İzmir'de bir suikast girişimi ortaya çıkarılmıştı. İzmir suikastından ayrı olarak, Ermeni çeteleri tarafından 1924-1927 yıllarında Atatürk'e karşı altı değişik suikast hazırlanmış olduğunu başka bir kitabımızda anlatmış ve belgelemiştik¹. 1927 yılında Atatürk'ün canına kasteden üç ayrı girişim ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu suikast hazırlıklarından biri, Hacı Sami'nin elebaşılığı altındaki bir Çerkez çetesinin işiydi. Bu çete, Gazi'yi öldürmek kastıyla Sisam adasından Anadolu'ya geçmiş ve 27 Ağustos 1927 günü Hacı Sami ölü, arkadaşları yaralı olarak yakalanmıştı. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "Hacı Sami, diyor, Gazi'ye karşı suikast hazırlığını Yunan topraklarında yapmıştı. Türkiye şimdi, Yunan Hükümeti katında girişimlerde bulunuyor ve Yunanistan'daki mültecilerin kontrol altında tutulmasını istiyor. Oradaki muhaliflerin elebaşı, 150'liklerden eski Şeyhülislam Mustafa Sabri Efendidir." (No. 69).

Hacı Sami çetesinin yakalanmasından bir ay kadar sonra, bu defa Meriç kıyısında bir suikast çetesi ortaya çıkarıldı. Bu bir Ermeni çetesi idi. Çete, Gazi'nin İstanbul'dan sonra Edirne'yi ziyaret edeceği haberleri üzerine, yine Yunan topraklarında suikast hazırlıklar yapuktan sonra Türkiye'ye geçmişti. Bu çeteyi Sofya Elçimiz Hüseyin (Gerede) Bey ile Gümülcine Konsolosumuz Firuz (Kesim) Bey tam zamanında Ankara'ya haber verişlerdir. Firuz Kesim, yıllar sonra şöyle diyor:

"İstihbarat elemanlarımdan biri bir gün bana Atatürk'ün Trakya'ya geçerek Edirne'ye yapacağı seyahat esnasında Batı Trakya'daki çetenin Meriç'ten gizlice hududu aşarak, suikast yapacağını haber verdi...Ankara ile diğer ilgili makamları keyfiyetten haberdar ettim. Bu suretle, o sırada Trakya'ya geçmek üzere İstanbul'da bulunan Atatürk, Edirne seyahatlerini birkaç gün geciktürdiler. Ve bu esnada, pek tabii olarak bu gecikürmeden haberi olmayan mel'un suikast çetesi de, haince kararını tatbik maksadı ile - ve haber verdiğim şekilde - gizlice Meriç'i geçerken, teükk üzerinde kendilerini bekleyen müfrezenin ateşine maruz kalarak, kâmilten temizlendiler"².

Gazi'ye karşı 1927 yılında üçüncü suikast girişimi İstanbul'da ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bu da Mercan Altunyan adındaki bir komitecinin elebaşılığıyla hazırlanmış bir Ermeni suikast girişimiydi. İngiliz Büyükelçisi bu konuda şunları söylüyor:

¹ Bülül N. Şimşir, *Şehit Diplomatarımız (1973-1994)*, I. Kitap, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara: 2000, s. 61-73.

² *Ibid.*, s. 72-73 ve *Balkan Tarihimiz*, cilt 2, s. 12.

"14 Eylül (1927) günü, İstanbul'un Beyoğlu semtinde bir Ermeni çetesi ile polis arasında silahlı çatışma oldu. Toplantı yerlerinde kısırılan Ermeni çetesi, teslim ol çağrılarına silahla karşılık vermiş ve iki polisi öldürmüş. Polis de karşılık olarak iki Ermeni komiteciyi öldürmüş, ikisini de yaralamıştır. Çetenin Yıldız gazinosunu basmak niyetinde olduğu açıklanmışsa da asıl amacının Gazi'ye suikast düzenlemek olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Çerkez Hacı Sami'nin Gazi'ye suikast girişiminden kısa bir zaman sonra ortaya çıkarılan Ermeni girişimi ilginçtir. Ermenilerin arkasında, Mustafa Kemal'in Batıya yakalaşmasından kaygılanan Moskova olabilir. Gazi'nin başına bir şey gelirse, ülkeyi bir arada tutabilecek güvenilir bir kimse yoktur." (No. 55, ayrıca bkz. No. 56 ve 72).

Gazi Mustafa Kemal, 15-20 Ekim 1927 tarihinde, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi kongresinde, uzun bir söylev verdi. Bunun okunması altı günde bitti; tam 36 saat 33 dakika sürdü. Okunduktan sonra bu büyük söylev, *Nutuk* adıyla kitap olarak basıldı, beş dilde yayımlandı. "Büyük Nutuk" diye tarihe geçti. O günden beri de basılır, okunur ve ana kaynak olarak kullanılır.

1927 yılı, bir bakıma, "Nutuk Yılı" olmuştur. Gerçekten *Nutuk* o yıl başlıbaşına büyük bir olay olmuştur. Yurt içinde ve yurt dışında geniş yankılar yapmıştır. Türkiye'deki İngiliz Büyükelçiliği *Nutuk* hakkındaki haberleri, yorumları Londra'ya rapor etmiştir. İngiliz basınında *Nutuk* konusunda yazılar, başyazılar çıkmıştır. Gazi'ye ters düşmüş olan ve *Nutuk*'ta eleştirilen Hüseyin Rauf (Orbay) gibi kişiler 1927 yılında Avrupa'da yaşıyorlardı. Bunlar yabancı basında *Nutuk*'u eleştirdiler. İngiliz gazetelerinde Halide Edip'in (Adivar), Dr. Adnan'ın (Adivar), Hüseyin Rauf Beyin (Orbay) *Nutuk*'u ve Gazi'yi eleştiren yazıları yayımlandı...

Nutuk ile ilgili İngiliz diplomatik belgeleri ve İngiliz basınında çıkmış olan yazılar, daha önce başka bir kitabımızda yayımlanmıştı³; o belgeleri bu ciltte tekrar yayımlamayı uygun görmedik. İlgilenenler Atatürk'ün *Büyük Söylevi Üzerine Belgeler* başlıklı kitabıma başvurabilirler.

1927 yılında Türkiye'de genel seçimler yapıldı. Seçimlerle ilgili İngiliz diplomatik raporları da bu ciltte yer almaktadır (Bkz. No. 52, 53, 54). Yeni Meclis, 1 Kasım'da toplandı ve aynı gün Gazi Mustafa Kemal'i oybirliğiyle yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçti. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir G. Clerk, bu gelişmeleri özetle şöyle rapor ediyor:

"Yeni TBMM 1 Kasım'da açıldı. Törende ben de hazır bulundum. Mustafa Kemal, oybirliğiyle yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi ve and içerek göreve başladı. Tebrikleri kabul etti. Aynı gün Başbakan İsmet Paşa istifasını verdi, Gazi onu yeni Kabineyi kurmakla görevlendirdi. Maliye Bakanı Abdülhalik Bey (Renda) Millî Savunma Bakanı oldu, Denizcilik Bakanlığı Millî Savunma Bakanlığına bağlandı. Savunma Bakanı Recep Bey (Peker), Kabine Dışında kaldı. Şükrü Saracoğlu Maliye

³ Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Atatürk'ün Büyük Söylevi Üzerine Belgeler*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, Ankara: 1991.

Bakanı oldu. Şükrü Kaya da İçişleri Bakanlığını üstlendi. Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras) Dışişleri Bakanı olarak kaldı. Değişiklikler iyidir..." (No. 64).

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, ikinci defa Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanlığına seçildiğini ve Türkiye ile İngiltere arasındaki dostça ilişkileri sürdürmek ve geliştirmek istediğini 21 Kasım 1927 tarihli bir "nâme" ile İngiltere Kralı Beşinci George'a bildirdi. Şöyle dedi:

"Ankara'da 1 Teşrinisani 1927 tarihinde içtima eden Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinin ârayı müttefikasile ikinci defa olarak Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Riyasetine intihap edildiğimi ve Teşkilâtı Esasiye Kanununun bahsettği salahiyyete istinaden mevkîi iktidarı ıssal eylediğimi Zau Haşmetanelerine beyana müsaraat eylerim.

İnühabı vakiyi ıtular Haşmetanelerine iblâğ eylerken bu fırsattan bilistifade bütün mesaimin Türkiye ile Büyük Britanya arasında teyemmünen cayıgır olan münasebatı dostanenin idamei inkişaf ve tezyidine masruf olacağını temin eder ve milletlerimiz için nafi olan bu ümniyenin hayyizi fiile isali hususunda pek kıymetdar olan müzaheretü Haşmetanelerinden istifade ile bahıyyar olacağımı beyan eylerim..."⁴

İngiliz Kralı, aynı şekilde dostça karşılık verdi.

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İngiliz belgelerine göre, 1927 yılında Türkiye'nin iç durumunu şöyle özetlenebilir:

1927 yılı sakin bir yıl oldu. Yeni yasalar uygulandı. İstiklâl Mahkemeleri klandı. Huzur sağlandı. Millî Eğitim ve Sağlık Bakanlıkları en aktif Bakanlıklardı. Genel nüfus sayımı yapıldı, Türkiye'nin nüfusu 14 milyon olarak açıklandı. (Nüfus tam olarak 13.648.270 idi). Ankara ve İstanbul'da kültürel etkinlikler yoğun geçti. "Hamlet" piyesi Türkçe olarak sahneye kondu. Türk Ocakları da faaldi. Rum, Ermeni, Yahudi azınlıkları bazı kısıtlamalarla karşılaşüyorlar, bunların Türkçe öğrenmeleri isteniyor. TBMM bir önceki yıla göre 1927'de daha az kanun çıkardı. Genel seçimler yapıldı ve muhalif mebuslar Halk Partisinin adamlarıyla değiştirildi. Gazi yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi ve Başbakanlık görevini tekrar İsmet Paşa'ya verdi. Gazi, İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya dönünce altı gün süren bir Nutuk söyledi, muhalefeti ve özellikle Rauf Beyi (Orbay) eleştirdi. 1927'de de Gazi'ye karşı suikast girişimleri ortaya çıkarıldı.

1927'de Âli İktisat Meclisi (Yüksek Ekonomik Kurul) kuruldu, "Tevfik-i Sanayi Kanunu" çıkarıldı, yeni banknotlar basırıldı. Tarım, sanayi alanında kalkınma çabaları; liman, karayolu, özellikle demiryolu yapımı sürdürüldü. Yerköy-Kayseri, Ankara-Kayseri, Samsun-Havza, Samsun-Amasya demiryolları açıldı. Kalkınma atılım-

⁴ Bu mektubun tam metni ve İngiliz Kralının buna cevabı için bkz.: BİHM N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve yahanacı Devlet Başkanları, Cilt II: Danimarka -İran, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 2001, s. 300-301.*

ları sürüyor. Ancak, İngiliz iddiasına göre, "Türkiye'deki milliyetçi mevzuat, ekonomik kalkınmayı frenleyebilecek; tütün, şeker, alkol, tuz, kükürt tekelleri gibi devlet tekelleri de Hükümetin ekonomik programını köstekleyebilecek nitelikte kuruluşlar" idi (No.78/1).

İngiliz Büyükelçi Clerk, Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in çağdaşlaşma atılımları konusunda araştırmalar yaptırmış, İngiliz konsoloslarından raporlar istemiş ve gelen raporları Londra'ya sunarken kendi görüşünü de eklemiştir: "Türkiye'de modernleşme konusunda İzmir, Trabzon, Mersin ve Edirne Konsoloslarından alınan raporlar ilişiktir. Gelişmeler bölgeden bölgeye değişiyor. Kırsal alanlarda ve iç bölgelerde din güçlüdür. Hükümet demiryoluna ağırlık veriyor, karayolu yapımı yavaş kalıyor. Gençler arasında içki alışkanlığı yaygınlaşıyor. Modern Türkiye henüz yenedir ve çağdaşlaşmaktadır. Gericilerin saldırısına dayanıp dayanamayacağını anlamak için uzun yıllar geçmesi gerekecektir." (No. 50).

Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma konusundaki İngiliz konsolosluk raporlarında ilginç gözlemler var. Mersin Konsolosu Chafy, "Renkli ulusal giysiler hızla kayboluyor. Artık Çerkez Yörük'ten veya Arnavut Kürt'ten ayrıt edilemiyor. Şehirde gençler İngiliz gibi giyiniyor artık, hatta dansinglerle birlikte smokin de geldi" diyor (No. 50/3).

İngiliz Büyükelçisi, Anadolu'daki Türk kadınının çağdaşlaşmasını ayrıca merak ediyor, bu özel konuda konsoloslardan rapor istiyor ve kendi görüşünü şöyle ekliyor: "Mustafa Kemal'in çağdaşlaşma programının başlamasından beri taşradaki kadının durumu hakkında konsolosluk raporları ilişikte sunulmuştur. Kadınlar, İslâm hukukunun aşırı baskısından XX. yüzyılın Avrupa özgürlüğüne geçiyorlar. Bu greçte yöneticiler temkinli ve yumuşak davranıyor ve asıl okula güveniyorlar." (No. 51).

Mersin Konsolosu Chafy, özette şunları bildiriyor:

"Bu bölge tutucu olmakla birlikte, kadınlar hızla özgürlüğe kavuşuyorlar ki artık bundan geri dönülemez. Paris modasına göre giyinen ve İstanbul'da alışılmış olan kadın tipi artık Adana ve Mersin'de de görülüyor. Taşradaki Türk kadınlarına dans öğretiliyor. Bir Macar hoca Adana ve Mersin'de dans dersleri veriyor. Birkaç gün önce Silifke'de bir balo verildi. Kızlar artık tek başlarına sokaklarda yürüyüş yapabiliyorlar. Eskiden bu işitilmiş duyulmuş şey değildi. Harem maziye karışmıştır. Kadınlar ve erkekler artık evlerde birlikte toplanabiliyorlar..." (No. 51, Ek. 2).

Trabzon Konsolosu Knight'ın söyledikleri şudur:

"Trabzon Türkiye'nin en gerici vilâyeti olarak nam salmış ise de halkı rahattır. Rize ve Erzurum'da insanlar şapka giymemek için idam sehпасını boylarken, Trabzonlular şapkayı hemen kabul etmişlerdir. Valinin emri üzerine peçeler de kaldırılmış, fakat kararnamede zikredilmiyor diye kara çarşaf çıkarılmamıştır ve durumda pek değişiklik olmamıştır. Sokaklarda yalnız kız öğrencilerin yüzleri görülür."

yor ki onlar annelerinin çarşalarını benimsemiyor. Trabzon'da kadınlar sosyal hayata pek katılmıyor, öğretmenlik dışında herhangi bir meslek sahibi olmuyor, devlet memurluğu yapmıyorlar. Hizmetçi bulmak bile çok zordur. Samsun sigara fabrikasında çalışan bazı kızlar gördüm. Kadınlar erkeklerin toplantılarına katılmıyor. Onlar için sinema bile bir tabudur. Protokol ve görgü kurallarını bilmiyorlar. Valinin eşi, eşimin kendisine yaptığı ziyareti iki yıldır iade etmedi. Gazi'nin saçtığı ışık bu gözlere fazla geliyor." (No. 51, Ek. 1).

Edirne Konsolosu da diyor ki: "Kadınlar yavaş yavaş, fakat emin olarak öne çıkıyor. Artık peçeli kadına pek sık rastlanmıyor. Dans da pek revaçta, ama eski harem ruhu pek kaybolmadı. Kadının genel durumu çok iyileşti. Küçük yerlerde ise gelişme daha yavaş oluyor." (No. 51, Ek. 3).

İzmir'den Konsolos Helm, 28 Haziran 1927'de şunları rapor ediyor:

"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin en önemli yeniliği kadınların özgürlük kazanmaları olmuştur. Yüzlerce yıllık bir gelenegi değiştirmek hiç kolay bir iş değildir. Yeniliğe karşı isteksiz davranışlar olmuştur, özellikle fakir sınıflarda. Varlıklı kesimler ve yeni kuşak yeniliğe daha açıktır. Kadınlar zaten tarlada, bağda, bahçede, fabrikada erkeklerle birlikte çalışıyorlardı; şimdi mağaza, PTT gibi başka alanlarda da çalışmaya başladılar. Yavaş yavaş yeni meslekler de ediniyorlar. Parti politikası ise onları pek ilgilendirmiyor. Tramvayda veya trenlerde artık kadınlarla erkekler ayrılmıyor. Peçe artık fiilen kalkmıştır, yalnız bazı yaşlı kadınlarda görülmektedir. Çağdaş Avrupalı kadınların başlıkları alınmış değildir, yalnız peçe kalkmıştır. Aile yaşamında haremlik-selâmlık ayrımı kalkmıştır. Ev içinde Türk kadınının durumu Avrupalı kadınıninkinden daha aşağı değildir. Kısacası, tohum atılmıştır ve Türk kadını ileride tam özgürlüğe kavuşacaktır." (No. 51, Ek. 4).

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1927'de Türkiye'nin dış ilişkileri konusunda İngiliz belgelerinde ayrıntılı bilgiler vardır. Yıllık Raporda, Türkiye'nin çeşitli ülkelerle ilişkileri ayrı ayrı ele alınıp değerlendirilmektedir. (No. 78'e Ek). Bu yıl içinde Türkiye, Meksika ve Brezilya ile Dostluk Anlaşmaları ve şu ülkelerle de Ticaret Anlaşmaları imzalamıştır: Almanya, İsviçre, Norveç, Çekoslovakya, İsveç, Belçika, Bulgaristan, Danimarka, Mısır, Finlandiya, Macaristan, Romanya, Rusya, İspanya ve Suriye.

1927'de Türkiye'de 26 yabancı diplomatik temsilcilik vardır: 7 Büyükelçilik, 16 Elçilik ve 3 geçici Maslahatgüzarlık. Bu yıl içinde üç misyon şefi Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e güven mektuplarını sunmuşlardır: Mısır Elçisi Abdülazim Raşit Paşa, Bulgar Elçisi Todor Pavlov ve Amerikan Büyükelçisi Joseph C. Grew.

İngiliz Büyükelçisi, Türkiye'deki misyon şefleriyle ilgili yıllık raporunu Londra'ya gönderirken şu değerlendirmeyi de yapıyor:

"Bütün diplomatik işler artık Ankara'dan yürütülüyor. Dolayısıyla kordiplomatiği, Ankara'da oturanlar - İstanbul'da oturanlar diye ikiye ayırmaya gerek kalmamıştır. Başkent Ankara'da Elçilik ve Büyükelçilik binalarının yapımı devam ediyor. Alman Büyükelçiliği bu sonbahar Ankara'ya yerleşmiş olacak. Polonya Elçiliği inşaatı yavaş yavaş devam ediyor. Fransız ve Amerikan Büyükelçilikleri bina yapmak için arsa almaya çalışıyor. Romen, Avusturya Elçilikleri ve daha birçok elçilik Ankara'da katlar kiralamışlardır. Kısacası, başkent Ankara'ya taşınma hareketi görülüyor." (No. 75).

1927'de Türkiye'nin bazı ülkelerle ilişkilerine kısaca değinelim:

Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkileri, genel olarak memnuniyet verici olarak değerlendiriliyor. Ancak iki ülke arasında tartışmalı konular da vardır: Gelibolu yarımadasındaki savaş mezarlıkları, "İngiliz Muhibleri"ne baskı yapıldığı iddiaları, Malta sürgünlerinin İngiltere'den tazminat talepleri, Türkiye-Irak sınırı, Irak'ın Türkiye'de diplomatik temsilciliği gibi.

Türkiye ile ABD arasında 1927 yılında gelişmeler olmuş, Büyükelçilik düzeyinde normal diplomatik ilişkiler kurulmuştur. İki ülke arasındaki diplomatik ilişkiler, Birinci Dünya Savaşında ABD'nin Almanya'ya savaş açması üzerine, 1917 yılında kesilmişti; yeniden normal diplomatik ilişkiler kurulabilmesi için, Türk-Amerikan Lozan Antlaşmasının Amerikan Kongresi tarafından onaylanması bekleniyordu. Beklenti boşa çıktı. 18 Ocak 1927'de Amerikan Senatosu Lozan Antlaşmasını reddetti. Bunun üzerine, Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı Dr. Tefvik Rüştü (Aras) ile Türkiye'deki Amerikan Temsilcisi Amiral Bristol arasında üç hafta kadar süren müzakerelerden sonra 17 Şubat 1927 günü, nota değiş-tokuşu yoluyla bir *modus vivendi* yapıldı. Türkiye ile ABD arasında yeniden diplomatik ve konsolosluk ilişkileri kurulması ve en kısa zamanda karşılıklı olarak Büyükelçiler atanması öngörüldü.⁸ Varılan bu anlaşma uyarınca Amerikan Büyükelçisi Joseph Grew 1927 son baharında Türkiye'ye atandı. (No. 56 & 75/1). Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin ABD'de ilk Büyükelçisi Ahmet Muhtar Bey de Aralık 1927'de Washington'da göreve başladı. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği şöyle diyor:

"Amerikan Kongresi, Türk-Amerikan Lozan Antlaşmasını reddetti. İki ülke arasında bir modus vivendi yapıldı ve Büyükelçilik düzeyinde ilişkiler kuruldu. Joseph Grew Türkiye'ye, Ahmet Muhtar Bey de Washington'a Büyükelçi atandılar. İlişkileri dostça devam ediyor. Çeşitli Amerikan şirketleri Türkiye'ye temsilciler

⁸ Bu konuda daha geniş bilgi için bkz. Bülül N. Şimşir, "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Yeniden Kurulması ve Ahmet Muhtar Beyin Washington Büyükelçiliği (1920-1927)" *Belleken*, Cilt XLI, Sayı 162, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara: 1977, s. 277-356. Ve Bülül N. Şimşir, "Amerika'da Ermeni Lobisi ve Lozan Antlaşması Kavgaası (1923-1927)", *Ermeni Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Ermeni Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Ankara: Eylül-Ekim-Kasım 2001, sayı 3, s.54-66. Ayrıca bkz.: Joseph C. Grew, *Turbulent Era. A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945*, Edited by Walter Johnson, London: Hammond, Hammond & Co. Ltd., 1953, Vol. II, pp. 707-919; Joseph C. Grew, *Amerika'nın İlk Türkiye Büyükelçisinin Anıları*, YENİ TÜRKİYE, Türkçesi Dr. Kadri Mustafa Oragül, Multilingual, İstanbul: 1999.

gönderdiler. Amerikan misyoner kuruluşları bu yıl, geçmişe kıyasla daha az zarar gördüler. Türkiye ile Arjantin, Brezilya ve Meksika arasında dostluk anlaşmaları yapıldı. İstanbul'a bir Arjantin Başkonsolosu atandı." (No. 78/1).

Türk-İtalyan ilişkilerinde güvensizlik var. İtalya'nın Türkiye aleyhinde İngiltere ile anlaştığı yolunda söylentiler çıkıyor ve Türk hükümetini tedirgin ediyor. Bu söylentiler yalanlanıyor. Meis adası yakınındaki kayalık konusunda Türkiye ile İtalya arasında anlaşmazlık çıkıyor. Anlaşmazlığın Lahey Adalet Divanına götürülmesine karar veriliyor. Bir İtalyan'a kiralanmış olan İstanbul Yıldız Sarayı gazinosu Gazi'nin emriyle kapatılıyor. 1926 yılında imzalanan suçluların iadesi anlaşması 1927'de yürürlüğe girmiyor.

Türk-Yunan ilişkilerini düzeltme arzuları görülüyor. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, Yunan irredantizminin veya Megali İdeanın artık mezara gömülmüş olduğunu belirtiyor. Türkiye'nin Batılaşmaya yönelen bir Balkan ülkesi olmamasının Yunanistan'ın yararına olacağını söylüyor. Ahali mübadelesiyle ilgili sorunlarda yıl içinde fazla ilerleme olmamıştır. Edirne'nin kurtuluşunu kutlamak üzere bayraklarla süslü bir Türk treninin Yunan topraklarından geçişine engel olunması, Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında sorun yaratmıştır. Bir de İmroz (Gökçeada) ve Bozcaada konusunda gerginlik yaşanmıştır.

Türk-Bulgar ilişkilerine gelince, güney Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye göç eden Müslümanlar konusunda sorun yaşanmıştır. Türk-Bulgar ticaret anlaşması müzakereleri devam etmiş, fakat sonuçlanmamıştır. Yeni Bulgar Elçisi Pavlov Türkiye'de göreve başlamıştır. Türk-Romen ilişkileri normaldir. Romen malları asgari gümrükle Türkiye'ye ihraç edilebilmektedir. Türk-Yugoslav ilişkileri önünde başlıca engel Sırbistan'daki Türk emlakı sorunudur. Türkiye'deki Arnavutlara Arnavut vatandaşlığını seçmeleri için tanınan süre sona ermiş, birçoğu Türk vatandaşlığını seçmiştir.

Türk-Afgan ilişkileri dostça gelişiyor. Afganistan Dışişleri Bakanı Mahmut Tarzi Han Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. 10 Temmuz günü İstanbul'da Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal tarafından kabul edildi. Afganistan'da Türk subayları görevlendirildi; Türk Harp Okuluna da genç Afgan subayları alındı. Bir Türk hanım teşrifatçı olarak Afgan Sarayında görevlendirildi. İki ülke dostluk havasını sürdürüyor.

Türk-İran ilişkilerinde zorluklar var. İran tarafına geçen Türkiyeli Kürt asiler, iki ülke arasında sorun yaratıyorlar. Tahran'daki Türk Büyükelçisi geri çekilmiş, İran ise anlaşmazlığı halletmek üzere Ankara'ya bir özel elçi göndermişti. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, "Türkiye, 1914 yılında İngiltere'nin katkularıyla çizilmiş olan Türk-İran sınır çizgisini tanımayabilir" diyor. Gerçekten birkaç yıl sonra Türkiye-İran sınırında düzeltmeler yapılacak ve iki ülke ilişkileri dostluğa dönüşecektir.

1928 yılı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin beşinci yılıdır. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, 1928 Türkiye'sini genel çizgileriyle şöyle görüyor:

"Ankara, başkent olarak durumunu pekiştirdi. Gazi'nin programında Ankara'nın esaslı bir yeri var. Son üç yıl içinde başkent Ankara'da önemli maddi değişiklikler oldu ve yepyeni bir şehir ortaya çıktı. Avrupalılar, Ankara'yı başkent olarak kabul ettiler. Ankaralıların yabancılara karşı tutumları da son üç yılda değişti, şimdi yabancılara daha sıcak davranıyorlar: davetlere katılıyor, yabancılara davet ediyorlar. Ancak kadınlar çok çekingen. Zihniyet değiştirmek kolay olmuyor. Türkiye'nin diğer bölgeleri de Ankara'daki yenilikleri örnek alıyorlar. Bütün bu gelişmelerin Gazi'nin itici gücünden kaynaklandığını kimse inkâr edemez. 1928'de Türkiye'nin iç yönetimi ve dış politikası bütünüyle sağlam idi.

"İçerde Türkiye'nin laik bir devlete dönüştürülmesi süreci devam etti. 1928'de eski Denizcilik Bakanı İhsan Bey davası ("Yavuz-Havuz davası") yaşandı. Eski Ticaret Bakanı Ali Cenani Bey de Yüce Divana sevk edildi. Mübadillerin iskânı işinde İçişleri Bakanı başarılı olamadı. İzmir ve Trabzon taraflarında asayişsizlik görüldü. 'Kürt' sorunu arka plânda kaldı. Komünist bildiriler dağıtan 40 kişi tutuklanıp hafif cezalara çarptırıldı. Eğitim politikası yavaşlamadan devam etti. Adalet mekanizması iyileştirildi, vasıflı yargıçların sayısı arttı. Azınlıklar, yani Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Museviler için 1928 yılı mutlu bir yıl oldu. Kabinede değişiklikler oldu. Denizcilik Bakanlığı kaldırıldı, Tarım Bakanlığı da Ekonomi Bakanlığı çatısı altında Ticaret Bakanlığı ile birleştirildi. TBMM, laikleştirmeyi tamamladı. Devletin dininin İslam olduğu yolundaki madde Anayasadan çıkarıldı. Mebusların Allah yerine namus ve şerefleri üzerine yemin etmeleri kabul edildi. Gazi, sağlığını korudu, yaz aylarını Dolmabahçe sarayında geçirdi. Onun İstanbul'da bulunduğu sırada yeni alfabe kampanyası başlatıldı. Kabul edilen yeni alfabeye "Gazi Alfabesi", "Türk Alfabesi" dendi. Gazi, başöğretmen olarak alfabe seferberliğine çıktı. Herkesi okuryazar yapmak amaçlandı. Bazı tepkiler oldu, Gazi'nin hayatına karşı yeni suikast girişimi ve bir komplo ortaya çıkarıldı. Hükümetin durumu ve Kemalist rejim sağlamdır. Ancak iflas eden şirketler var, kuraklık da tarım ürünlerini mahvetti. Bütçenin % 40'ı askeri harcamalara gidiyor. Ama borçlar sorunu ve demiryolları işi halledildi. Yıl içinde Gazi, yenileştirme politikasını başarıyla yürüttü.

"1928'de Türkiye'nin dış politikasına ve yabancı ülkelerle ilişkilerine gelince, kısaca söylenebilecek şudur: Türkiye'nin dış politikası barışçıdır. Ulusal sınırlarını çizmiş olan Türkiye, şimdi, uluslararası durumunu güçlendirmeye çalışmaktadır. Nihai hedefi, Yakın ve Orta Doğu'nun önder devleti olmaktır...Yıl içinde Türkiye'nin çevre ülkeleri ve Büyük devletler ile ilişkilerinde gelişmeler görüldü: Türkiye'de İngiltere'ye doğru yavaşça bir yöneliş seziliyor. ABD'nin Türkiye'ye ihracatı artıyor. Türkiye, Kellogg paktına katıldı. Almanya, Türkiye ile ticaretini artırmak için hiçbir fırsatı kaçırmıyor, Ankara Büyükelçiliği binaları için büyük para harcadı ve Alman Büyükelçisi artık sürekli olarak Ankara'ya yerleşti. Polonya, Türkiye ile ilişkilerine

büyük önem veriyor, Ankara'da büyük bir Elçilik binası yapıyor, buradaki Elçiliğini Büyükelçilik düzeyine yükseltmek istiyor. Türk-Rus ilişkileri dostça devam ediyor. Arada bazı sürtüşmeler oluyorsa da Türkiye, Rusya ile kavga etmek istemiyor. Türk Hükümeti, Sovyetlerin komünizm propagandasından rahatsız oluyor. Türk-Fransız ilişkileri Suriye sorununa düğümlendi. Türk-İtalyan ilişkileri sakin bir döneme girdi. Türk-Yunan ilişkileri mübadele sorunlarının etkisi altında bulunuyor, yıl sonuna doğru bu ilişkilerde iyimser bir hava esmeye başladı. Bulgaristan Türklerinin baskı görmeleri ve Türkiye'ye göç etmeleri Türk-Bulgar ilişkilerinde bir sorun oldu, yine de Türkiye, Bulgaristan'a yaklaşma politikası izledi. Mustafa Kemal, Eylül 1928'de Arnavutluk'ta krallık ilân edilmesini tepkiyle karşıladı, Tirana'daki Türk Elçisi geri çekildi. Türkiye, Ahmet Zogu'nun Krallığını tanımadı. Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han, Mayıs 1928'de Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ziyaretin başarılı geçmesi için Türkiye elinden geleni yaptı. Ziyaret sırasında Türk-Afgan Dostluk Antlaşması imzalandı. Türk-İran sınır görüşmeleri yapıldı, fakat bir anlaşmaya varılamadı. Türkiye, 1928 baharındaki Mısır-İngiltere krizinde Mısır'ı tuttu, ama Mustafa Kemal, Mısır hanedanına pek sempati beslemiyor...."

Çizilen genel tablo budur.

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Evet, Cumhuriyetin ilânından beri Türkiye'de harikalar yaratılmıştı; beşinci yılda da laikleşme süreci doruğa ulaşmıştı. 9 Nisanda Anayasa değiştirildi ve dinle ilgili kayıtlar Anayasadan kaldırıldı: Anayasanın 2. maddesinde yer alan "*Türkiye Devletinin dini, din-i islâmdır*" kaydı çıkarıldı. 16. maddede milletvekillerin Meclise girerken ettikleri yeminden "*vallahi*" kelimesi çıkarılarak yerine "*namusum üzerine söz veririm*" andı kondu. 26. maddede "*ahkâm-ı şeriyenin tenfizi*" kaydı çıkarıldı. 38. maddede, Cumhurbaşkanı'nın yemininde yer alan "*vallahi*" yerine "*namusum üzerine söz veririm*" kaydı kondu. İsmet Paşa ve 120 arkadaşı tarafından önerilmiş olan bu değişiklikler Mecliste kabul edilerek 14 Nisan'da yürürlüğe girdi. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, bu gelişmeleri, "Türk ihtilâlini tamamlayan önemli bir adım" olarak değerlendiriyor, "Genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti artık tam olarak laik olduğunu söyleyebilir. Beş yılda bu dev işi ancak Mustafa Kemal başarabilmiştir" diyordu. (No. 80).

24 Mayıs'ta "Beynelmîlîl Erkâmın Kabulü" (Uluslararası Rakamların Kabulü) hakkındaki Kanun Meclisten geçti ve Türkiye'de Latin sayıları kullanılmaya başlandı. Bu kanun, Latin alfabesinin kabulüne doğru atılan bir adım oldu. Kısa zaman sonra bir komisyon kuruldu ve Latin alfabesi esasına göre yeni bir Türk alfabesi hazırladı. 10 Ağustos günü Gazi, hazırlanmış olan yeni Türk harflerini, vaktiyle Tanzimat Fermanının ilân adılmış olduğu Gülhane (Sarayburnu) Parkında halka açıkladı. Dedi ki:

"Arkadaşlar, güzel dilimizi ifade etmek için Yeni Türk harflerini kabul ediyoruz... Vatandaşlar, Yeni Türk harflerini çabuk öğreniniz. Bütün millete, köylüye, ço-

bana, hamala, sandalcıya öğretiniz. Bunu vatanperverlik ve milliyetperverlik vazifesi biliniz. Bu vazifeyi yaparken düşününüz ki bir milletin, bir heyet-i içtimaiyenin yüzde onu, yirmisi okuma yazma bilir, yüzde sekseni bilmez; bu ayıptır. Bundan insan olanlar utanmak lâzımdır. Bu millet, utanmak için yaratılmış bir millet değildir. İftihar etmek için yaratılmış ve iftiharlarla tarihini doldurmuş bir millettir. Milletin yüzde sekseni okuma yazma bilmiyorsa hata bizde değildir. Hata onlardadır ki, Türk'ün seciyesini anlamayarak bir takım zincirlerle kafalarımızı sarmışlardır. Mazinin hatalarını kökünden temizlemek zamanıdır. Hataları tashih edeceğiz... Milletimiz, yazısıyla ve kafasıyla bütün âlem-i medeniyetin yanında olduğunu gösterecektir."⁶

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, yeni yazıya geçilirken yurt gezilerine çıktı ve yeni yazı kampanyasında başı çekti. Bir "Başöğretmen" gibi hareket etti. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, Cumhurbaşkanının her gittiği yerde bir öğretmen gibi davrandığını, insanları yeni yazı sınavından geçirdiğini anlatıyor: "Gazi, diyor, kalabalık içinden gözüne kestirdiği herhangi bir kimseyi ansızın yakalıyor ve yeni alfabe derslerinin nasıl gittiğini soruyor."⁷ Gazi, önce Tekirdağ, Bursa ve Çanakkale'de yeni Türk harflerini öğretti. Sonra Sinop, Samsun, Amasya, Sivas yörelerini dolaştı. Kayseri üzerinden Ankara'ya döndü. "Başöğretmen", her gittiği yere karatahta ile gidiyor, meydanlarda insanlara hem yeni yazı dersleri veriyor, hem de onları sınavdan geçiriyordu. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, laikleşme ve yeni yazı hareketine de bakarak, Türkiye bakımından "1928 yılı bir mucize yılı (annus mirabilis) olarak görülebilir" diyor. 27 Eylülde özetle şunları rapor ediyor:

"Gazi, 14 Eylül'de İstanbul'dan ayrıldı. Karadeniz yoluyla Ankara'ya döndü. Geçtiği her yerde pazar meydanlarına karatahta kondu ve halka yeni harfler öğretildi. 1928 yılı bir annus mirabilis (mucize yılı) olarak görülebilir. Yeni alfabenin kalkınmayı hızlandıracak düşünülüyor. Yalnız İstanbul'da 200 alfabe kursu açıldı. Mebuslar da alfabe hareketini kamçulamak için seçim bölgelerini dolaşıyor. Ülkenin hiçbir köşesi Gazi'nin alfabe sınavından kurtulamayacak gibi görünüyor. Devlet daireleri ve bu arada Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı ilk aydan itibaren yeni yazıya geçeceklerini açıklıyorlar. Halk, yeni alfabe konusunun şapka giymekten çok daha ciddi olduğunu kavıyor..." (No. 93).

Yeni Türk alfabesinin kullanılması 1 Aralık 1928'den itibaren zorunlu oluyor ve ülke düzeyinde yaygınlaştırılıyor. Bir kargaşa olmuyor. Yalnız gazetelerin tirajı düşüyor. Devlet dairelerinde işler biraz yavaşlıyor. Alfabeyle birlikte dil sorununa da el atılıyor, süslü uzun cümlelerden vazgeçiliyor. Yazışmalarda daha sade bir dil ve kısa cümleler kullanılmağa başlanıyor. Başta Gazi'nin kendisi buna özen gösteriyor, kısa cümleler kullanıyor.

⁶ Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Türk Yazı Devrimi*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, Ankara: 1992, s. 160-161.

⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 184 ve F.O. 424/264, p. 24, No. 17: Clerk'ten Cusshandum'a rapor. İstanbul, 22.8.1928, No. 391.

Tam yeni yazıya geçildiği günlerde, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e karşı yeni bir suikast ve komplo hazırlığı ortaya çıkarılıyor. 1927 yılında, Mercan Altunyan adlı bir Ermeninin elebaşılığı altında, Gazi'ye karşı bir suikast hazırlığı ortaya çıkarılmıştı. Bunun yankıları devam ederken, bu defa Aralık 1928'de, yeni bir suikast veya komplo hazırlığı oraya çıkarılıyor. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği bu konu üzerine eğiliyor: 20 Aralıkta, "Gazi ve Hükümet aleyhinde yeni bir komplo ortaya çıktı. İstanbul ve Bursa'da 150 kişi tutuklandı" diye Londra'ya haber veriyor.

Bir hafta sonra Büyükelçilik, "Gazi'ye komplo konusunda çeşitli söylentiler doluyor, ama doğru bilgi almak zor. Hükümet duruma hakimdir. İstiklâl Mahkemesi kurulmayacaktır...Hükümet konunun ciddiyetini küçümser görünüyor ve bu yönde açıklamalar yapıyor. Ama olay ciddidir" diyor ve sonra:

"Kutsal sayılan Arap alfabesinin yasaklanması ve zorla Lâtin alfabesine geçilmesi hoşnutsuzluğu artırmış ve Afganistan'daki son gelişmeler (yani yenilikçi Kral Amanullah Han'ın irtica tarafından devrilmesi) de komploculara ilham vermiş olabilir..." (No. 104).

"Gazi'ye karşı komplo girişimi konusunda yeni bir açıklama yapılmadı. Bursa'daki hareketin elebaşı Albay Pir Mehmet adlı bir Çerkez, yardımcıları da küçük rütbeli subaylar imiş. Planları, oradaki kolorduyu ele geçirip Ankara'ya doğru sevk etmek imiş. Kimler tarafından desteklendikleri ise belli değil..." diye yazıyor. (No. 106). Bu konudaki haberler, raporlar 1929 yılında da devam ediyor.

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1928 yılı içinde, "Yavuz-Havuz olayı" diye de anılan bir rüşvet olayı Türk kamuoyunu epeyce meşgul etmiş ve İngiliz Büyükelçiliğince de izlenip yorumlanmıştır. Olay şudur: Eski Bahriye Vekili İhsan Bey (Eryavuz) yolsuzluk suçlamasıyla yüce divana verilmiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde ilk defa böyle bir olay yaşanmıştır. Skandal, ünlü "Yavuz" zırhlısının havuza çekilerek onarılmasıyla ilgili olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Onarım işini üstlenmiş olan Fransız şirketinin İhsan Bey ailesine 70.000 lira rüşvet verdiği, İhsan Bey'in de bu parayla kendisine lüks bir villa yaptırdığı ileri sürülmüştür. Gazi, olayı öğrenince İhsan Bey'e çok kızmıştır. 1927 sonlarında padak veren olay Türk basında geniş yankı yapmıştır ve yankıları ertesi yıl içinde de devam etmiştir.

İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, ilk raporlarında bu konuyu sadece bir rüşvet olayı olarak Londra'ya rapor etmişti. Daha sonraki raporlarında ise olayı siyasi bir renge büründürmüştür. 25 Ocakta özetle şunları rapor etmektedir:

"Bu olay, bütünüyle, pek önemli bir iç politika konusudur. Suistimal veya rüşvet, bir bahanedir. Eski İttihatçılardan "Kel" Ali Bey (Çetinkaya) ile İhsan Bey (Eryavuz), Başvekil İsmet Paşa ve Gazi'ye ters düşmüşler. Aralarında tartışma geçmiş. Bunun üzerine, İttihatçı muhalefeti tasfiye etmek amacıyla İhsan Bey'in Yüce Divana sevk edilmesi yoluna gidilmiştir. Ancak, İhsan Bey, vuruşmadan teslim ol-

maz ve belki de tabancalar konuşacaktır. Gazi'nin muhalifleri çoktur; kendisine şu sıralarda bir hal olursa, Türkiye'nin birliğini sağlayabilecek başka bir lider görünmüyor." (No. 74).

Aylarca Türk kamuoyunu uğraştıran Yavuz-Havuz davası 16 Nisan 1928 günü sonuçlanıyor. İhsan Bey, 2 yıl ağır hapis cezasına çarptırılıyor. İngiliz Büyükelçisi, "Gazi bu olaydan başarıyla çıktı, bir Jacobin unsur başarıyla saf dışı edildi" diyor. Bu dava ile suiistimal eğiliminde olanların da uyarılmış olacağını, ancak cezanın hafif kaldığını, yeterince caydırıcı olmayabileceğini ekliyor (No. 81).

Bu, Cumhuriyeti tarihimizde ilk Yüce Divan mahkumiyet kararıdır.

Hemen aynı günlerde, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi eski Ticaret Vekili Ali Cenani Bey'in dokunulmazlığı kaldırılıyor. O da Yüce Divana veriliyor. Etti iki. Tarih 14 Nisan 1928.

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Geliyoruz 1928 yılının Mayıs ayına. Bu ayın en büyük olayı, Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han'ın Ankara'ya ziyaretidir. Bu, başkent Ankara'ya yapılan ilk devlet ziyareti idi, önemliydi.

Amanullah Han, Atatürk'ün ilk ilişki kurduğu yabancı devlet başkanlarından biriydi. Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Atatürk), stratejik bir yaklaşımla, daha 1920 yazında, Amanullah Han'a bir temsilci yollamış, mektup yazmış ve işbirliği önermiştir.

Mart 1921'da Türkiye-Afganistan ittifakı yapılmış. Bunun hemen ardından Amanullah Han, Ankara'ya bir Elçi göndermiş. Ertesi yıl da "Medine Müdafii" Fahrettin Paşa (Türkkan) Türkiye'nin Afganistan Elçiliğine atanmıştır.

Amanullah Han, Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın başarılarını, zaferlerini sevinçle karşılar. "Türkiye'nin sevinci bizim sevincimiz, kederi bizim kederimiz" der içtenlikle. Atatürk ile Amanullah Han arasındaki ilişkiler gitgide sıcak kardeşlik yakınlığına dönüşür.

İki devlet başkanı birbirlerine sık sık mesajlar, iyi dilekler yollarlar. Birbirlerinin bayramlarını, özel günlerini kutlarlar. Acılarını, sevinçlerini paylaşırlar.

Atatürk ile Amanullah Han arasındaki sıcak yakınlık, 1928 yılında doruğa ulaşır. Amanullah Han, eşi Kraliçe Süreyya ile birlikte, 20-27 Mayıs 1928 tarihlerinde Ankara'ya ziyaret eder. Çok sevdiği Atatürk ile birlikte Ankara'da dolu bir hafta geçirir. Başkent Ankara'ya onurlandıran ilk yabancı devlet Başkanı Amanullah Han olmuştur. Bu da Atatürk'ü yürekten sevindirmiştir. Bu tarihi ziyarete Türkiye'de büyük önem verilmiş ve dost Afgan Kralı hoşnut bırakılmıştır.

Amanullah Han, Türkiye'de gördüklerinden, Atatürk devrimlerinden etkilenmiştir. Kendi ülkesinde de benzer reformlar yapmaya karar verir. Fakat Türkiye'ye

Afganistan'ın şartları çok farklıdır. Atatürk, dikkatli olması yolunda dostunu uyarır. Ama Kral Amanullah Han, öğütlere, uyarılara pek aldırmaz etmeksizin reform işine koyulur.

Çok geçmeden Afganistan'da gerici bir ayaklanma patlak verecektir. Bu defa Atatürk, dostu Afgan Kralını gericiliğe karşı korumayı deneyecektir. O tarihte Afganistan'da bulunan Türk askerlerine "hayatlarını ortaya koyarak" Amanullah Han'ı korumaları yolunda emir verecektir. Ancak emir yerini buluncaya kadar Amanullah Han, tahtını bırakıp yurt dışına kaçmak zorunda kalacak, İtalya'nın başkenti Roma'ya yerleşecek ve ömrünün sonuna kadar gurbet elde yaşayacaktır.

Amanullah Han, devrildikten sonra da Atatürk'e karşı dostluğunu sürdürdü. Birkaç kez, özel olarak, Roma'dan Türkiye'ye geldi. Atatürk'le görüştü. Son olarak Kasım 1938'de tekrar Türkiye'ye geldi. Atatürk'ün cenaze töreninde bulundu. Büyük dostuna karşı son saygı görevini yerine getirmiş oldu^{79a}.

Atatürk'ün dostu, Afganistan'ın devrik kralı Amanullah Han, 1892'de Kâbil'de doğmuştu; 1960'da İsviçre'nin Zürih şehrinde öldü.

Tekrar Amanullah Han'ın Ankara ziyaretine dönelim.

Evet, Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Başkenti Ankara'ya gelen ilk yabancı Hükümdar olmuştur. Türkiye ve Atatürk bakımından bu ziyaret, çok anlamlı ve önemli bir olaydı. Çünkü, Ankara başkent olalıdan beri, hiçbir yabancı hükümdar veya devlet başkanı Türkiye'nin yeni başkentine henüz ayak basmamıştı. Başkent Ankara'ya ilk ziyaret şerefi Afganistan'ın genç Kralı Amanullah Han'a ait oldu. Güzel bir Mayıs gününde güzel bir olaydı bu, Türkiye'yi de Atatürk'ü de duygulandıran mutlu etmişti.

O güne kadar hiçbir yabancı Devlet Başkanının Ankara'ya gelmemiş olması bir yana, Türkiye'de görevli bazı yabancı Elçiler bile İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya gelmemek için ayak sürüyor, hatta başkentimizi boykot etmeğe kalkışıyorlardı. İngiltere, Fransa, İtalya gibi eski düşman devletler, özellikle İngiltere, Ankara'ya karşı direnişlerini pek aşırı dereceye vardırmışlardı. Batılı Devletler, başkent değiştirmek Türkiye'nin bir iç işidir dememişler, İstanbul'un tekrar başkent yapılması için Türkiye'ye adeta baskı yapmışlardı. Genç Cumhuriyet Hükümeti, notalarla bir "Ankara Savaşı" vermek durumunda bırakılmıştı. İngiliz diplomatları, "Ankara ancak birkaç yıl başkent kalabilir, İstanbul yine başkent olur" buyurmuşlardı. İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinin hiçbir zaman İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşınmayacağını ilân etmişlerdi. Osmanlı Saltanatı geri gelirse, yani Cumhuriyet yıkılırsa başkent tekrar İstanbul'a taşınır diye ummuşlar ve bunu beklemişlerdi. İngilizler, Türkiye'de muhalefetin palazlanıp başkent konusunu gündeme getirmesini, İstanbul'un tekrar başkent yapılmasını arzulamışlar, beklemişler ve muhalifleri bu konuda yüreklendirmişlerdi. Gerçi Atatürk, Ankara karşıtlarının tümüne, boşuna umutlanmamaları mesajını vermiş, "An-

^{79a} Bkz. Bülal N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Afganistan*, ASAM yayını, Ankara: 2002.

kara, merkez-i hükümettir ve ebediyyen merkez-i hükümet kalacaktır" demişti. Ama, O'nun mermer kazınan bu sözlerine rağmen, 1928 yılında İngiltere halâ başkent Ankara'yı boykot ediyor, İngiliz Büyükelçisi Ankara'ya gelmemek ve İstanbul'da oturmak için inatla direniyordu⁸.

İşte böyle bir zamanda, Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han başkent Ankara'ya resmi bir ziyaret yaptı. Atatürk ve Ankara pek mutlu oldu. Ankaralılar seferber oldular, başkenti güzelleştirmek, haşmetli konukları hoşnut etmek için kolları sıvadılar. Koca koca ağaçlar uzaklardan sökülüp Kralın geçeceği caddelere dikildi ve başkent "bir gecede" yeşillendirildi. "Ankara Palas"ın devam etmekte olan inşaatı hızlandırıldı ve tamamlandı. Ziyaretten birkaç gün önce perdeleri takılan başkent bu ilk modern oteli Afganlı konukların hizmetine sunuldu. Ankara Palas otelinin veya Devlet Konuk evinin ilk konukları Kral Amanullah Han ile Kraliçe Süreyya olmuşlardır.

Afgan Kralının Ankara'yı ziyareti programda özetle şöyle öngörülmüştür:

20 Mayıs 1928. Birinci Gün. Saat 11.30: Ankara İstasyonuna varış.

Kral ve Kraliçe, istasyon rıhtımında Cumhurbaşkanı (Atatürk) tarafından karşılanacak. Cumhurbaşkanının yanında şu zatlar bulunacak: Sağ taraflarında: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı Kâzım Paşa (Özalp), Başvekil İsmet Paşa (İnönü), Hükümet üyeleri, TBMM Başkan Vekilleri, CHP Genel Sekreteri; sol taraflarında: Genelkurmay Başkanı Fevzi Paşa (Çakmak), Yüksek Askeri Şura üyeleri, Genelkurmay İkinci Başkanı ve yardımcısı, Kara, Deniz, Hava Müsteşarları, Müsteşar Yardımcısı, Genel Sekreterler, Başyâverler, Muhafız Kıtaları Kumandanı, Özel Kalem Müdürleri, Yâverler. İstasyonda askeri resm-i selâm ifa edilecek ve askeri kıtalara dikey olarak şu kimseler dizilecekler: Yargıtay Başkanı, Başsavcı, Danıştay Başkanı, Sayıştay Başkanı, Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi Başkanı, Bakanlık Müsteşarları.

Saat 11.45: Cumhurbaşkanı ile Kral ve Kraliçe ve maiyetlerinden sekiz kişi, İstasyon binasından çıkacaklar ve İstasyon meydanında beklemekte olan Ankara Valisi ile Belediye Başkanı, Belediye Meclisinden bir heyet, Emniyet Genel Müdürü, Jandarma Kumandanı ve Polis Müdürü tarafından karşılanacaklardır. Belediye Başkanı hoş geldiniz diye kısa bir konuşma yapacak ve Kraliçeye bir demet çiçek sunacaktır.

Saat 12: Otomobillere binilip Kralın ikametine ayrılan "Ankara Palas" otelinde gidilecek.

Saat 12.10: Kral ve Kraliçe ile Cumhurbaşkanı otele varacaklar ve Protokol Genel Müdürü tarafından dairelerine kadar götürülecekler ve biraz dinlendikten sonra döneceklerdir.

⁸ Bu konuda epeyce yayın yapmış, iki de kitap yayınlamıştık. Daha fazla bilgi için bkz.: Bülül N. Şimşir, *Ankara - Ankara. Bir Başkent'in Doğuşu*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara:1988; *Ankara'nın Başkent Oluşu*, Ankaralılar Vakfı Yayını, Ankara: 2001.

Saat 13 - 14.30: Kral ve Kraliçe ile maiyetlerinin özel öğle yemeği.

Saat 15.30: Kral ve Kraliçe Çankaya'daki Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşküne gidip iadei ziyarette bulunacaklar. Yanlarındaki diğer otomobillerde Prenses Nurissırac ve Huriye Tarzi Hanım, Musahibi Serdar Hasan Han, Başkâtipleri Serdar Ali Gulâm Sıddık Han, Elçi Gulâm Ceylani ve eşi ve mihmandarları bulunacaklar. Köşke varışlarında askeri törenle karşılanacaklardır....

Saat 17: Cumhurbaşkanının uygun göreceği biçimde hareket edilecektir.

Saat 18: Kral, ikametgâhlarında (Ankara Palasta) TBMM Başkanı ile Başbakanı, Genelkurmay Başkanını ve Dışişleri Bakanını kabul edecek.

Saat 20.30: Kral ve Kraliçe şerefine Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından yüz kişilik bir ziyafet verilecek. Ziyafette Cumhurbaşkanı, TBMM Başkanı, Başvekil, Hükümet üyeleri, Divanı Riyaset, Parti Genel Sekreteri, askeri ve mülki erkân hazır bulunacaklar. Cumhurbaşkanı bir nutuk söyleyecek ve Kral buna karşılık verecek....

Ankara ziyaretinin birinci günü böyle tamamlanıyor. *Aynı Tarihi* bu ilk günü şöyle anlatıyor:⁹

İstasyonda bekleyiş:

Ankara şehri en güzel günü yaşıyor. İstasyon caddesinden geçen herkes iki sıra duran Mehmetçiklerin sert fakat sevimli bakışlarıyla karşılaşılıyor...İstasyon meydanında al atların üzerlerinde birer heykel gibi duran mızraklı süvariler var. İstasyon kapısının önünde silindirik şapkalı protokol görevlileri zarif cümlelerle düzeni sağlamaya çalışıyorlar.

Saat on bire doğru Meclis Başkanı, Başkan vekilleri, Hükümet üyeleri, büyük üniformalarıyla askeri erkân, hükümet erkânı birer birer gelmeye başlıyorlar. Herkes programda gösterilmiş yerlerini alıyor. Bakanlar geldikçe protokolcülerin yardımıyla yerlerine geçiriliyorlar. Meclisin sevimli başkanı ve biraz sonra güleç ve neşeli İsmet Paşa geliyor. Nihayet on bir buçuğa doğru Gazi Hazretleri istasyonun arka kapısından görünüyor. Askeri birlikler selâm duruyor. Bando ve muzika selâm havası çalıyor. Şehrin üzerinde uçaklar dolaşıyor.

Konuklar Ankara'da:

Nihayet saat on bir buçuğa doğru bir düdük sesi, aylardan beri beklediğimiz aziz misafirlerimizin gelişini bildiriyor. Defneler arasındaki Türk ve Afgan bayrağı ile süslenmiş lokomotif uzaktan bir müjdeci gibi görünüyor.

Herkes arka vagonun penceresine bakıyor ve misafirlerimizi bir an evvel görebilmek arzusunu hissediyor. Tren duruyor.

⁹ *Aynı Tarihi*, No. 51, Haziran 1928, s. 3369-3373.

Vagonun balkonunda Kral Hazretleri üniformasıyla, Kraliçe sade fakat zarif bir manto giymiş olarak göründüler. Kral ve Kraliçe Hazretlerinin arkasında üniformalı Afgan erkânı,

Takdim töreni:

Gazi Hazretleri iki adım ilerleyerek, kardeş misafirini, 'Türkiye'nin büyük misafirini başıyla selâmlıyor.

Amanullah Hazretleri resmi selâmı ifadan sonra elini Gazi Hazretlerine veriyor ve kalpten gelen bir arzuyla iki el sıkışıyor ve nihayet iki Devlet Reisi ruhlarında toplanan muhabbet ve samimiyeti büsbütün canlandırıyorlar. Gazi Hazretleri ile Amanullah Han Hazretleri kucaklaşıyorlar. Kral Hazretleri sağında duran Kraliçeyi Gazi Hazretlerine takdim ediyor ve Gazi Hazretleri Kraliçenin elini sıkıyor. İstasyonda iki dost ve kardeş memleketin Reislerinin karşılaşukları en canlı an.

Gazi kısa cümlelerle misafirlerine "hoş geldiniz" diyor ve seyahatlerinin iyi geçip geçmediğini soruyor. Sonra tanışurma merasimi başlıyor. Önce Kral, yanındaki-leri Gazi'ye tanıştırıyor. Sonra Gazi, Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa'dan başlayarak Başvekili, vekilleri, askeri erkânı Krala birer birer takdim ediyor. Kral Amanullah Han, Kâbil eski Elçisi Fahrettin Paşa'yı görünce iltifatla kucaklıyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı ile Kral askeri kıtanın önünden geçiyorlar. Kahraman Mehmetçik, sert ve kısa emir karşısında aziz ve büyük misafire resmi tazim görevini yerine getiriyor. İstasyon kapısının sağında bulunan Yargıtay, Danıştay, Sayıştay Başkanları ve Bakanlık Müsteşarları Gazi tarafından Krala takdim ediliyorlar.

Belediye Başkanının söylevi:

İstasyon kapısının tam karşısında Ankara Valisi Vehbi, Belediye Başkanı Asaf, Emniyet Genel Müdürü Rafet, Polis Müdürü Dilaver, Jandarma Alay Kumandanı Tahsin Beyler Krala takdim edildikten sonra Belediye Başkanı Asaf Bey, iki adım ilerleyerek, şunları söyledi:

"Dost ve kardeş milletin Âlişan Hükümdarına Ankara şehrine şeref kudumu anında Ankara halkı ve şehri namına beyanı hoş amedi ve arzı tazimat eylemek gibi şerefli bir vazifenin âcizlerine teveccüh eylemesinden dolayı bahtıyırım."

Kralın cevabı:

Amanullah Han, Belediye Başkanına, *"Sevdiğim bir millet arasında kendimi gördüğümden dolayı mesudum. Ankara halkına teşekkür, hürmet ve selâm ederim"* diye Türkçe olarak karşılık verdi.

Bu söylevlerden sonra Belediye Bakanı Asaf Bey, Kraliçeye zarif bir buket sundu.

Ankara Palasta:

Protokol görevlileri ilerde duran otomobillere işaret veriyor. Bir yanında Kralın, diğer yanında Cumhurbaşkanının küçük bayrakları bulunan üstü açık lüks otomobil geliyor. Gazi, konduğu Amanullah Hanı otomobile bindiriyor, Kraliçenin de binmesini bekliyor, sonra kendisi de binip Kralın sol tarafına oturuyor. Otomobiller, Ankara Palasa hareket ediyorlar.

Ankara Palas önünde halk, dost ülkenin kralını görmek ve alkışlamak için toplanmış. Otomobiller geçtikçe alkışlar yükseliyor. Amanullah Han halkı selâmlıyor. Kral ve Gazi, Kraliçe ve maiyetleri otele giriyorlar. Gazi, misafirlerini dairelerine kadar götürüyor ve salonda beş dakika kadar birlikte oturduktan sonra, dinlenmeleri için misafirlerini bırakıp Çankaya'ya dönüyor.

Bu sırada caddede halkın alkışları dinmiyor, dakikalar geçtikçe yükseliyordu. Bunun üzerine Kral, otelin büyük balkonuna çıkarak, kendisini kalpten kopan bir muhabbet ve samimiyetle alkışlayan halkı selâmlıyor. Fakat Amanullah Hanın her selâmına halkın dakikalarca süren alkışları üzerine Kral, içeri girerek az sonra Kraliçe ile birlikte balkonda görünüyor ve halkı selâmlıyor.

Çankaya'da:

Kral ve Kraliçe, otelde özel surette öğle yemeği yedikten sonra, saat 15.30'da, maiyetleriyle birlikte otelden ayrılp Çankaya'ya gidiyor ve Gazi Hazretlerine iadei ziyarette bulunuyorlar. Muhafız bölüğünden bir süvari kıtası da otomobillerin önünde gidiyor. Kralın otomobilinde Kraliçe ile Afgan Elçisi Gulam Ceylâni Han bulunuyor. Kral ve Kraliçe, yolların iki tarafına toplanmış halkın selâmına hoşnutlukla karşılık veriyorlar ve özellikle çocukların şapkalarını çıkararak içtenlikle selâmlamalarına çok duygulanıyorlar. Böylece Çankaya köşküne varıyorlar.

TBMM'de:

Çankaya köşkünde bir buçuk saat kadar kalan Kral ve Kraliçe, saat 17'de, Cumhurbaşkanı ile birlikte oradan çıkıp Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine gidiyorlar. Cumhurbaşkanı locası ile yandaki Elçiler locası misafirlere tahsis ediliyor. Bu sırada Meclis uluslararası rakamların kabulüyle ilgili yasa tasarısını görüşüyor. Birçok mebus söz alıp görüşlerini açıklıyor. Kral ve Kraliçe ilgiyle izliyorlar. Gazi onlara açıklamalar yapıyor. Görüşmeler tamamlanıyor ve uluslararası rakamların alınmasıyla ilgili yasa alkışlarla kabul ediliyor.

Ondan sonra Mecliste gazilere ve şehit yakınlarına istiklâl madalyaları verilmesi töreni başlıyor. Meclis Başkanı Kâzım Paşa, Başkanlık makamını vekillerinden Rafet Beye bırakıyor, kendisi madalya takmaya koyuluyor. Karahisar Mebusu Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın) Kâtiplik yapıyor. Kral ve Kraliçe, Cumhurbaşkanıyla birlikte bu töreni de izliyorlar. Madalya almak üzere kürsüye çıkan şehit anası ihtiyar bir kadın Afgan Kraliçesinin özellikle dikkatini çekiyor. Bu kadıncağız şehit Mülâzım Murtaza

efendinin annesi Dürrîye hanımıdır. Eski tarz başını örtmüş, evlâdının vatana borçlu olduğu vazifesini yaparken şehit düştüğünü biliyor ve gururla kürsüye yaklaşıyor. Mebuslarla birlikte Kral ve Kraliçe de bu şehit anasını sürekli alkışlıyorlar. Madalya töreni saat 18.30'da sona eriyor. Kral ve Kraliçe, localarından ayrılırken milletvekillerini başlarıyla selâmlıyorlar.

Otelin önünde resmi geçit töreni:

Meclisteki törenden sonra misafirler ve Gazi, Cumhurbaşkanlığı salonuna geçtiler ve salonun önündeki balkona çıkıyorlar. Saat akşam yediye geliyor. Güneş çekilmiş. Ortalık serinlemeye başlamıştır. Gazi, balkondan misafirlerine Ankara'nın etrafını gösteriyor, bazı şeyler anlatıyor, belki başkentin geleceği hakkındaki görüşlerini konuklarıyla paylaşıyor.

Tam bu sırada ortalıkta bir hareket görülüyor. Başlarında Ordu Müfettişi Ali Said ve Kurmay Başkanı Hüseyin Hüsnü Paşalar olduğu halde, göğüslerini savaş meydanlarında kazandıkları madalyalarla, İstiklâl Madalyalarıyla süslemiş olan İstiklâl Harbi kahramanlarının, Muhafız Birliklerinin, öğrencilerin ve izcilerin geçit resmi başlıyor. Kral önünden geçen kahramanları selâmlıyor ve geçit resmini büyük bir ilgiyle izliyor. Kraliçe düzgün adımlarla geçen okul çocuklarını elini kaldırarak sevgiyle selâmlıyor.

Geçit töreni bitince Gazi ve misafirler, İstiklâl marşı nameleri arasında Meclis binasından ayrılıyorlar. Kral ve Kraliçe, her tarafı elektrik ışıklarıyla donatılmış olan otellerine geçiyorlar, Gazi de Çankaya köşküne dönüyor. Bir saat kadar sonra, Cumhurbaşkanının konukları onuruna vereceği resmi yemekte tekrar bir araya geleceklerdir.

Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, 20 Mayıs 1928 akşamı saat 20.30'da, Afganistan Kralı Amanullah Han ve Kraliçe Süreyya onuruna yüz kişilik bir ziyafet verdi. Ziyafette Cumhurbaşkanı, TBMM Başkanı, Başbakan, Hükümet üyeleri, Riyaset Divanı, Halk Partisi Genel Sekreteri, askeri ve mülki erkân hazır bulundu.

Bu yemekte Atatürk aşağıdaki konuşmayı yaptı:

Kral Hazretleri,

Türk Milleti ve Cumhuriyet Hükümeti ve ben, Zatı Hükümdarilerini ve Kraliçe Hazretlerini Türkiye'de görmekle pek ziyade mesrur ve memnunuz.

Kâbil'den hareket buyurulduğu günden beri, seyahatı hükümdarileri safahatını, büyük alâka ve iftiharla takip ediyor ve umumî bir iştiyak ve tahassürle memleketimizi teşriflerine inîzar ediyorduk.

Bugün kardeş Afgan milletini, asil ve kıymetli şahıslarında temsil eden, bira-deri hassım Kral Hazretlerini ve muhterem Kraliçe Hazretlerini Hükümet merke-zimiz Ankara'da Türk milleti ve Türk devleti namına şahsen selâmlamakla bahüya-rım.

Huzzarı kıram;

Afgan milleti ile menşei Orta Asya olan ecdadımız arasındaki münasebetler ve uhuvvet rabıtaları pek kadimdir. Tarihın silinmez sahifeleri, o münasebetlerin ebedî hâtıralarıyla doludur.

İki kadim ve kahraman milletin bugünkü evlâtları, bizler, medarı intibah olan o sahifeleri, büyük alâka ile mütalea etmeliyiz. Orada Afgan milletiyle Türk milleti- nin bir safta, aynı gayeye yürüdüğü ve müşterek şanlar ve zaferler kazandığı görülecektir. Tarihın o lâyemut mazbutatı; bize kardeş hislerini ve rabıtalarını, kıymetli bir miras-ı müşterek olarak bırakmış olan, Afganlı ve Türk babalarımızın bugünkü siyasî hudutlarımızın haricindeki sahalarda dahi, devletler kurmakta yekdiğerine halef ve selef olduklarını göstermektedir.

İşte bugünkü Afgan ve Türk milletleri, sayısız asırların ve büyük kıtaların içine hâtıralar ve ananeler salan büyük milletlerin evlâtlarıdır.

Aziz dostumuz Kral Hazrederi!

Tarihın ne garip tecellileri, dünya hâdiselerinin ne mânidar tesadûf ve müşahebetleri vardır. Zau Hükümdarileri, 1919'da kahraman Afgan milletin başında olarak, Asya'nın ortasında, istiklâl için mücadeleye aulırken, biz de aynı tarihte, burada, Avrupa'nın şarkında, bütün medenî cihanın pişi enzarında, istiklâl ve hürriyetimize vurulan darbelere, göğüslerimizi siper ederek doğuşuyorduk.

Size ve bize çektirilen bunca âlâm-ı ıstıraptan bahse hacet yoktur. Yalnız istiklâl ve hürriyet âşkı milletler için, o ıstırap anları, o ıstırap sebepleri, o ıstırap âmilleri, teyakkuz ve intibah medarı olmak üzere daima tahattur olunmalıdır.

İstiklâl ve hürriyetlerini her ne bahasına ve her ne mukabilinde olursa olsun, ihlâl ve takyide asla müsamaha etmemek, istiklâl ve hürriyetlerini bütün mânasıyla masun bulundurmamak; ve bunun için icap ederse, son ferdinin son damla kanını akıtarak tarihini şanlı misal ile tezyin etmek; işte istiklâl ve hürriyetin hakikî mahiyetini, şâmil mânasını, yüksek kıymetini, vicdanında idrak etmiş milletler için esasî ve hayatî prensip...Ancak bu prensip uğrunda her türlü fedakârlığı, her an, ifaya müheyya ve kadir bulunan milletlerdir ki, mütemadiyen beşeriyetin hürmet ve riâyetüne lâyık bir heyeti içtimaiye olarak mütalea olunabilir. Afgan milleti ve Türk milleti, bu iki kardeş millet, bu prensibin hakikî sâlikleri olduklarını fiilen ispat ettiler.

Afgan milleti ile Türk milletin tarihi olan uhuvvet rabıtalarını tarsîn ve teyid eden başlıca âmili de, her iki milletin, şerefli mevcudiyetleri ve âli mefkûreleri için, istiklâl ve hürriyet prensibine, aynı kuvvet ve imanla sarılmalarında aramalıdır.

İstiklâl ve itibarını cihana tanıtmak evsaf, liyakat ve kudretinde olan milletlerin, medeniyet yolunda da serî ve muvaffak adımlarla ilerlemek istidatları, teslim olunmak lâzımdır. Gerçi bir heyeti içtimaiyenin zamanla kökleşmiş, örf ve âdet,

hissiyat ve telâkkiyatı mühimdir. Bu itibarla, içtimai heyetler, müteşebbis fertler üzerinde, âdeta âmir ve hâkimî tesir icra ederler. Fakat, fıtrî istidat ve liyakatı, inkişaf ve itilâya mazhar olmuş milletler; medeniyetin bugünkü terakkilerinden feyiz ve ilham almış münevver evlâdları saika ve delâletlerle, mazide fevî ettikleri fırsatların tevdi ettiği tevhüratı telâfi çaresi bulmakta gecikmezler. Bu hususta heyetü içtimaiyeye hüsnü delâletün müessir ve müsmir olduğuna da şüphe yoktur.

Muhterem Kral Hazretleri!

Bu münasebetle, pek ziyade haz ve takdirle takip ve müşahade etmekte olduğum bir hakikati arz etmeme müsaade buyurmanızı rica ederim. Zatı Hükümdarileri, asıl Afgan milletinin başına geçer geçmez, yalnız millet ve memleketinize istiklâl-i tam kazandırmakla iktifa etmediniz. O güzel ve feyyaz memleketinizde zamanın yitirdiği mâmureleri, bugünün terakkیاتile mütenasip bir surette, ihya ve ilâya başladınız. Devletinizin teşkilâtını tanzim ettiniz. Cesur ve kahraman ordunuzu yeniden tensik ve tarsin buyurdunuz. Maarif işlerinde mühim hatveler atınız. İçtimai hayatta, mahsus hamleler gösterdiniz. Bütün bu şuurlu ve ruhlu icraat ve faaliyet ülkenizin ve milletinizin mâmuriyet ve medeniyet sahasında, lâyk olduğu yüksek mevkie suûd zamanının gecikmeyeceğini zâmindir.

Kral Hazretleri!

Medenî ve teceddütkârane ıslâhat yolundaki faaliyet ve mesainizin ne kadar huzur ve sükûn istilzam ettiğini takdir ve buna mazhariyetinizi samimiyyetle temenni ederim. Gerçi Afganistan'ın coğrafi vaziyeti ve bu sebeple devletinizin siyasi şeraiti mühim, ciddi ve naziktir. Tarih, bu ehemmiyet ve nezaketin, içinde bulunulan şerait ve ahval ne olursa olsun; bir an nazarı dikkatten dır tutulmamasını âmirdir. Hatta vehim ve vesveseyle!

Fakat, derakıp beyan etmeliyim ki, Afganistan'ın Hindikuş'u ile çetin ve sert tabiatı ve Afgan milletinin müspet zekâ, cesaret ve kahramanlığı ve bilhassa Afgan devletinin mümtaz Hükümdarının yüksek şahsiyeti, her türlü ihtimalin karşısında katıyet ve kudretle yükselen bir âbidedir. Biz bunu biliyor ve kalbî hislerle takdir ediyoruz.

Sizi ve milletinizi cidden seven Türk milletinin Reisi olarak, samimen arz ediyim ki, Afganistan'ın maddî ve mânevî terakki ve teâlisi yolunda teşebbüslerinizin, az zamanda husûl-pezîr olduğunu görmek, bizim ahassî âmalımızdır. Muvaffakiyetinizin muhakkak olduğuna iminanimiz katıdır. Bu hususta, bir kardeş millete, tabiaten teveccüh eden vazife ve mükellefiyetleri, Türk devleti, istitâat dairesinde ifaya şitaban olmaktadır.

Afganistan'ın kıymetli Hükümdarı Amanullah Hazretleri,

İstikbalin yüksek ufuklarından tulûa başlayan güneş, asırlardan beri ısırap çeken milletlerin taliidir! Bu taliin aruk bir daha siyah bulutlara bürünmemesi, milletlerin ve onların pişvalarının ihtimam ve fedakârlığına vabestedir.

*Afgan devletinin ve zikudret Hükümdarının ve pek muhterem Kraliçe Hazretlerinin talii tealisi parlak olsun!..*¹⁰

Bu tarihi konuşma üzerinde dikkatle durmak ve Atatürk'ün söyledikleri üzerinde tekrar düşünmek gerekir.

Atatürk'ün o konuşmasına karşılık olarak, Amanullah Han aynı ziyafette aşağıdaki konuşmayı yapmıştır:

Aziz ve Âlicenâb Kardeşim,

Aziz Türkiye toprağına muvasalat ve mümtaz Zatının ve biraderimiz Türk Milletile vukua gelen mülâkat münasebetile duymakta olduğum nihayetsiz kalbî sürurumu zaptedemiyorum. İşte bu benim temsil ettiğim Afgan Milletinin biraderane ihsasatıdır. Çünkü kadim alâkalar, âdat ve etvarın tevafuk-u seyrin tekâmülü bu iki şeci ve fedakâr milletin ruhl ve kalbî rabitalarını birbirine o kadar merbut kılmıştır ki, eğer bunları bu ruha ve aynı hissiyatı mihribanâneye malik iki cisme teşbiye etsek mevzudan hariç bir şey söylemiş olmayız. Tabiat dahi bu iki milletin yeni hayatının tarihini bir zamanda başlatıyor. Yani Afgan Milleti şerefli bir hayat istihsal etmek için benim emrim altında müttehid-ül kâme olarak mesai ibrazına başladığı zaman, necib Türk milleti dahi bir güzide ve dâna Zaunızın rehnûmalığıyle hukuku meşruasını isürdat için merdane mücahedeye kıyam etmiş idi. Vukubulan milli mesai hiçbir asırda neticesiz kalmadığı gibi bu iki gayyur milletin mücahedeleri de menfaatle dolu neticeler intac eyledi ve bu iki millet mevcudiyetlerini ve yaşamak haklarını nedeni dünya muvacehesinde isbata muvaffak oldular. Biz iki birader ve refik-i mesaiyiz ve bu iki kardeş milletin mukadderat-ı âtiye sefinesini idare ve memleketlerimizde asr-ı hâzır terakkiyatını istihsal için müsterek makasid ve vezayif sahibiyiz. Afgan Milleti kendisine biraderlik noktai nazarından teveccüh eden vazifelerin ifasına istitatu derecesinde müheyyâdır.

Muhterem Reis Hazretleri!

Aziz Türkiye'nin faaliyet ve kudret numunesi olan Zatu Devletünüzün gece gündüz çektiğiniz zahmetler neticesinde hasıl eylediği bugünkü terakkiyatı ben ve aziz Milletim memnuniyet ve ifûhar ile dolu gözler ile görmekteyiz. Necib Türk Milletinin terakki ve teali yolunda attığı her adımdan dolayı Afgan Milleti müftehir olmaktadır. Biz Zatu Âlinizin genç Türkiye'yi dokuz sene zarfında ne büyük terakki pâyelerine çıkardığınızı, ne gibi ihtiyaçlardan kurtardığınızı ve bu kahraman milletin saadet ve kuvvetini nasıl istihsal buyurduğunuzu imtinân ve şükran ile dolu bir göz ile görüyoruz. Ben katı bir imtinân ve kanaat ile genç Türkiye'nin parlak istikbalini görmekteyim. Sizi bunun yegâne âmili bildiğim cihetle Zatu biraderimize karşı büyük bir hissi muhabbet ve halel-i nâpezîr bir imtinân duymaktayım.

¹⁰ *Aynı Tarihi*, Haziran 1928, ss. 3374-3376; *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri-II*, Ankara: 1959, s. 248-251.

Türk Milletinin Kıymetli Kumandanı Reis Hazretleri,

Ben ve Kraliçe, benim ile aziz Milletim hakkında derin biraderlik hissiyatını ve Türk Milletinin lütfunu gösteren Zâu Âlinizin samimiyet ile dolu sözlerinizden ve hidematı milliyeme taalluk eden takdiratınızdan dolayı teşekküratı kalbiyemizi tecdid eder ve Aziz Türk Milletinin terakki ve tealisini ve Türkiye'nin yegâne nâcisi olan Zâu Devletinizin ömür ve âliyetinin devamını temenni eylerim¹¹.

Atatürk'ün ve Amanullah Han'ın 20 Mayıs 1928 akşamı resmi yemekte yapmış oldukları yukarıdaki konuşmalar, Fransızcaya çevrilip yabancı Elçiliklere ve basına da verilmişti. Türkiye'deki İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk, 22 Mayıs günü bu çevirileri Londra'ya gönderirken Atatürk'ün konuşması hakkında bazı yorumlarda da bulundu. Özetle şunları söyledi:

"Gazi'nin konuşması, kardeş millet yararına bazı ilkeleri içereceği, bu nedenle Gazi'nin buna özellikle önem verdiği bir süredir söyleniyordu.

Konuşmada, kanının son damlasına kadar bağımsızlığını savunması gerektiği Afganistan'a haurulanıyor. Krala da, terakki yolunda Gazi'nin cesareti ve kararlılığı ile yürümesi salık veriliyor. Ancak Mustafa Kemal, Türk ve Afgan kardeşliğini vurgularken, Afganistan'ın Asya, Türkiye'nin ise Avrupa olduğu gerçeğini de belirtme gereğini duyuyor.

Konuşmasında Afganistan'a doğrudan yapılacak yardımlara da değinen Gazi, ancak bu yardımların, Türkiye'nin "imkânları ölçüsünde" (istitâatı dairesinde) olacağını belirterek, sınırlandırılmasına da özen gösteriyor.

Cumhurbaşkanı, Afganistan'ın coğrafi durumuna ve dolayısıyla ülkenin ciddi ve nazik siyasi şartlarına imada bulunuyor ve açıkça Hindikuş'tan söz ediyor. Buna bakarak konuşması İngiltere aleyhtarı bir tonda imiş gibi görülebilir. Ankara'daki Rus Büyükelçisi Bay Suritz belki bunu böyle okuyup keyiflenecektir, ama ben böyle bir yoruma kaulamam. Gazi, Afganistan'ın iki büyük ve güçlü devlet arasında zor bir yolda olduğunu söylemek istemiştir. "Bana bakınız. Hür ve bağımsız olmak istiyorsanız, bunu konuşmak işe yaramaz, benim gibi yapmanız, bağımsızlık için savaşmanız gerekir" demeye getirmiştir. Gerek Mısır'ın, gerek Afganistan'ın önündeki engel İngiltere'dir, ama bunun sorumlusu Gazi değildir. Bu durum Gazi'nin İngiltere ile ilişkilerini de etkilemez. Çünkü O, İngiltere ile olan kendi zorluklarını halletmiştir.

Gazi'nin İngiltere yanlısı olduğunu söylemek istemiyorum. Ama bugün Onun İngiltere ve Batılı Devletler ile mümkünse yakınlaşmaya çalıştığı kanısındayım.

Tarih araştırmacıları için şu nokta da ilginç olabilir: Gazi'nin ve Amanullah'ın konuşmalarında İslâm kelimesi bir defa bile geçmiyor." (No. 82).

¹¹ *Aynı Tarihli*, Haziran 1928, s. 3376; Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları I*, s.34-35.

İngiliz Büyükelçisinin değindiği noktalar bunlardır. Birkaç noktaya da biz değinelim.

Atatürk, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin başkenti Ankara'da ilk defa bir Hükümdar ağırlamaktan mutlu olmuştur. Bunu açıkça belirtiyor: "Birader-i hassım Kral Hazretlerini ve muhterem Kraliçe Hazretlerini hükümet merkezimiz Ankara'da Türk milleti ve Türk devleti namına şahsen selâmlamakla bahtıyarım" diyor.

Bu sözlerde dosta düşmana bir mesaj vardır. Başkent Ankara'yı boykot edenler, Türkiye başkentinin bir gün yine İstanbul'a taşınabileceğini hayal edenler, hatta "Ankara'nın nesini seversin? İstanbul'a gitmesini" diye tatsız espri yapanlar görsünlerdi. İşte, Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı, Cumhuriyetin başkenti Ankara'da bir Kral ağırlıyordu artık. Ankara'nın başkentlik statüsü, bir Devlet ziyaretiyle de pekiştiriliyor, vurgulanıyordu. İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya gelmemek, Türkiye'nin yeni başkentinde oturmamak için direnen İngiliz Büyükelçisinin oyunu bozulmuştu. İngilizin horlamaya kalktığı Ankara'yı bir Kral şereflendiriyordu. İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk, Türkiye Yıllık Raporunda, "1928'de Ankara, başkent olarak durumunu pekiştirdi...Avrupalılar, Ankara'yı başkent olarak kabul ettiler" diyecekti (No. 113/Ek).

Bu bir başlangıçtı, bunun arkası gelecekti.

Amanullah Han, Aralık 1927'de uzun bir dış geziye çıkmış, Mısır'dan başlayarak sırasıyla Fransa, Belçika, İsviçre, Almanya, İngiltere ve Rusya'yı dolaşmıştı. Altı aydan beri Afganistan'dan uzaktaydı ve nihayet Rusya'dan sonra Türkiye'ye gelmişti. Türkiye, Kralın uzun gezisinin son durağıydı.

Gazi Mustafa Kemal ise Cumhurbaşkanı seçildikten sonra hiç yurt dışına çıkmamış, dokuz yıl boyunca Ankara'dan İstanbul'a bile gitmemişti. Afgan Kralının aylar süren bu dış gezisini uzaktan uzağa merakla ve her halde hayretle izlemişti. Konuşmasında, Kralın uzun seyahatinin her safhasını "büyük alâka ve ifüharla takip ediyor idik" diyor ve Kralı sabırsızlıkla Türkiye'ye beklediklerini söylüyor. Konuşmasının ilersinde Amanullah Hanı açıkça uyarmaktan geri kalmıyor. "*Devletinizin siyasi şartları önemlidir, ciddidir ve naziktir. Tarih, bu ehemmiyet ve nezaketin...bir an bile gözden uzak tutulmamasını âmiridir*" diyor. "*Hatta vehim ve vesveseyle!*" diye vurguluyor. Bir Hükümdara bundan daha açık uyarı olamaz.

Atatürk, Amanullah Han'ın pek yakında devrilebileceğini sanki sezmiştir. Onu uyarmayı adeta görev bilmiştir. Tarihi hatırlatmıştır. Afganistan Afganistan olalıdan beri kaç Emirin devrildiğini, kaçının öldürüldüğünü hatırlatmak istemiştir. Sanki şöyle demek istiyor gibidir: "Aziz Kardeşim, nedir bu tedbirsizlik? Nedir bu gamsızlık? Almışsın aileni yanına, ülkeden ülkeye dolaşıp duruyorsun. Arkana baktığın yok. Oysa Afganistan'ın durumu pek naziktir. Bunu bir an bile aklından çıkarma. Hatta kuruntulu, kuşkulu ol, ama tedbirsiz olma. Daha dün çadırında kurşunlanmış olan öz babanı hatırla, Afganistan tarihini hatırla..."

Atatürk, Amanullah Han'ın Afganistan'da gerçekleştirmeye çalıştığı yenilikleri "pek ziyade haz ve takdirle" izlediğini söylüyor. Ancak, Afgan toplumunun tutucu özelliğine de Kralın dikkatini çekiyor. Afganistan, Türkiye'ye pek benzemiyordu, aynı evrimi yaşamamıştı. Türkiye, Cumhuriyete gelinceye kadar neler neler görüp geçirmişti? Nizam-ı Cedid, Tanzimat, Islahat, Birinci Meşrutiyet, İkinci Meşrutiyet ve nihayet İstiklâl Harbi. Afganistan tarihinde ise bu devreler, bu evreler ve onların bıraktığı kurumlar, tecrübeler, birikimler ve hauralar hemen hiç yok gibiydi. Bunların yerine kökleşmiş örf ve âdetler, hassasiyetler vardı. Atatürk, bunların önemli olduğunu, gözden kaçırılmaması gerektiğini söylüyor. O kadar ki bu örf ve âdetler, girişken insanların önünü kesebilir, hatta onlara hükmedebilirdi. Amanullah Han da girişken bir Kraldı, reform yanlısıydı. Ama ve lâkin dikkatli olmak durumundaydı, yoksa o kökleşmiş örf ve âdetler, o hassasiyetler ciddi sorun yaratabilirdi. Fakat toplumun aydın evlâtları da vardı. Onların yardımıyla topluma doğru yolu göstermek, iyi önderlik etmek etkili ve verimli olabilirdi....

Atatürk, Amanullah Han'ın ziyareti için iyi hazırlanmış, Afganistan tarihini de incelemiştir. Konuşmasında Türk-Afgan ilişkileri tarihine, Türk ve Afgan halklarının geçmişteki ilişkilerine genişçe yer veriyor. Doğru tespitler, yerinde değerlendirmeler yapıyor. Tarihçilerin bu değerlendirmeler üzerine eğilmeleri ve bunları derinleştirmeleri yararlı olur.

Tarihi doğru olarak değerlendirdiği gibi geleceği de açık seçik görmektedir Atatürk. Ufukun ötesini görmektedir. Konuşmasının sonunda, "*Geleceğin yüksek ufuklarından doğmaya başlayan güneş, yüzyıllardan beri çile çeken ulusların talihi-dir!*" diyor. Sömürgecilerin boyunduruğu altında ezilen Asya ve Afrika halklarının yakın bir gelecekte hür ve bağımsız olacaklarını müjdeliyor. Doğmakta olan bu güneşin aruk bir daha kara bulutlara bürünmemesi millederin ve onların önderlerinin fedakârlığına bağlı olduğunu da belirtiyor. Yani hürriyet verilmez, alınır; bağımsızlık verilmez, alınır, demek istiyor.

Bütünuyla, Atatürk'ün bu konuşması, iyi hazırlanmış, güçlü ve değerli bir tarihi belgedir. Ancak dili oldukça eskidir.

Afgan Kralı ve maiyeti bir hafta Ankara'da kalıyorlar.

21 Mayıs 1928 Pazartesi yani ziyaretinin ikinci günü, askeri üniformasını giymiş olan Kral saat 11.30'da, mihmandarları Fahrettin (Altay) ve Naci (İldeniz) Paşalarla birlikte Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine geliyor ve tören salonunda, Türkiye'de görevli yabancı Elçileri ve maslahatgüzarları kabul ediyor. Resmi kabul bitince Kral, maiyetiyle birlikte oteline dönüyor.

O gün saat 13'te Kral ve Kraliçe ile maiyetlerini taşıyan otomobiller, mızraklı süvarilerin arasında Çankaya'da, Başvekil İsmet Paşa'nın konağına gidiyorlar. Konağın kapısında karşılanıyorlar. İsmet Paşa, Kral ve Kraliçe onuruna konağında

özel bir öğle yemeği veriyor. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi M. Kemal, TBMM Başkanı Kâzım Paşa ve eşi, Cevriye Tarzi Hanım da yemeğe katılıyorlar.

Saat 16'da Cumhurbaşkanı ve konuklar, konaktan çıkıp at yarışlarına gidiyorlar. Tribünleri doldurmuş olan halk Cumhurbaşkanı ile Afgan Kralının geldiğini görünce heyecanlanıyor ve daha Afgan marşı çalmağa başlamadan ayağa fırlıyor. Önce Kraliçe, ardından Kral ve Cumhurbaşkanı özel tribünlere geçiyor ve halkla birlikte neşeyle at yarışlarını seyrediyorlar.

O gün saat 20.30'da Hariciye Vekili Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras) Kral ve Kraliçe onuruna büyük bir ziyafet veriyor. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi M. Kemal, Kordiplomatik ve Kralın maiyetinden üst düzey erkân ziyafette hazır bulunuyorlar...

Kordiplomatikten Rus, Alman, İtalyan, Macar, İsveç, Danimarka, Arnavutluk, Çekoslovakya Elçileri eşli olarak; İngiliz, Amerikan, Romanya, Bulgar, Hollanda, Belçika, Yunan, İspanya Elçileri de eşsiz olarak yemeğe katılıyorlar. Japon, Irak, Polonya, Avusturya, Fransa ve Mısır Maslahatgüzarları da davette hazır bulunuyorlar....

Saat 20.30'dan 22.30'a kadar süren yemeği bir suare izliyor. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Musiki Heyeti tarafından 150 kişilik bir konser veriliyor....

23 Mayıs 1928 Çarşamba akşamı, Afgan Kralı, Ankara Palasta Gazi Hazretleri şerefine bir yemek vermiş ve yemeğe yabancı Elçiler de davet edilmişlerdir....

25 Mayıs 1928 Cuma: Afgan Kralı ve Kraliçesinin Ankara'da altıncı günüdür. O gün, Ankara'da, Türkiye ile Afganistan Arasında Dostluk ve İşbirliği Antlaşması imzalanmıştır. Antlaşmayı Türkiye adına Dışişleri Bakanı Dr. Tevfik Rüştü (Aras), Afganistan adına da Hariciye Veziri Vekili Serdari Âlâ Gulam Sıddık imzalamışlardır.

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir George Clerk, Afgan Kralının ziyareti sırasında Ankara'da bulunmuş, davetlere katılmış, ziyareti yakından izleyip Londra'ya rapor etmiştir.

27 Mayıs 1926 Pazar. Afgan Kral ve Kraliçesi Ankara'dan İstanbul'a uğurlanmışlardır. Uğurlamada Mısır ve Irak Elçileri ile İran maslahatgüzarı da hazır bulunmuşlardır. Gazi, Krala bir murassa kılıç ile kendi fotoğrafını hediye etmiştir.

İngiliz Büyükelçisi, yıl sonunda tamamlanan Türkiye Yıllık Raporunda özetle şöyle diyor:

"1928'de Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han, Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ziyaretin başarılı geçmesi için Türkiye elinden geleni yaptı. Ziyaret sırasında dostluk antlaşması imzalandı. Türkiye, Afganistan'a yardım ve desteği sınırlı ölçüde tuttu. Bu ülkeye uzmanlar göndermeyi taahhüt etti. Türk Hükümeti Afganistan'da çıkan ayaklanmadan kaygılandı ve İngiltere'den kuşkulandı." (No. 113/Ek).

İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, Türkiye'deki kordiplomatik hakkında yıllık raporlar hazırlıyordu. Bu raporlarda, yabancı misyon şefleri, Büyükelçiler, Elçiler, İşgüderler (veya maslahatgüzarlar) diye ayrı bölümler altında tanıtılıyor, yıl içindeki değişiklikler anlatılıyordu. 1928 yılına kadarki raporlarda, Türkiye'deki misyon şefleri a) İstanbul'da oturanlar, b) Ankara'da oturanlar diye ikiye ayrılıyordu. 1928 yılı raporunda bu ayırmadan vazgeçilmiştir. Çünkü artık Ankara'nın başkentlik statüsü iyice pekişmiş ve İngilizlerce de kabul edilmişti. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin değişmez başkenti-nin Ankara olduğu, artık iyice kavranmıştı. Büyükelçi Sir G. Clerk, *"Bütün diplomatik işler artık Ankara'da yürütülüyor. Dolayısıyla kordiplomatığı Ankara'da oturanlar-İstanbul'da oturanlar diye ikiye ayırmaya gerek kalmamıştır. Başkent Ankara'da Elçilik ve Büyükelçilik binaların yapımı devam ediyor.. Kordiplomatikte Başkent Ankara'ya taşınma hareketi görülüyor."* diyordu (No. 75).

Atatürk zamanında yer yüzünde bağımsız devletlerin sayısı 40 kadardı ve Türkiye'nin dünyadaki Türk elçiliklerinin sayısı en fazla 26 olmuştu.¹² 1928 yılında Türkiye'de de toplam 26 yabancı diplomatik misyon şefi vardı: 7 Büyükelçi, 17 Elçi ve 2 maslahatgüzar. **Büyükelçiler:** Afganistan, Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere, İran, İtalya ve Sovyetler Birliği. **Elçiler:** Avusturya, Belçika, Bulgaristan, Çekoslovakya, Danimarka, Hollanda, Irak, İspanya, İsveç, İsviçre, Macaristan, Mısır, Polonya, Romanya, Vatikan, Yugoslavya, Yunanistan, **İşgüderler:** Arnavutluk ve Japonya (No. 112/Ek).

1928'de Türkiye'deki kordiplomatikte epeyce değişiklikler olmuş, sekiz yeni Elçi Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e güven mektubunu sunup Türkiye'de göreve başlamışlardır: Fransa, Danimarka, Irak, İran, İsviçre, Polonya, Yugoslavya ve Yunanistan Elçileri.

Bunlardan Fransa Büyükelçisi Kont de Chambrun'un güven mektubunu sunması dolayısıyla ufak bir sorun yaşanmıştır: Gazi, Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han'ı uğurladıktan bir hafta sonra, yaz tatilini geçirmek üzere İstanbul'a gitti ve 5 Haziran'da Amanullah Han'ın boşalttığı Dolmabahçe sarayına yerleşti. Burada yeni alfabe hazırlıklarıyla ilgilenmeye koyuldu. Yeni Fransız Büyükelçisi de Chlambrun tam bu sırada Türkiye'ye geldi ve güven mektubunu İstanbul'da Cumhurbaşkanı'na sunmak istedi. Bu arzusu kabul edilmedi. Çünkü, kural olarak yabancı Elçiler başkentte otururlar ve güven mektuplarını da başkentte Devlet başkanlarına sunarlardı. Dolayısıyla yeni Fransız Büyükelçisi de güven mektubunu sunabilmek için Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi'nin Ankara'ya dönüşünü beklemek durumunda kaldı. Bu, bir Büyükelçi için biraz sıkıntılı bir durumdu ve diplomatlar arasında konu oldu. Gazi, İstanbul'dan ayrıldıktan sonra doğrudan Ankara'ya dönmedi ve yeni alfabe tanıtmak için uzunca bir yurt gezine çıktı. Fransız Büyükelçisi ancak Eylül sonunda güven mektubunu sunabildi. İngiliz Büyükelçisi 4 Ekim'de bunu şöyle rapor ediyor:

¹² Bülül N. Şimşir, *Bizim Diplomatlar*, Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara:1996, s. 18.

"Gazi Ankara'ya döndü ve Fransız Büyükelçisi Kont de Chambrun 28 Eylülde nihayet güven mektubunu sundu. Büyükelçi sıcak bir konuşma yapmış, Gazi de aynı şekilde karşılık vermiştir. Ama Suriye sınırı gibi konularda masaya oturunca Türklerin tutumu pek yumuşak olmaz sanırım." (No. 94).

1928 içinde bir başka diplomatik hareket, İtalya Dışişleri Bakanlığı Müsteşarı Signor Grandi'nin eşiyle birlikte Türkiye'yi ziyareti olmuştur. Grandi, 16 Aralık günü İstanbul'a gelmiş, ertesi gün Ankara'ya geçmiş, 19 Aralık günü Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal tarafından da kabul edilmiştir. Gazi'nin kişiliğinden çok etkilendiğini söyleyen Grandi, Ankara'dan memnun dönmüştür (No. 103 & 105).

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1928 yılı belgeleri arasında, "İleri Gelen Türk Şahsiyetleri" başlıklı bir rapor da yer almaktadır. Türkiye'deki İngiliz Büyükelçiliği tarafından hazırlanmıştır. (No. 73). Bu raporda, kalburüstü 69 kişi hakkında biyografik bilgiler ve İngiliz gözüyle değerlendirmeler bulunmaktadır. "Türkiye'de Kim Kimdir", geçmişte "Türkiye'de Kim Kim İdi" türünden biyografik ansiklopediler bizde yok denecek kadar azdır. "Türk İstiklâl Harbinde Kim Kim İdi?", "Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin İlk Yıllarında Kim Kim İdi?" konulu ansiklopedik araştırmalarımız yoktur. Atatürk dönemindeki etkili ve yetkili kişiler hakkındaki bilgilerimizde boşluklar vardır. Dolayısıyla, bu alanlarda araştırma yapacak olanlar, o yıllarda Türkiye'nin seçkin kişilerini merak edenler, "İleri Gelen Türk Şahsiyetleri" başlıklı raporda epeyce bilgi bulacaklardır. Gazi'nin yakın çevresi, O'nun siyasi karşıları, tanınmış politikacılar, bakanlar, mebuslar, profesörler, gazeteciler, generaller, elçiler vs. Raporda değerlendirilmiştir. Türkiye'de o tarihlerde henüz soyadı olmadığından, rapora alınan kişiler öz adlarına göre sıralanmıştır. Liste, Abdülhalik (Renda) Beyden Zekâî (Apaydın) Beye kadar uzanmaktadır. Raporda yer alan 69 seçkin kişilerin tam listesi özetlerde verilmiştir (No. 73'e Ek).

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1928'de Türkiye ekonomisi kısaca şöyle değerlendiriliyor:

Türkiye, maliyesini sağlam temellere oturtmağa çalışıyor. Bu amaçla 1928'de Osmanlı Borçları (kuponlar) sorununu halletti ve Anadolu Demiryollarını satın aldı. (Anadolu Demiryolları: Haydarpasa-Ankara, Arifiye-Adapazarı, Eskişehir-Konya, Alayunt-Kütahya hatlarından oluşmaktaydı). Türk Hükümeti, denk bütçeyi sürdürmeye çalışıyor. Ama ekonomik zorlukların tam üstesinden gelebilmiş değildir. Türkiye, dış kredi almıyor. Harcamalarını, özellikle askeri harcamalarını kısmıyor. İddialı demiryolu projelerini bütçe gelirleriyle finanse etmeye çalışıyor.

Yıl içinde Türkiye, kurak bir son bahar ve çetin bir kış geçirmiş, bu yüzden 1928'de iyi ürün alamamıştır ve hayvanlar telef olmuştur. Bu durum ticareti olumsuz etkilemiştir. Ticarete gerileme olmuştur. Türkiye'ye ihracat yapan ülkeler sıra-

ıyla İtalya, ABD, Almanya, Fransa, Çekoslovakya'dır. Türkiye'nin başlıca ihraçat ürünleri tütün, kuru meyve, yün, balı, kılın, pamuktu. Bunları ihraç ettiği ülkelere sırayla: İtalya, ABD, Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere, Yunanistan, Suriye, Mısır, Rusya ve Hollanda olmuştur. 1928-1929 bütçesinde Türkiye'nin gelirleri 207 173 150, giderleri 207 160 388 TL olmuştur.

Askeri işlere gelince, 1928'de Türk Genelkurmayı ile yabancı askeri ataşeler arasındaki ilişkilerde iyileşme olmuş. Kara kuvvetlerinin gücünde ve teşkilatında pek değişiklik olmamıştır. Piyade için dağ topları sipariş edilmiş. Askerin üniformalarında ve teçhizatında büyük iyileşme olmuştur. Hava Kuvvetleri 180 uçaktan ve üç gruptan oluşuyor: Fokkerler, Diyarbakır ve İzmir. Eğitim Fokkerler ve İzmir'de veriliyor. Deniz Kuvvetlerinin mevcudu 800'ü subay olmak üzere toplam 4800'dür. Dextroyer ve denizaltı satın alımı için ihale açılmıştır. "Birinci İnönü" ve "İkinci İnönü" denizaltıları İstanbul'a gelmiş ve birkaç dahî tatbikatı yapmışlardır...

+

1929 yılı bu cildin son bölümünü oluşturmaktadır. Bu yıl başında açılan "Millet Mektepleri", halka yeni yazıyla okuma yazma öğretmeye başlamıştır. İsmet Paşa'nın ifadesiyle, "mukaddes ve tarihi bir vazife" üstlenmiştir. Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal, Millet Mekteplerinin başöğretmenidir. Yeni Türk harfleri ülkede yaygınlaşmakta ve yerleşmektedir.

Yeni yazı hareketi bir yana bırakılırsa, 1929 yılı, bir önceki yıla göre biraz durgun bir yıl görünümündedir. Cumhuriyetin ilk beş yılında görülen birbirinden önemli şaşırtıcı atılımlar, 1929'da görülüyor. Devrimlere sanki ara verilmiştir. Önceki yıllarda Meclisten üstüste geçirilmiş olan devrim yasaları uygulanıyordu, ama 1929'da yeni devrim yasaları pek yoktu. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği bu duraksamayı Afganistan olaylarına bağlıyor. İngiliz görüşüne göre, Afganistan'da, Türkiye'dekilere benzer devrimler yapmaya kalkışan yenilikçi Kral Amanullah han gericiiler tarafından devrilince, Mustafa Kemal'in Doğu'yu batılaştırma ülküsü bir darbe yemişti ve dolayısıyla 1929'da Türkiye'de yeni reformlar yamaktan vazgeçilmişti. İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, "Afganistan'daki son gelişmeler üzerine Gazi reformlara ara vermiştir" diyordu. (No. 115'e Ek). Bu görüş tartışılabilirse de 1929'un nispeten sakin bir yıl olduğu açıktır. Ülkede asayişsizlik de pek kalmamıştır ve Tahriri Sükun kanunu yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

Ülkede yeni devrimci atılımlar pek yoksa da bazı yenilikler görülüyor değildir. 23 Nisan günü, ilk defa 1929 yılında "Çocuk Bayramı" olarak kutlanıyor. Gazi, Ankara Palas'ta verilen çocuk balosunu şerefliendiriyor. O günden sonra 23 Nisan her yıl "Çocuk Bayramı" olarak kutlanacaktır. Türkiye üstüste kurak yıllar yaşamış ve 1929'da bir ölçüde ekonomik sıkıntıya düşmüştür. Bu durumun da etkisiyle o yıl yerli malı kullanma ve koruma kampanyası başlatılıyor. Yerli malların kullanımını özendirme amacıyla 4 Nisan günü İstanbul Üniversitesinde bir miting düzenleni-

yor ve ardından kampanya başlıyor. "Yerli Malı, Türkün Malı" deniyor. Temmuz'da Ankara-İstanbul arasında telefon görüşmeleri başlıyor. 30 Ağustos'ta Dumlupınar'da Çatalköy'de "Meçhul Asker Abidesi" açılıyor. Bu da bir yenilikti, çünkü daha önce Türkiye'de Meçhul asker anıtı kavramı yoktu. "Yurdu demir ağlarla örmek" biçiminde özetlenebilecek olan demiryolu yapımı duraksamadan devam ediyor. 1929'da demiryolları için 95 milyon lira ayrılıyor. Bu paranın, 520 kilometrelik Sivas-Erzincan-Erzurum hattı ve 255 kilometrelik Adapazarı-Bolu-Bayındır hattı için harcanması öngörülüyor. Başkent Ankara, ağaçlandırılıyor, yeşertiliyor ve bozkırda örnek bir şehir yaratma çalışmaları devam ediyor. İngilizlerin görüşüne göre Ankara, artık Türkiye'nin "siyasal ve sosyal başkentidir" ve Gazi bu gelişmelere öncülük etmektedir.

1929 yılında Meclis, pek devrim niteliğinde sayılamasa bile dikkate değer yasalar çıkarıyor: 5 Ocak'ta "Anadolu-Bağdat ve Mersin-Tarsus-Adana demiryolları ile Haydarpaşa limanının satın alınmasına dair Kanun", 8 Ocak'ta "Ankara'dan başka şehir ve kasabalarda telefon teşkiline dair Kanun", 11 Ocak'ta "Devletler arasında harbin milli siyaset âleti olarak kullanılmasından feragati içeren antlaşmaya Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin iştiraki hakkında Kanun" çıkarılıyor. Devam edelim: 4 Nisan'da "Ceza Usulü Muhakemeleri Kanunu", 8 Nisan'da "Yabancı memleketlere gönderilecek talebe hakkında Kanun", 18 Nisan'da "İcra ve İflas Kanunu ve "Vilâyetler İdaresi Kanunu", 4 Mayıs'ta "Muvazzaf subaylar ve askeri memurların yirmi beş yaşını tamamlamadan evlenmemeleri hakkında Kanun", 13 Mayıs'ta "Deniz Ticaret Kanunu", 28 Mayıs'ta "Zirai Kredi Kooperatifleri Kanunu", 1 Haziran'da "Kibrit ve Çakmak İhbarı Kanunu" ve "Gümrük Tarife Kanunu" Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinden geçiyor vs.

Yeni Türk yasaları İngiliz Büyükelçiliğince yakından izleniyor. Örneğin yeni Gümrük Tarife Kanunu İngilizleri epeyce düşündürüyor. Nedeni açıktır: Lozan'da kapitülasyonlar kaldırılmış, ama iktisadi ve adli kapitülasyonların bazı kısıtlayıcı hükümleri beş yıl daha yürürlükte kalmış idi. Lozan Barış Antlaşmasına ek olarak imzalanan ve Türkiye için kısıtlayıcı hükümler içeren Ticaret Antlaşmasının beş yıl yürürlükte olması öngörülmüştü. Bu beş yıllık süre 1929'da sona eriyordu ve Türkiye artık kendi gümrük tarifelerini, vergi ve resimlerini serbestçe tespit edebilecekti. Şimdi Türkiye, gümrük duvarlarını yükseltirse ve bu koruyucu duvarların arkasında Türk imalat sanayii gelişirse İngiltere'nin Türkiye'ye ihracatı düşebilecekti. Tüccar İngilizleri düşündüren ve kaygılandıran işte buydu.

1929'da Türkiye'nin dış ilişkilerinde de gelişmeler görülüyor: ABD, Fransa, Estonya, Finlandiya, İsveç ve Romanya ile ticaret antlaşmaları; Macaristan, Suudi Arabistan ve Uruguay ile dostluk antlaşmaları imzalanıyor ve Türkiye'nin Brezilya'da Elçilik açacağı açıklanıyor. Bulgaristan ile Bitaraflık, Uzlaşma, Adli Tesviye ve Hakem Antlaşması, Hollanda ile İkamet antlaşması da bu yıl içinde yapılıyor.

Dışişleri Bakanı Dr. Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras), 27-30 Nisan 1929 tarihlerinde İtalya'ya resmi bir ziyaret yapıyor. İtalyan Kralı ve Mussolini tarafından kabul ediliyor. Mussolini, konuk Türk Dışişleri Bakanı onuruna bir akşam yemeği veriyor, dostluktan ve barıştan bahsediyor, Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e hayranlığını ve sempatisini dile getiriyor. Tevfik Rüştü Bey de aynı duygularla karşılık veriyor, Mussolini'yi ve İtalyan Kralını övüyor ve iki ülke arasında samimi işbirliğinin gelişmesi dileğinde bulunuyor. 29 Nisan günü Mussolini yeniden konuk Türk bakanı kabul ediyor ve bu kabulün sonunda Türkiye-İtalya Tarafsızlık, Uzlaşma ve Adli Tesviye Antlaşması'nın onay belgeleri teati ediliyor. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, İtalya ile bir ticaret anlaşması yapılacağını, ayrıca Türkiye, İtalya ve Yunanistan arasında üçlü bir pakt düşünüldüğünü de Roma'da basına açıklıyor (No. 121).

1929 Ekim ayında İngiliz Akdeniz donanması, İstanbul'a bir haftalık bir resmi ziyaret yapıyor. Donanma Başkomutanı Amiral Sir Frederick Field, Ankara'ya geliyor ve 14 Ekim günü Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal tarafından kabul ediliyor. 80 dakika süren görüşmede Büyükelçi Sir George Clerk de hazır bulunuyor. Büyükelçi, çok önemseydiği bu ziyaretten pek hoşnut kalıyor. Londra'ya gönderdiği raporunda, İngiliz işgal kuvvetlerinin son gemisinin Aralık 1923'te İstanbul'u terk edişinden altı yıl sonra, Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerinde bugünlere gelinmiş oluğunu sevinerek belirtiyor, fakat şunları da eklemek gerektiğini duyuyor:

"Akdeniz donanması Başkomutanının Türkiye ziyareti dış görünüşüyle başarılı oldu. Ancak bu ziyaretin derin anlam taşıyıp taşımadığı ayrı bir sorudur. Gazi dahil görüşülen bütün Türkler, Amirale konukseverlik göstermişler, sıcak davranmışlardır. Ziyaret, dostluk yolunda ileri bir adım olmuştur; ancak İngiltere, Türklerin tam güvenini henüz kazanamamıştır. Türkiye'ye tam güven verebilmek ve gerçek dostluk kurabilmek için sabır ve zaman gerekmektedir." (No. 130).

İngiliz Büyükelçiliği, Türkiye hakkında zaman zaman araştırmalar da yapıyor ve Londra'ya değerlendirme raporları sunuyor. Büyükelçiliğin iki görevlisi Kasım 1928'de Ankara, Kütahya, Uşak, İzmir, Mersin, Kayseri yörelerinde bir inceleme gezisi yapmışlardır. Hazırladıkları rapor 7 Ocak 1929'da Londra'ya sunulmuştur. Burada özetle şu değerlendirmeler yapıyor:

"Anadolu'da göze çarpan ilk şey nüfusun pek seyrek oluşudur. Bu durum, maddi gelişmenin önünde bir engeldir. Türkiye bu engeli aşmak durumundadır. Hükümet bunun farkındadır, tedbirler almaktadır. Anadolu bir zamanlar Doğu Dünyasının tahıl ambarıydı, yine olabilir. Cumhuriyet liderleri, eğitim için Padişahların hiçbir zaman yapmadıklarından daha fazla para ayırıyorlar. Yeni alfabe hızla yayılıyor.

Alıncı yılına basmış olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, dışta güvenliği, içte asayışı sağlamış bulunmaktadır. Bu, ekonomik bakımdan önem taşımaktadır, zira Türk köylüsü artık kendisini üretime verebilmektedir. Üreticilerin kolaylıkla pazara ulaş-

bilmeleri gerekir. Bunun için her tarafta yollara el atılmıştır. Eski yollar onarılıyor, yeni yollar açılıyor.

Ancak reformlar ve kalkınma projeleri için sermaye ve krediye şiddetle ihtiyaç vardır. İzmir valisi, söze başlar başlanmaz, demiryolu yapımı için yabancı ülkelerin yardım etmediklerini söyledi. Şehir imar bekliyor. Her tarafta fakirlik, parasızlık göze çarpıyor.

İzmir'de oturan yabancılar, belki kapitülasyonlar döneminin imtiyazlarından mahrum kaldıkları için, vergilerin yüksekliğinden yakınıyorlar, bütçe gelirleriyle demiryolu yapılamayacağını söylüyorlar. Türkler de, geçmişte kendilerini soymuş olan bu Lövantenlerden yaka silkıyorlar. Rumlar ve Ermeniler gidince Anadolu'da kalifiye eleman pek kalmamış. Türkler acaba öğrenebilecek ve gidenlerin boşluğunu doldurabilecekler mi? sorusuna gelince: Türkler bugün her tarafta birçok teknik iş üstlenmişlerdir. Yaptıkları acemice ve çocukça işe de çocuklar büyür ve öğrenir. Öğrenmekte oldukları da görülüyor.

Evet, artık Türkiye Türklerindir; ama Anadolu'da bir tek Türk değil, birçok değişik Türk vardır. Meselâ Kütahyalı ile Kayserili farklıdır. 3000 yıldan beri Anadolu'da insanlar karma karışıktır. Dağlı ile ovada oturan farklıdır. Ama Anadolu'da artık bir birlik bilinci doğmuştur. Bundan böyle Türkiye, yabancı istilâya karşı birlik içinde hareket edebilecektir. Yeni doğmuş olan bu millî birlik Gazi'nin kutsal eserdir...

Modern Türkiye'nin programında dış macera yok. Türk, kendisini batılaşmaya vermiştir, bütün dikkatini bu konu üzerinde toplamıştır. Bulgar İmparatorluğu 9. Yüzyılda Hristiyanlığı kabul edince, önce, hızla ilerlemiş, fakat çok geçmeden dağılıp gitmiştir. Acaba Türkiye birliğini koruyabilecek mi? Yoksa tarih tekrerrür mü edecek...Gazi, on yıl daha yaşar ve iküdarı elinde tutarsa reformlar kökleşebilir." (No. 108'e Ek).

Bir başka İngiliz raporunda da 1929'da Türkiye'nin genel durumu kısaca şöyle anlatılıyor:

"Türkler, beş yıldır ülkelerinin efendisidirler ve dışarıdan engellenmemişlerdir. Ülkenin yeniden yaratılması bakımından Gazi ve Türkiye eşanlamlıdır. Gazi, yalnız bir defa, yani kadınların başörtüleri konusunda, maharetle geri adım atmıştır. Afganistan'daki son gelişmeler üzerine de Gazi reformlarına ara vermiştir. Rejim istikrarlıdır ve düşünülebilecek bütün alternatiflerden daha iyidir. Ama kontrol elden bırakılırsa bütün reform binası çökebilir. Ülkede hoşnutsuzluklar vardır ve komplo girişimleri de bunu göstermiştir. Yeni alfabenin tam sonuçları birkaç ay sonra görülecektir. Halen Dışişleri Bakanlığındakiler bile eski yazıyla not tutuyorlar. Yeni yazı yüzünden zaten yavaşlamış olan bürokrasi çarkı taşrada hepten durabilir de. Çok şükür iyimserlik nedenleri de vardır. Başta Gazi'nin kendisi. Onun sürükleyici dinamizmi eşsizdir, sağlığı yerindedir. Çankaya kışi dahil merkezi idare

rede iki gurup var: çalışanlar ve parazit dalkavuklar. Gazi şimdiye kadar bunların birbirlerine müdahalelerini önlemiş ve aralarındaki dengeyi korumuştur. Ama bu denge bozulabilir ve merkezi idareyi zayıf düşürülebilir. Gazi hayatta kaldıkça bir tehlike yoktur. Gazi'den sonra Onun yerini kim doldurabilir? Çeşitli halefler vardır. Kazım, İsmet, Fevzi Paşalar... Çalışanlar İsmet Paşa'yı tercih edeceklerdir. Gazi reformları pekiştirip güvenceye almayı düşünüyordur. Türkiye'nin geleceği bakımından para kilit rolü oynayacaktır. Türkiye, ya para bulacak, ya da çökecektir...İngiltere, Türkiye'ye yardım elini uzatamaz mı?" (No. 115'e Ek).

Yukarıdaki alıntıdan görüldüğü üzere, İngilizler, tarihin bin yıllık derinliklerinden yeni Türkiye'ye bir emsal aramaya çalışıyorlar. Bin kûsur yıl önce, Türk kökenli proto-Bulgarlar, Bizans'ın Ortodoks mezhebini kabul edince güçleneceklerini sanmışlar, ama tam tersi olmuş: Hem kendileri Slavlaşmış, hem de devletleri dağılıp gitmiş. Şimdi köklü reformlar yapmakta ve kabuk değiştirmekte olan yeni Türkiye de acaba dağılıp gider mi? Birinci raporda İngilizlerin kafasını kuralayan büyük soru bu. İkinci raporu hazırlayan Mr. Helm, bu soruya kesin cevabı veriyor: "Parasız olan Türkiye, ya para bulacak, ya da çökecektir." diyor! Ve soruyor: İngiltere Türkiye'ye kredi veremez mi acaba?

Büyükelçi Sir George Clerk, evet verebilir, ama "yardımın nasıl isteneceğine ve hangi şartlarla yapılacağına bağlı" diyor (No. 115).

1929 yılında İngilizlerin kendi aralarındaki bu yazışmalar, 1923 yılında Lozan'da Lord Curzon ile İsmet Paşa arasında geçen bir konuşmayı hatırlatıyor.

Lozan'da Lord Curzon, İsmet Paşa'ya:

"Memnun değiliz, demiş, Lozan muahedесinin müzakeresinden memnun değiliz. Hiçbir dediğimizi yapamadık. Reddettüklerinizin hepsini cebimize atıyoruz. Harap bir memleket alıyorsunuz, bunu kaldırmak için mutlaka paraya ihtiyacınız var. Bu parayı almak için gelip diz çökeceksiniz. Cebime atıklarımın hepsini çıkaracağım size..."¹³

İsmet Paşa, "Bu, benim kafasında daimi bir yer etmişti. Dışarıdan para verenin, yalnız para muamelesi yapması son derece güç bir şey. O, parayla beraber ek bir menfaat istiyor" diyor.

Yıllar sonra İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk, İsmet Paşa'nın bu teşhisini doğruluyor: Evet, İngiltere, Türkiye'ye para verebilecekti ama, verirken şartlar koşacak ve herhalde Lozan'da verdiklerini geri almak isteyecekti.

İngiliz belgelerine eğilecek olan okuyucular, bunlarda pek çok ilgi çekici ve düşündürücü satırlar bulacaklardır. Bu ciltte, her biri ayrı birer kitapçık olabilecek

¹³ İsmet İnönü, *İstiklâl Savaşı ve Lozan*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, Ankara: 1993, s.28 (İsmet Paşa'nın, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında, 23 Ekim 1973 günü Türk Tarih Kurumunda vermiş olduğu bu konferans, Lozan Konferansı'nın 70. Yılı dolayısıyla 1993'ye tekrar yayımlanmıştır).

genişlikte yıllık raporlar da yer almaktadır. Atatürk dönemi üzerine araştırma yapacak olanların bu kapsamlı raporları dikkatle inceleyeceklerini umuyorum.

Kitabı yayınlayan Türk Tarih Kurumuna yürekten teşekkürlerimi yineliyorum. Tarih Kurumu Basımevi kitabın müsveddesiyle birlikte disketlerini de bizden istiyor. İngiliz belgelerini sabırla bilgisayara geçirmiş olan eşim Gülgün'e burada ayrıca teşekkür ediyorum. Onun yardımları olmasaydı, *İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk* dizisinin hazırlanıp tamamlanması çok gecikecekti.

Ankara, Ümitköy,
1 Temmuz 2002

Dr. BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR
B ü y ü k e l ç i

BELGELERDE VE DİPNOTLARDA GEÇEN KISALTMALAR

A.C.	: Army Corps (Kolordu)
a. m.	: <i>ante meridiem</i> (öğleden önce)
B.M.A.	: British Military Attaché (İngiliz Askeri Ataşesi)
CAB	: Cabinet (İngiliz Kabinesi Arşivi)
C.B.	: Companion of Bath (İngiliz asalet unvanı)
C. G. S.	: Chief of the General Staff (Genelkurmay Başkanı)
C-in-C.	: Commander-in-Chief (Başkomutan)
C.M.G.	: Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George (İngiliz asalet unvanı)
C.U.P.	: Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Komitesi)
D.B.F.P.	: <i>Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939, First series</i> (İngiliz Dış politikası Üzerine Belgeler, 1919-1939, Birinci dizi)
Div.	: Division (Tümen)
E	: <i>Eastern</i> (İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Doğu Dairesinin arşiv rumuzu)
F.O.	: <i>Foreign Office Archives</i> (İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivleri)
—/ 371	: İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivlerinin <i>General Correspondence</i> (Genel Yazışmalar) serisi
—/ 424	: İngiltere Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivlerinin <i>Confidential Print</i> (Gizli Yayınlar) serisi
G. H. Q.	: General Headquarters (Genel Karargâh)
G.O.C-in-C.	: General Officer Commander - in - Chief (Başkomutan)
H. C.	: House of Common (Avam Kamarası)
H. L.	: House of Lords (Lordlar Kamarası)
H. M.	: His Majesty (Zat-ı Şahane, Haşmetlü, İngiliz Kral (lığı) ı)
H. M. S.	: His Majesty's Ship (İngiliz Gemisi)
L.T.	: Livre Turque (Türk Lirası)
M.	: Monsieur (Bay)
M. A.	: Military Attaché (Askeri Ataşe)
M. I.	: Military Intelligence (Askeri İstihbarat)
M. P.	: Member of Parliament (Parlamento Üyesi, Milletvekili)
N.	: North (Kuzey)
N.N.W.	: North-North West (Kuzey-Kuzey Batı)
N.W.	: North-West (Kuzey Batı)

L

p. m.	: <i>post meridiem</i> (öğleden sonra)
P.R.O.	: Public Record Office (İngiltere Devlet Arşivleri, Londra)
sic	: Ashında yanlış.
S.I.S.	: Secret Intelligence Service (Gizli İstihbarat Servisi)
SS	: Steam Ship (Vapur)
Vol.	: Volume (Cilt)
W.O.	: War Office (İngiltere Savaş Bakanlığı)

BELGELERDE GEÇEN BAZI YER ADLARI VE KARŞILIKLARI

Adrianople	: Edirne
Aleppo	: Halep
Alexandretta	: İskenderun
Angora	: Ankara
Anatolia	: Anadolu
Antioch	: Antakya
Arghana	: Ergani
Aya Soluk	: Selçuk
Brousse	: Bursa
Brussa	: Bursa
Bournabat	: Bornova
Caesarea	: Kayseri
Castamouni	: Kastamonu
Chimishghezeh	: Çemişgezek
Cilicia	: Çukurova (Kilikya)
Constantinople	: İstanbul
Cordelio	: Kordonboyu (İzmir)
Dardanelles	: Çanakkale (Boğazı)
Derkos	: Terkos
Gallipoli	: Gelibolu
Golden Horn	: Haliç
Halki	: Heybeli Ada
Heracleée	: Ereğli
İmbros	: Gökçeada
Kianghri	: Çankırı
Kerasund	: Giresun
Magnesia	: Manisa
Maritza	: Meriç
Meander (Valley)	: Menderes (Vadisi)
Melazgird	: Malazgirt
Mitylene	: Midilli
Ohrida	: Ohri

Old Seraglio	: Topkapı Sarayı
Panderma	: Bandırma
Prinkipo Islands	: İstanbul Adaları (Prens Adaları): Büyükada, Heybeliada vs.
Rodosto	: Tekirdağ
Salonica	: Selânik
Sanstefano	: Yeşilköy
Sarajevo	: Saray Bosna
Seerdt	: Siirt
Seraglio Point	: Sarayburnu
Skopije	: Üsküp
Smyrna	: İzmir
Tchangri	: Çankırı
Tenedos	: Bozcaada
Therapia	: Tarabya
Trebizond	: Trabzon
Yanina	: Yanya
Zafranbolou	: Safranbolu

BELGELERİN LİSTESİ VE ÖZETLERİ

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
	1926		
1	1 Ocak	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LIND-SAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI GİZLİ NO. 1	1
		Türkiye'de görevli misyon şefleri. Sadece dört misyon şefi sürekli olarak başkent Ankara'da, diğerleri ise İstanbul'da oturuyor. Afganistan, Fransa, Almanya, Macaristan, Yunanistan, İtalya, Polonya ve Rusya Elçiliklerinin durumu.	
2	19 Ocak	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LIND-SAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI GİZLİ NO. 24	2
		Mr. Helm'in Ankara'ya son gezisiyle ilgili nodarı ilişiktir. Salih (Bozok) Bey'in anlatukları ilginçtir. Cumhurbaşkanı'nın (Gazi'nin) sağlığı bozuluyor, kurduğu rejim çökebilir.	
Ek.	18 Ocak	MR. HELM'DEN MUHTIRA. GİZLİDİR	3
		Ankara'da altı gün kaldım. Evini kiraladığım Salih (Bozok) Bey ile uzun uzun konuştum. Orduya Gazi ile birlikte girmiş, hep O'nun yanında olmuş, şimdi Bozok mebusudur. Bir akşam önce de Gazi ile birlikte olan Salih Bey, karamsardır. Çok içen, uykusunu alamayan Gazi'nin, uzun yaşayamayacağını söylemiş. Salih Bey, "O ölürse beni asarlar," diyor. Gazi Türkiye demektir. Gazi Çiftliğini kurmakta olan Alman Yencke ile de görüştüm.	
3	28 Ocak	İNGİLTERE SAVAŞ BAKANLIĞINDAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞINA YAZI GİZLİ	6
		Bilinen kaynaktan alınan raporun bir bölümü, bilgi için ilişiktir.	
Ek.	18 Ocak	BİR İSTİHBARAT RAPORU. ÇOK GİZLİ. DAĞITIMI YAPILAMAZ.	6
		Mustafa Kemal'in Londra'ya gelen gizli ajanı, Dabour adını kullanan bir Türk'tür. Tehlikeli bir kimsedir.	
4	8 Şubat	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LIND-SAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI GİZLİ NO. 59.	7

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		Türk milliyetçiliği ve yabancı çıkarları. Türk milliyetçiliği, aslında Avrupa'daki milliyetçilik şeklerinden pek farklı değildir. Ama daha serttir ve Gazi'yi izlemektedir. Yabancıları etkileyecek yasalar çıkarılıyor. Yabancı şirketlerin meclislerinde Türk komiserler bulundurulması, yeni şirketlerin sermayelerinin % 51'inin Türk olması öngörülüyor. Şirket defterlerinin Türkçe tutulması isteniyor. Yabancılara zorluklar çıkarılıyor, tekellerin sayısı artırılıyor, işlere Türkler alınıyor, İngiliz şirketleri artık Türkiye'de pek kâr edemiyorlar. Yabancı devletlerin yüz yıldır Türklere karşı izledikleri politika yüzünden, şimdi yabancı unsurlara karşı derin bir güvensizlik var. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti adeta bir Çin Seddi ile güvenceye alınmak isteniyor. Bu, Mustafa Kemal'in politikasıdır ve bütün halk tarafından desteklenmektedir. Musul işinin hallinden sonra Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerinde bir yumuşama olacaksa, yukarıdaki tehlikenin de göz önünde tutulması lâzımdır.	
5	24 Şubat	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LINDSAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI GİZLİ NO. 81	11
		900'ü aşkın maddesi bulunan İsviçre Medeni Kanununun Türkçe çevirisi, TBMM'nin bir tek oturumunda görüşülüp kabul edildi ve altı ay sonra mahkemelerde uygulanmaya başlanacak. Yeni yasa, tek eşle evliliği getiriyor, evlenme ve boşanma işlerinde laik kurumları yetkilendiriyor, Türk kadınına erkeklerle eşit duruma getiriyor, miras hukukunu kökten değiştiriyor. Cesur bir adım atılıyor. 1300 yıllık gelenek bırakılıyor. Türklerin özel hayatı bundan böyle İslâm hukuku tarafından değil, medeni ülkelerde geçerli hukuk tarafından düzenlenecek. Yeni kanunun kabulü, Mustafa Kemal'in Batılaşma politikasının bir parçasıdır.	
6	17 Mart	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 120	12

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		İstiklâl Mahkemelerinin görev süreleri altı ay daha uzatıldı. Halen Ankara ve Elaziz'de görev yapan bu mahkemeler, Hükûmete muhalefeti önüyor. İstanbul'da şapka ve batılama aleyhinde bir broşür yayınlamış olan bir imam ve onunla işbirliği yapmış olan bir müftü asıldı. Maraş'ta karışıklık çıkarmak isteyen birçok kişi tutuklandı ve bunlardan yirmisi asıldı. Bursa'da da bazı kişiler gerici diye asıldı. Trabzon'da Mustafa Kemal'in aleyhinde bulunan eski vali Hamid Bey Ankara'da yargılandı ve geri dönmek şartıyla serbest bırakıldı. Milas Belediye Başkanı da bir hafta önce asıldı. Halen Atina'da bulunan Çerkez Ethem ile işbirliği yapanlar da asıldılar. Bu arada yenilikler sürüyor ve Latin alfabesinin alınması da gündemdedir. Nicola Evghenopoulo adındaki bir Rus da casusluk suçundan asıldı...Hükûmetin İstiklâl Mahkemesine ihtiyacı var.	
7	24 Mart	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 137	14
		Çanakkale savaşının yıldönümü anıldı. Anafartalar çarpışmalarını Türk zaferine dönüştüren Mustafa Kemal Paşa yüceltildi. <i>Cumhuriyet</i> ve <i>Milliyet</i> gazetelerinde Gazi ile ilgili hatıralar yayımlandı.	
8	14 Nisan	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LIND-SAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 181	16
		Genel politik durum: Gazi'nin ve rejimin durumu sağlam. Şapka ve tekkeler kanunu hoşnutsuzluk yaratıyor. Şeker ve petrol tekeli ve ağır vergiler de öyle. Tevfik Rüştü'nün durumu sallantıda gibi. Gazi, gitgide aşırı çevrelerin etkisinde kalıyor. Basın, Irak sınırı (Musul) konusunda fazla yayın yapmıyor. İtalya'nın saldırgan niyetleri asabiyet yaratıyor. Türkiye zayıftır. Irak sınırı konusunda ucuza anlaşacağız.	
9	20 Nisan	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ GÖREVLİSİ CHILDS'DAN KÜTÜPHANECİ GASELEE'YE YAZI	17

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		Türkiye'nin Dünya savaşındaki amaçları ve Pan-Türkizm. Albay Lawrence, 1918 başlarında Mustafa Kemal ile görüşmüş. M. Kemal, Türkiye'nin o savaşta amaçlarını şöyle anlatmış. Türkiye'nin çıkarları Doğu'dadır. Almanya da bu konuda Türkiye'ye destek sözü vermiş. Savaş sonunda Türkiye, Kafkaslar'ı, Kuzey-Batı İran'ı, Dağıstan'ı ve Hazar Ötesini ele geçirecekti. Mısır, Filistin, Suriye ve Mezopotamya ise Pan-Türkizm emelleri dışında idi. Musul harekâtı, Alman çıkarları için ve İran yolunu kontrol etmek amacıyla yapılmıştır... Mustafa Kemal, Türk çıkarları Alman çıkarlarından önce gelir görüşündeydi, Kafkaslara 100.000 Türk askeri yığılmasını istemiş. Bu yapılsa galip devletler Türkleri oralardan sökemezler, demiş. Enver Paşa, Almanlara rağmen bu görüşü benimsemiş, ama Kafkaslara gönderilen Türk askerlerinin sayısı 100 bine hiç ulaşamamış (Bkz. No. 10).	
10	24 Nisan	FOREIGN OFFICE KÜTÜPHANECİSİ GASELEE'DEN SAVAŞ TARİHCİSİ GENERAL MOBERLYYE YAZI	20
		İlgi No. 9: Türkiye'nin Dünya savaşındaki amaçları. Mustafa Kemal'in 1918 başında Lawrence'e söyledikleri ilginçtir. Özellikle, Almanya'nın savaşı kaybedeceğini söylemiş ve Türkiye'nin askeri politikasını Enver Paşa'ya kabul ettirir olması önemlidir. Mustafa Kemal'in mektubunu kısmen "Mezopotamya Savaşı Tarihi"ne koymak uygun olur.	
11	20 Nisan	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LINDSAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI GİZLİ NO. 199	23
		Ankara'da resepsiyon. Dün akşam, Sovyet Büyükelçiliğinin yeni binasının açılışı için düzenlenen davete katıldım. Bütün Ankara oradaydı. Orada Gazi ile görüştüm, İstiklâl Mahkemesi hakimlerine rastladım. Gazi bir hanımla vals yapıyordu. Ben de dansa kalktum. Beraber dans ettik. Bütün Türkler bize hoş davrandılar.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
12	23 Nisan	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LIND-SAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 202	24
		Arnavut Elçisi Rauf Bey'in anlatukları: Elçi, eskiden Türk mülki idare teşkilâtında çalışmış. Güven mektubunu Gazi'ye sunarken Türkçe söylev vermesi istenmiş. O ise Fransızca konuşmuş. Anlaşmalar yapılırken de Türkiye ile Arnavutluk arasında gerginlik çıkmış. Türk taraf, Türkiye'deki Ortodoks Arnavutları Rum saymak istemişler. Elçi de Türklerin Arnavutluk'taki bütün taşınmaz mallarına el konulmasını Hükûmetine yazmış. Tefrik Rüştü Bey, şimdi kendisini anlaşmalar yapmaya vermiştir.	
13	23 Haziran	"THE TIMES" (LONDRA) GAZETESİNİN BAŞYAZISI: "TÜRK KOMPLOSU"	25
		Gazi Paşa'ya suikast. Suikastın ortaya çıkarılması, Türkiye'nin komşularında kaygı yaratacaktır. Gazi, şaşılacak başarılarıyla bütün Yakın Doğu'nun en seçkin siması olmuş, Anadolu halkının saygısını kazanmıştır. Reformları da karıştırlarının sayısını arttırmıştır. Türkiye'de suikasta tepkiler ve Gazi'nin kurtulmuş olmasına duyulan içten sevinç alımlımsın ötesindedir. Ancak, bütün meşru muhalefet liderlerinin tutuklanmış olması da kaygı yaratmaktadır. Tutuklananlar arasında, Türk Millî hareketinde önemli roller oynamış olanlar da vardır: Ali Fuat, Kâzım Karabekir, Refet Paşalar gibi. Muhalefet hepten silinmiştir; yeniden ortaya çıkar mı, yoksa yer altına mı kayar, belli değildir. Açık ve adil bir yargılama Türk rejimine prestij kazandırır.	
14	23 Haziran	"DAILY TELEGRAPH" (LONDRA) GAZETESİNİN YAZISI: "TÜRK KOMPLOSUNUN GERÇEK ANLAMI. KEMAL VE KARŞITLARI. BOLŞEVİK ENTRİKALARI"	27
		Gazi Paşa'ya suikast. İzmir suikastı dolayısıyla belli başlı İttihatçı muhaliflerin tutuklanmış olmaları şüphe yaratıyor, zira Ankara Hükûmeti bu muhalif	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		lerden zaten rahatsız oluyordu. Suikastın ortaya çıkarılmasında Rus gizli polisi "ÇEKA"nın da önemli rol oynadığı sanılıyor. Çünkü Kâzım Karabekir ve Ali Fuat Paşalar Rus planlarına karşıydılar. Suikastçıları bir yabancı devletin desteklediği de ileri sürülüyor. Rauf Bey ile Refet Paşa'nın bir darbe tasarladıkları da iddia ediliyor.	
15	11 Temmuz	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ DİPLOMATİK GÖREVLİSİ KNOX'DAN İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LINDSAYE NOT	29
		Cumhurbaşkanı aniden Ankara'ya döndü. Saat 19'da geleceği söylendi. Gelişi gece yarısını geçti. Ankara'daki diplomatlar da şapkalarını giyip istasyonda hazır bulundular.	
16	21 Temmuz	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ LINDSAYDEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 376	30
		Gazi tarafından kabul. 17 Temmuz'da Çankaya köşkünde Cumhurbaşkanına veda ziyaretinde bulundum. Dışişleri Bakanı tercümanlık yaptı. Gazi Paşa, Türk politikasını anlattı. Dünkü ve bugünkü Türkiye arasındaki fark üzerinde durdu. Türkiye'nin artık tam çağdaş bir ülke olduğunu söyledi. İngiltere ile ilişkilerinin açık ve samimi olmasından dolayı hoşnut olduğunu söyledi. Mustafa Kemal'in kısa özgeçmişi. Bu enerjisi ve kararlılığı ile Mustafa Kemal bir Cengiz Han olabilirdi. Onu işbaşında tutan temiz vatanseverliğidir.	
17	11 Ağustos	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DAN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 419	33
		1925 yılına ait Türkiye raporu ilişikte sunulmuştur.	
Ek		TÜRKİYE YILLIK RAPORU, 1925	33
		İçindekiler: İçişleri, Yabancı ülkelerle ilişkiler, Deniz, Kara, Hava kuvvetleri, Ekonomik, mali ve sosyal işler.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		I- İçişleri: 94	
		1925 başlarında Fethi Bey kabinesinin bir geçiş hükûmeti olduğu belli değildi. 30 Ocak'ta Fener Rum Patriği sınır dışı edildi. 15 Şubat'ta Şeyh Sait ayaklandı, 22 Şubat'ta İsmet Paşa İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya döndü. Güney-Doguda sıkıyönetim ilân edildi. Ayaklanma yayıldıkça yayılıyordu. Nisanda Şeyh Sait, otuz adamıyla birlikte yakalandı ve ayaklanmanın bastırıldığı açıklandı. Cahil bir Nakşibendi olan Şeyh Sait, dini duygularla ayaklanmıştı. Ayaklanmanın sonucu olarak, Fethi Bey Hükûmetinin ılımlı politikası bırakıldı ve sertlik politikası benimsendi. Gazi'nin etkisiyle, Fethi Bey 2 Mart'ta istifa etti, yerine İsmet Paşa geçti. Yeni Hükûmet, Tahriri Sükun kanununu Meclisten geçirdi ve uygulamaya koydu. Bazı gazeteler kapatıldı. İki İstiklâl Mahkemesi işe koyuldu, biri Ankara'da, diğeri Doguda. Güney-Doguya asker yağın Hükûmet, Musul'a da gözlerini çevirmekten kendisini alamadı. Türk-Rus dostluğu gelişti. Terakkiperver Partinin büroları polis tarafından basıldı ve Haziran'da bu parti kapatıldı. Haziran sonunda Şeyh Sait asıldı. 5 Ağustos'ta Gazi ile Lâtfi Hanımın boşandıkları duyuruldu. Eylül'de şapka hareketi başladı, fes terk edildi. Tekke ve zaviyeler kapatıldı, tarikatlar lâğvedildi. Laiklik politikasında bir ileri adım daha atıldı. Fesin yasaklanması yüzünden Kasım'da bazı yerlerde karışıklıklar çıktı. İstiklâl Mahkemeleri hükûmetin başlıca silahı durumuna geldi. Muhalefet susturuldu; Gazi, reformlarını sürdürdü. Türkiye'nin batısında sükun, doğusunda ise kaos var. Türkler tarafından Türkler için yönetim, Türkiye'de halâ bir deneme halindedir. Türkiye diğeri millederle yarış bakalım sürdürebilecek midir.	
		II- Yabancı Ülkelerle İlişkiler: 42	
		<u>İngiltere ile ilişkiler:</u> Irak sınırı (Musul) sorunu, bütün 1925 yılında Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerine hükmetti. Yılın ilk günlerinde Milletler Cemiyeti, bu	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		<p>sorunu incelemek üzere bir alt-komite görevlendirdi. Bu alt-komite, Ankara'da Dışişleri Bakan Vekili Şükrü Kaya ile kavga etti ve Irak'a gitti. Orada da çeşitli güçlüklerle karşılaştı. Mart'ta Şeyh Sait ayaklanması bastırıldı. Nisan'da Türk basınında, Musul için İngiltere aleyhinde bir kampanya başlatıldı. Milletler Cemiyeti, ancak Temmuz'da alt-komisyondan raporu ve tavsiyelerini açıkladı. Bu tavsiyeler esas itibariyle İngiltere lehineydi ve Türkiye'de tepkiler yarattı. Sonunda Milletler Cemiyeti Konseyi, 16 Aralık günü Musul konusunda İngiltere lehine karar verdi. Yenik düşen Tefik Rüşdü Bey, bu oturuma katılmadı ve hemen Paris'e gidip Çiçerin ile buluştu. Ertesi gün (17 Aralık 1925) Paris'te Türk-Sovyet Saldırmazlık Antlaşması imzalandı. 21 Aralık'ta İngiltere Hükümeti, Türk-Irak ilişkileri konusunda Türkiye ile bir anlaşma yapmak istediğini açıkladı.</p> <p><u>Ankara sorunu:</u> Türk anayasasında, Ankara, Türkiye'nin başkentidir. Yeni başkenti tanıma konusunda 1924 yılında Devletlerle Türkiye arasında birçok yazışma yapıldı. Sonunda Türk Hükümeti, Elçilik binaları yapmaları için Devletlere bedava arsa vereceğini açıklayınca işler kolaylaştı. Mustafa Kemal'in durumu sağlam olduğu için Ankara da başkent olarak durumunu güçlendirdi. Başkentın tekrar İstanbul'a taşınması artık düşünülemez. Türk Hükümeti, yıl içinde başkent Ankara'ya büyük paralar harcadı. Ama başkentın çeşitli eksikleri var.</p> <p><u>Fransa:</u> Mayıs 1925'te Fransız Büyükelçisi Albert Sarraut Türkiye'ye geldi. Epeyce Ankara'da oturduğu ve Türklere dostluk gösterdiği halde ülkesini ilgilendiren önemli sorunları halledemedi. Osmanlı Borçları, Fransız Okulları ve Suriye sınırının çizilmesi gibi sorunlar hala çözüm bekliyor. Fransa, İngiltere ile uyumlu bir politika izliyor ve Musul sorununda İngiltere'yi destekledi.</p>	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		<u>İtalya:</u> Türk- İtalyan ilişkileri 1925'te iyi durumda kaldı. Ancak Türklerde için için bir kaygı var: İtalyan nüfus fazlalığı acaba Anadolu'ya yönelir mi sorusu zihinleri kurcalıyor. Vatandaşlık sorunları konusunda bir anlaşma yapıldı, ama konsolosluk anlaşması yapılamadı.	
		<u>ABD:</u> Amerikan Senatosu Lozan antlaşmasını halâ onaylamadı. Türk Hükûmeti de ABD ile kavgaaya tutuşmaya pek istekli görünmüyor ve iki ülke ilişkileri ciddi bir güçlkle karşılaşmadan sürüp gidiyor.	
		<u>Rusya:</u> Mart'ta yeni Türk Hükûmetinin başa geçmesiyle Türk-Rus ilişkileri daha da gelişti. Musul sorununu iki ülkeyi birbirine daha da yaklaştırdı. Türk Hükûmeti Rusya'ya büsbütün bağlanmak da istemiyor; ama Musul'u kaybedince 17 Aralık'ta Rusya ile Tarafsızlık ve Saldırmazlık antlaşmasını imzaladı. Türk-Rus ticaret anlaşması konusunda bir gelişme olmadı. Türkler, Rusların komünizm propagandasından Avrupalılar kadar kaygılanmıyorlar, çünkü Türklerde Moskova'ya karşı köklü bir güvensizlik var.	
		<u>Yunanistan:</u> Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde iyileşme görülmüyordu. Ama mübadil kategorisine giren Fener Rum Patriği Constantin VI'nın sınır dışı edilmesi, iki ülkeyi savaşın eşiğine getirdi. Türkiye, metropoller de sınır dışı edebilirdi, etmedi. Mübadeleden kaynaklanan sorunların çözümünü için Türk-Yunan ikili görüşmeleri devam etti.	
		<u>Bulgaristan:</u> Uzun görüşmelerden sonra Türk-Bulgar anlaşması imzalandı, ama anlaşma Sobranya'da muhalefetle karşılaştı. Yunan-Bulgar Demir Kapı sınır olayında Türkiye, Bulgaristan'dan yana tavır koydu.	
		<u>Yugoslavya:</u> Son baharda Yugoslavya ile dostluk antlaşması imzalandı. Türk Dışişleri Bakanı Aralık'ta Belgrad'a uğradı.	
		<u>Romanya:</u> Türkiye'nin Romanya ile samimi ilişkileri 1925'te devam etti.	

No	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		III- Deniz Kuvvetleri:	54
		Donanma ivileşti. Denizcilik Bakanlığı Müsteşarı Hüsamettin Bey, Gazi'nin gözüne girmiş genç bir deniz subayıdır. Denizcilik Bakanlığının yüksek makamlarına yeni yeni atamalar yapıyor. Eğitim kurslarında gelişme oldu. İngiltere ve Fransa'dan eğitimciler istendi, ama onlara ödenecek ücretler pek cazip görünmedi. Deniz subaylarından oluşan küçük bir heyet çeşitli ülkelerde incelemelerde bulundu. Hollanda'ya 750 tonluk üç denizaltı ısmarlandı. "Yavuz"u içine alabilecek büyüklükte bir yüzzer havuz yapılması kararlaştırıldı ve sipariş verildi. Destroyer, torpidobot gibi bazı eski birimler satışı çıkarıldı. Musul krizi sırasında donanmada bazı faaliyetler görüldü.	
		IV- Kara Kuvvetleri:	55
		Yabancı ataşemiliterler Genelkurmay ile ilişki kuruyorlarsa da resmi bilgi alamıyorlar. Genelkurmay, yabancı ataşemiliterlere kuşkuyla bakıyor. Türk ordusunun mevcudu halen 90.000 kadardır. Organizasyonda bir değişiklik olmamıştır. Piyade, süvari ve topçu birliklerinin durumları. Kasım ayında Yüksek Askerî Şura kuruldu. Ordunun silah ve teçhizatı standardlaştırılıyor. Çekoslovakya'dan 40.000 Mauser tüfeği satın alındı. Almanya'dan ağır makineli tüfekler ve 49 milyon kadar mermi sağlandı. Ankara'da bir mermi fabrikası tamamlandı, günde 10.000 mermi üretecek. Yıl içinde üç manevra yapıldı. Ordunun önemli bölümü Şeyh Said ayaklanmasını bastırma harekâtına katıldı. Bölgeye 60.000 asker yığıldı.	
		V- Hava Kuvvetleri:	58
		Hava kuvvetlerini güçlendirmek ve uçak satın almak için yardım kampanyası açıldı, 300.000 lira toplandı. 1926'da büyük bir piyango düzenlenecek ve bundan da 270.000 lira toplanması bekleniyor. Hava Kuvvetlerinin teşkilâtı biraz belirsiz. Yeniden teşkilâtlandırılacağı anlaşıyor. Hava Kuvvetlerinin halen 70 kadar uçağı var. 16 Brequet, 30 Caud-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		rons, 8 Junkers, 12 Savoia. Havacı subaylar, kara ve deniz kuvvetlerinden sağlamıyor, Sevdiköy'de yetiştiriliyor ve bazıları pilot oluyor. Şeyh Sait ayaklanmasının bastırılmasına hava birlikleri de katılmıştır. Uçaklar, keşif ve bombardımanda başarıyla görev yapmışlar. Sivil havacılığın geliştirilmesine de çalışılıyor. Ankara ile İstanbul arasında uçak seferleri başlatılması için çalışmalar yapılıyor.	
		VI- Ekonomik, mali ve sosyal işleri:	60
		Yıl içinde ekonomik ve ticari alanda ilerleme görüldü. Tarıma önem verildi. Sanayii geliştirmeye yönelik bir yasa çıkarıldı. Başkent Ankara'da yoğun çalışmalar yapıldı. İstanbul yöresinde sanayinin gelişmesi devam etti. Ankara-Sivas demiryolunun yapımı ilerliyor. Yapımı başlayan veya planlanan diğer demiryolları: Kütahya-Tavşanlı (220 km), Ankara-Ereğli, Diyarbakır-Arada, Koçhisar-Aksaray ve Samsun-Çarşamba hatlarıdır. Köprüler, karayolları çalışmaları. İstatistiklere göre ticari dengede iyileşme var. Bütçe açığı azalıyor. İstatistik tabloları. 1925'te canlanma var, 1926 tahminleri pek parlak değil.	
18	14 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN PARİS BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CREWE'DEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 355. GİZLİ	66
		İtalya'nın Anadolu'ya saldırma emeli. İtalyan Büyükelçisi Paris'te nabız yoklamış: İtalya, Anadolu'ya karşı kuvvet kullanmak durumunda kalırsa Fransa'ya güvenip güvenemeyeceğini sormuş. M. Berthelot, böyle bir soruyu Briand'a açamayacağını söylemiş. (Bkz. No. 19).	
19	8 Ekim	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI CHAMBERLAIN'DAN ROMA'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ GRAHAM'A YAZI. ÇOK GİZLİ. NO. 1365	67
		İlgi: No. 18.	
		İtalya'nın Anadolu'ya saldırma emeli. Fransa Dışişleri Bakanı Briand, nabız yoklayan İtalyan Büyükel-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		çisine, Fransa'nın o bölgeyle (Anadolu ile) ilgilenmediği, dolayısıyla İtalya'ya karşı çıkmayacağı yolunda cevap vermiş. (Bkz. No. 20).	
20	13 Ekim	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 544 İlgi: No. 19 İtalya'nın Anadolu'ya saldırma emeli. İtalya'nın Anadolu'yu istilâya hazırlandığı yolunda "Daily Express" gazetesinde sansayonel bir yazı çıktı. Türk basını buna sert tepki gösterdi. Türk kamuoyu rahatsız. Hükümet ise sakin. Bkz. No. 21	67
21	15 Ekim	İNGİLTERE DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'DEN İSTANBUL İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 860 Türk Büyükelçisi ile görüşme. Türk Büyükelçisi (Ahmet Ferit Bey) bana geldi. Mussolini ile Leghorn'da ne görüştüğümü, Mussolini'nin Türkiye'ye karşı tutumunun ne olduğunu sordu. Mussolini, Türkiye'nin politikasını karanlık bulduğunu söylemişti. Bunu bildirdim. Ben de Musul ve Milletler Cemiyeti konusunda Türkiye'nin tutumunu anlatamadığımı belirttim. Büyükelçi, Türkiye'nin politikasının art niyetli olmadığını söyledi. İtalya'nın Yemen ile anlaşma yapıp yapmadığını sordu. Bunun bir dostluk ve ticaret anlaşması olduğunu bildirdim. Büyükelçi son olarak, İtalyan Hükümetinin Türkiye aleyhinde İngiltere'ye bir teklifte bulunup bulunmadığını sordu. Farazi bir soruya cevap veremeyeceğimi söyledim.	69
22	3 Kasım	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DAN İNGİLTERE DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. NO. 584 "Le Journal"ın Türkiye aleyhindeki yazısına tepkiler. Fransız gazeteci Edouard Helsey, "Le Journal" gazetesinde Türkiye'yi ağır biçimde eleştirdi. Mustafa Kemal'in de yakın çevresinin elinde bir oyun-	71

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		cak olduğunu ileri sürdü. Bu eleştiriler Türk gazetelerinde sert tepkiler yarattı...	
23	3 Kasım	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DAN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 586	73
		Gazi'nin Meclis konuşması. Cumhurbaşkanı, 1 Kasım'da TBMM'nin İkinci dönem, dördüncü toplantı yılını bir konuşmayla açtı. Konuşmasında İzmir suikastına değinirken şiddetle alkışlandı. Mustafa Kemal, bir yıl içinde Meclisin ve Hükümetin başarılarını özetledi. Her alanda büyük ilerleme olduğunu vurguladı. Önümüzdeki yılda da Meclisin başarılı çalışmalar yapacağına inandığını belirtti. Konuşmanın tonu ılımlıydı. Batılama yolundaki ilerleme, düşüncesinin merkezini oluşturuyordu. Doğudaki ayaklanmaya değinirken biraz huzursuzdu (Bkz. No. 24).	
24	3 Kasım	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DAN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 588	75
		İlgi No. 23: Gazi'nin Meclis konuşması. Cumhurbaşkanının 1 Kasım 1926 günü Mecliste yaptığı konuşmanın, dış ilişkilerle ilgili bölümünün çevirisi ilâikte sunulmuştur. Mustafa Kemal, Türkiye'nin Rusya, İran, Afganistan, Suriye ve Irak, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Sırp-Hırvat-Sloven, Romanya, Arnavutluk, Uzak Doğu, İtalya, Fransa, İngiltere, Almanya, ABD, Güney Amerika ülkeleri ile ilişkilerini özetliyor ve : "Biz, beynelmilel münasebatta müteakabil emniyet ve riayet istihdaf eden açık ve samimi politikanın en hâr taraftarıyız" diyor. Öncelik Rusya, İran ve Afganistan'a veriliyor. Çin'in Washington Elçisi de Ankara'yı ziyaret etti. Türkiye ile Rusya bir Asya Paku hazırlıkları içinde gibi görünüyolar. Konuşmada İngiltere'ye dostça değiniliyor. Yazının örneği Tahran Elçiliğine gönderiliyor.	

No.	Tarihi	Kinden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
25	14 Kasım	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ İŞGÜDERİ HOARE'DAN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 605	77
		Türkiye'ye karşı İtalyan emelleri: Üç görevlimizin güney Anadolu, Rodos ve İzmir'e yaptıkları inceleme gezisi raporu ilişiktir. İtalya'nın Anadolu'ya karşı saldırgan emeller beslemediği anlaşıyor. Türklerin yersiz kuşkusu, Anadolu'nun geniş ve boş olmasından kaynaklanıyor sanırım.	
Ek.	Kasım	GÜNEY ANADOLU'YA, RODOS'A VE İZMİR'E YAPILAN BİR GEZİ HAKKINDA RAPOR	78
		Türkiye'yi çağdaşlaştırmak için büyük gayret harcanıyor. Anadolu'yu dolaşınca Gazi'nin giriştiği işin ne kadar muazzam bir iş olduğu daha iyi kavranıyor. İnceleme ve araştırma için önce İstanbul'dan Konya'ya, Tarsus'a ve Mersin'e gidildi. Oradan kıyı kıyı Antalya'ya ve Rodos'a geçildi. Buralarda yapılan incelemeler, gözlemler ve edinilen izlenimler. Sonuç olarak şunlar söylenebilir: İtalyanların Türkiye'ye karşı saldırı emeli beslediklerini gösteren bir delil yoktur. Rodos'ta sadece bir piyade taburu vardır. İtalyanlar Anadolu'ya sadece ekonomik bakımdan sızmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Türkler İtalyanlardan ürkmekte ve kıyılarını tahkim etmektedirler. Gazi ile bütünleşen "Türkiye Türklerindir" politikasını eleştirenler var. Türkiye'nin önünde iki ihtimal bulunuyor: 1. Ya Gazi yabancılara karşı tutumunu değiştirecektir, 2. Ya da muhalefet Gazi'yi alaşağı edecek ve ülkeyi yabancılara açacaktır. Zira Türkiye, Anadolu'nun geniş potansiyelini tek başına geliştiremez.	
26	24 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A TEL.	85
		Güven mektubumu sunma töreni iyi geçti. Bağdat Yüksek Komiserinin ziyareti de hoşnutluk yarattı ve başarılı oldu. Cumhurbaşkanı kendisiyle iki saat konuştu. Hem Dışişleri Bakanı, hem Cumhurbaşkanı İngiltere ile dostluk istediklerini belirttiler.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
27	24 Kasım	Bakan, Odesa ziyaretini izah etti. Türkiye'nin dostları bulunduğunu Batıya ve özellikle İtalya'ya göstermek amacı güdülmüştür, sanırım. Bkz. No. 27. İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 620 İlgi No. 26	86
Ek 1	(22 Kasım)	Güven mektubu sunma töreni iyi geçti. İşler çabuklaştırıldı, 21 Kasım'da Sir H. Dobbs ile birlikte Ankara'ya geldim, aynı gün Dışişleri Bakanı tarafından kabul edildim. Dobbs, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edildi. Ben 22 Kasım'da Cumhurbaşkanının huzuruna çıktım ve güven mektubumu sundum. Yaptığım konuşmanın ve Cumhurbaşkanının cevabının metinleri ilişiktir. Öğleden sonra Dışişleri Bakanına, Başbakana ve TBMM Başkanına resmi ziyaretlerde bulundum. Ertesi günü Ankara'daki meslekdaşlara ziyaretler ve iadei ziyaretlerle geçirdim. Akşam Tevfik Rüştü Bey benim şerefime bir yemek verdi. BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'İN GÜVEN MEKTUBUNU CUMHURBAŞKANI GAZİ M. KEMAL'E SUNARKEN SÖYLEDİĞİ NUTUK	88
Ek 2	(22 Kasım)	Güven mektubumu ve selefimin geri çağırılma mektubunu Ekselânslarına sunmakla onur kazandım. Ülkelerimiz arasında en iyi ilişkiler geliştirmeye çalışacağım. Çalışmalarında desteğinize güvenebileceğime inanıyorum. CUMHURBAŞKANI GAZİ M. KEMAL'İN İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ CLERK'İN KONUŞMASINA VERDİĞİ CEVAP. ÇEVİRİ	88
		Güven mektubunuzu ve selefinizin geri çağırılma mektubunu memnuniyetle alıyorum. Ülkelerimiz arasında en iyi ilişkileri geliştirme düşüncemiz bizim duygularımıza da uygun düşmektedir. Çalışmalarınızda benim ve Cumhuriyet hükümetinin desteğine güvenebilirsiniz.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
28	24 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 621	89
Ek	22 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN IRAK YÜKSEK KOMİSERİ SIR HENRY DOBBS'UN, ANKARA'DA, TÜRKİYE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI VE CUMHURBAŞKANI İLE YAPTIĞI GÖRÜŞMELERE DAİR MUHTIRA..... 21 Kasım'da önce Dışişleri Bakanı (Tevfik Rüştü) ile kısa bir görüşme yaptım. Bakan, benimle yüz yüze tanışmaktan memnun olduğunu söyledi ve Türk-İrak sınırında çıkacak olayları önlemek istediklerini anlattı. Biz de aynı şeyi istiyoruz dedim. Sonra birlikte Cumhurbaşkanına çıktık. Cumhurbaşkanı, Türkiye'nin politikasını anlattı, giriştikleri devasa işte İngiltere'nin hayırlıhı desteğini aruzu ettiğini söyledi. Türkçe konuştu ve Tevfik Rüştü Bey tercüme etti. Ben de eski Türk-İngiliz dostluğunun yeniden canlanmaya başlamasından sevinç duyduğumu belirttim.	90
29	26 Kasım	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'DAN, İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR G. CLERK'E YAZI, NO. 966	93
		Ülkesine tatile gidecek olan Türk Büyükelçisi ziyaretime geldi. Kendisine, Türkiye'de yabancı şirketlere ve kurumlara yapılan muameleler konusunu açım ve bu konuyu Hükümetinin ve Cumhurbaşkanının dikkatine sunmasını istedim. Bunu zaten Ankara'ya yazmış. Büyükelçi, Türkiye'nin biri yakın, diğeri uzak iki tehlike karşısında bulunduğunu söyledi. Yakın tehlike İtalya, uzak tehlike Sovyetler Birliği'dir dedi. Güvence isteniyorsa, Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyetine katılmasını salık verdim. Locarno antlaşmasını konuştuk.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
30	27 Kasım	"THE TIMES" (LONDRA) GAZETESİNİN BAŞYAZISI: "İNGİLİZ-TÜRK İLİŞKİLERİ" Türk-Irak sınırıyla ilgili Daimi Karma Komisyon, 18 Ekim'de Zakho'da toplanmış ve önemli bazı kararlar almıştır. Yeni İngiliz Büyükelçisinin güven mektubunu sunması sırasında Büyükelçi ve Gazi Paşa dostça söylevler vermişlerdir. Türk -İngiliz ilişkilerinde karşılıklı güven görülmektedir. Türk basını İngiltere'ye karşı şimdi daha ılımlıdır. İngiltere'nin Türkiye Devletine düşman olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Irak Sınırı Antlaşmasının imzalanmasından beri ikili ilişkilerimizde bir iyileşme görülüyor. Türk dış politikası hemen değişmez. Meselâ Türk Hükümeti, Milletler Cemiyetine üye olmak için ciddi bir girişimde bulunmuyor. Sovyetler de Türkiye'yi Batıdan uzak tutmağa çalışıyor. Ama Türkiye'nin Lozan Antlaşmasından beri inzivada kalmış olması, bundan böyle de Batıya sırt çevireceği anlamına gelmez.	96
	1927		
31	12 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 22 Ankara İstiklâl mahkemesi istatistikler yayınladı. Buna göre Mahkeme, Mart 1925'ten beri siyasi suçtan 1000, eşkiyalıktan 800 kadar kişiyi yargılamış. 125 kişi idam, 500 kadar kişi de hapis cezasına çarptırılmıştır. Gazi, çağdaşlaşabilmek için Türkiye'nin iyiliksever bir mutlakiyete ihtiyacı olduğunu düşünmektedir. Elaziz İstiklâl Mahkemesinin çalışmaları hakkında pek bilgi alınamıyor. Doğuda sıkıyönetim 23 Kasım'a kadar uzatıldı. 2000 Kürt Batı Anadolu'ya sürülmüştür. Bunların iskânları için bir kanun Meclise sunulacaktır. Balkanlardan, Kıbrıs'tan ve Kafkaslardan gelecek göçmenlerin Doğu Anadolu'ya yerleştirilmeleri düşünülüyor.	98

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
32	18 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 28.....	100
		Millî Eğitim Bakanı Necati Bey, çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerinin eğitim sistemlerini incelemek üzere seyahate çıkıyor. İngiltere'yi de ziyaret edebilirse kendisine kolaylık gösterileceğinin Londra'daki Türk Büyükelçisine duyurulması yerinde olur. Necati Bey, enerjik ve sert bir adamdır. Biraz Fransızca konuşur. Gazi'ye yakındır.	
33	21 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 37	100
		1926 yılında Türkiye'de görevli Misyon Şefleri ile ilgili rapor. Yıl içinde dokuz ülkenin Elçiliklerinde değişiklikler: Almanya, İtalya, Polonya, Rusya, ABD, Belçika, Çekoslovakya ve Mısır Elçileri ve Eklilikleri. Elçiler, İstanbul'da oturanlar-Ankara'da oturanlar diye ikiye ayrılıyor.	
34	28 Ocak	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'DEN, ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 71	102
		Ankara'dan dönen Türk Büyükelçisi (Ahmet Ferit Tek) ziyaretine geldi. Türk Hükümeti, sizden (Clerk'ten) memnunmuş, Türk-İngiliz dostluğunu geliştirmek arzusunda. B. Büyükelçi, borçlar sorununun çözümüne yardımcı olmanızı istedi, zorluk çıkaran şimdi Fransa değil, Sir Adam Block'ur dedi. Churchill'in Roma ziyareti ve Mussolini ile görüşmesi hakkında bilgi istedi. Mussolini'nin bazı konuşmalarının Türkiye'de kaygıyla izlendiğini belirtti. Churchill'in İtalya'ya tatil için gittiğini, siyasi bir görevi olmadığını söyledim. Büyükelçi Bağdad'da Türk konsolosu atanması konusunda fikrimi sordu. Resmen başvurulursa bunun kabul edilebileceğini söyledim. Büyükelçi birkaç konuya daha değindi: İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin Ankara'ya taşınmasını arzuladıklarını söyledi. Bu konuda maddi güçlükler var, dedim. Batı İran'daki İngiliz	

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		Konsoloslarının Kürtleri Türkiye aleyhine kışkırttıklarını ileri sürdü. Bunun aslı olmadığını söyledim.	
35	31 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 52.....	104
		1926 yılına ait Türkiye Yıllık Raporu ilişikte sunulmuştur.	
Ek		TÜRKİYE YILLIK RAPORU, 1926	105
		İçindekiler: Genel Durum, Dış ilişkiler, İçişleri, Deniz kuvvetleri, Boğazlar Komisyonu, Askeri konular, Hava kuvvetleri, Ekonomik, mali ve sosyal işler.	
		I- Genel Durum: 1926'da Türkiye iyi bir yıl geçirdi. Musul sorunu çözümlendi, Mustafa Kemal'e karşı suikast girişimi zamanında ortaya çıkarıldı, 1925'le karşılaştırılınca doğu Anadolu sakindi, vergilerin artırılması tepki yaratmadı ve maliye iyileşti. Yönetimde suiistimal devam ediyor. Türk halkı uysal ve sadık.	
		II- Dış ilişkiler: <u>Genel olarak:</u> Türkler kendilerini örsle çekiç, İngiltere ile Rusya arasında hiss ediyor. Gazi, İngiltere'nin de desteğiyle, ülkesini Batılaştırmaya kararlı, aynı zamanda Rusya ile de iyi geçinmek istiyor. Türkiye, Musul sorununda yenilgiyi kabullenmiş ve yüzünü Batıya çevirmiştir. Uzun müzakerelerden sonra Türk-Yunan anlaşması imzalanmıştır. Türk-Suriye sınır anlaşmasına rağmen Türk-Fransız ilişkilerinde gerileme oldu, "Bozkurt-Lotus" olayı bir fırtına kopardı. Türk-Alman Ticaret Anlaşması yapıldı, Almanya'ya en çok kayırlan ülke statüsü tanındı. Musul krizi sırasında Türkiye'de Rus etkisi yüksekti, sorun çözümlendikten sonra Rus etkisi azaldı. Sovyetlere içten yakınlığı olan Tevfik Rüştü Bey koltuğunu korudu. Türkiye'nin dış ilişkilerinin karanlık yanı İtalya'dır. Yıl içinde Türkiye birçok anlaşma imzalamıştır, ticaret anlaşması ve saire.	

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		<u>İngiltere ile ilişkiler:</u> Musul sorunu çözümlendi. Ancak, Türkiye'deki İngiliz vatandaşları, Türk milliyetçiliği yüzünden sıkıntı çekiyorlar. Musul sorunu yılın ilk yarısına damgasını vurdu. Sonunda Türkler, petrol gelirlerinden 25 yıl boyunca %10 pay alma karşılığında Milletler Cemiyeti tarafından çizilen Türkiye-Irak sınırını kabul ettiler. 5 Haziran'da Ankara antlaşması imzalandı Antlaşmanın onay belgeleri 18 Temmuz'da değiş-tokuş edildi. Türklerin İtalya korkusu Ankara antlaşmasının yapılmasını kolaylaştırmıştır. Bir karma komisyon tarafından sınırın kesin olarak çizilmesi öngörülmüyor. Yıl sonuna doğru Türk-İngiliz ilişkilerinde iyileşme görüldü. Ama ilişkiler dostluğa dönüşmedi. Kapitülasyonlar kalkmıştır ve Türkiye'deki İngiliz çıkarlarını koruma konusunda Türk makamlarıyla sürtüşmeler olmaktadır. Birkaç örnek: Mart'ta, bazı işleri yalnız Türk vatandaşlarının yapabileceği, yabancıların buna hakkı olmadığı açıklandı. Çanakkale'de savaş yerlerinin İngilizler tarafından ziyaret edilmesi, İzmir'de İngiliz vatandaşlarına ait emläke değer biçilmesi, İngiliz hayır kurumlarına vergi salınması gibi konularında da güçlükler yaşandı.	
		<u>Fransa ile ilişkiler:</u> Türkiye'deki Fransız işadamları ve Katolik okulları konularında da sıkıntılar var. Şubat 1926'da Fransa'nın Suriye Yüksek Komiseri Ankara'yı ziyaret etti ve Türkiye-Suriye sınırı konusunda Türk Hükümetiyle anlaşma imzaladı. Yıl sonuna doğru karma sınır komisyonu çalışmalara başladı. 23 Aralık'ta da Türkiye-Suriye Gümrük Anlaşması imzalandı. 2 Ağustos'ta <i>Lotus</i> adlı Fransız gemisi bir Türk gemisini (<i>Bozkurt</i>) batırdı ve Fransız kaptan İstanbul'da tutuklanıp hapse atıldı. Bu olay Türk-Fransız ilişkilerinde gerginlik yarattı. Dava, Uluslararası Adalet Divanına havale edildi.	
		<u>İtalya ile ilişkiler:</u> Türkiye-İtalya resmi ilişkileri dü-rüstçe ve kibarca devam ediyor. Türkiye'deki İtalyanlar hallerinden pek şikâyetçi değillerdir. Türk Hükümeti, Türkiye'ye karşı İtalyan emellerinden	

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		kaygı duymaktadır. Zaman zaman çıkarılan bazı söylentiler de kaygıları yaygınlaştırıyor. Türkiye'deki İtalyan Büyükelçisi Orsini Baroni sakindir. İtalyan şirketleri Çukurova'da faaldirler ve olay yaratmadan çalışmalarını sürdürmektedirler.	
		ABD ile ilişkiler: 1926'da Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerinde gelişme olmadı. Amerikan Senatosu Lozan Antlaşmasını onaylamadı. Türkiye misillemeye bulunmuyor.	
		Rusya ile ilişkiler: Türk-Rus ilişkileri dostça devam ediyor. Fakat İtalya korkusu Türkiye'yi İngiltere'ye yaklaştırıyor ve Rusya'dan uzaklaştırıyor. Türkiye ile Rusya'nın bir Doğu ülkeleri paktı yapacakları yolundaki haberler pek ciddiye alınmadı. Irak sınıрыyla ilgili antlaşma, Türkiye'de Rus nüfuzunu geri letti. Ticari ilişkilerde Türkiye ile Rusya arasında tartışma yaşandı ve bir ticaret antlaşması yapılamadı. Türkiye, Rus ticaret temsilcilerine diplomatik statü tanımadı.	
		İran ile ilişkiler: 22 Nisan'da Türk-İran Dostluk ve Güvenlik Antlaşması imzalandı: Kürtler ve Azerbaycan konusunda karşılıklı kuşkular giderildi. Sonbaharda İran Saray Veziri Taimurtaş Ankara'ya bir ziyaret yaptı. Büyük bir Asya Paku hazırlandığı yolunda söylentiler çıktı.	
		Yunanistan ile ilişkiler: Nüfus mübadelesinden doğan sorunların çözümü için çaba harcandı. 1925'te yapılan antlaşma onaylanmadan kaldı. Yunanistan'da kalan Türk emlakı ile Türkiye'deki Rum emlakı başlıca sorun idi. Türk emlakı miktar ve değer bakımından Rum emlakından çok daha fazladır. Müzakerelere devam olundu ve Aralık ayında yeni bir antlaşma yapıldı. Etabli sorununun da çözümü öngörüldü. Trakya'daki askersiz bölgenin sınırlarının belirlenmesi işi tamamlandı. Milletler Cemiyeti, taruſmalı olan Çay ada'yı Yunanistan'a verdi.	
		Bulgaristan ile ilişkiler: Sınır komisyonu, Trakya sınıрыyla ilgili çalışmalarını tamamladı. 1925'te imzalanan Türk-Bulgar antlaşması onaylandı ve iki ülke	

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		ilişkileri normale döndü. Türkiye, Balkanlara karşı ilgisini sürdürüyor. Bulgar Savunma Bakanının Roma ziyareti, Türkiye'de kaygı yarattı.	
		<u>Almanya ile ilişkiler:</u> Türkiye ile Almanya arasında İkamet ve Ticaret anlaşması imzalandı. Almanya'nın Türkiye ile ticareti 1926'da çok arttı. Almanya'nın Milletler Cemiyetine girmesi Türkiye'de ilgi uyandırdı. Alman Parlamentosu, Ankara'da bir Büyükelçilik binası yapımı için büyük ödenek ayırdı ve Almanya Büyükelçiliği 1927'de İstanbul'dan Ankara'ya taşınacaktır.	
		<u>Polonya ile ilişkiler:</u> Polonya, Türkiye ile ilişkilerine büyük önem vermektedir ve Ankara'da ilk Elçilik açan ülkelerden biri olmuştur. İlgisi yalnız siyasi değildir. Aynı zamanda Polonya, Yakın Doğu'da kendisine pazar aramaktadır. Polonyalılar Türkiye'de imtiyazlar da alıyorlar. İstanbul'da bir Polonya kulübü açıldı ve Türk Hükümetiyle sıcak ilişkiler kuruldu.	
		III- İçişleri: <u>Genel:</u> 1926'da Türk Hükümetini Doğu sorunu uğraştırdı. Elâziz İstiklâl mahkemesi çalışmalarını sürdürüyor. Bazı Kürt aileler İzmir ve Kastamonu'ya gönderildi. Balkan ve Kafkas göçmenlerini Doğu'ya iskân etme düşüncesi gerçekleşmedi. Ankara İstiklâl mahkemesi batı Anadolu'da Kemalist rejime karşı her muhalefeti bastırıyor. İzmir suikası üzerine bu mahkeme hemen olaya el koydu. Muhalefet susturuldu. Çağdaşlaşma hareketi yıl içinde devam etti. Gazi, çağdaşlaşma planında başarılı oluyor. Gelirler arttı, bütçe dengelendi. Demiryolu yapımı için Belçika ve İsveç şirketleriyle anlaşmaya varıldı. Borç tahvilleri konusunda ise Fransa ve İngiltere ile anlaşmaya varılamadı.	
		<u>Azınlıklar:</u> 1926'da azınlıkların durumu, 1925'e kıyasla, daha iyi idi. İsveçre Medeni kanununun kabulü üzerine, Museviler, Ermeniler ve Rumlar, aile hukukuyla ilgili ayrıcalıklı haklarından (Lozan, madde 42.) vazgeçtiler. Fakat Rum azınlığı bazı güçlükler çıkardı.	

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Yeni yasalar: 1926'da birçok yeni yasa çıkarıldı. Bunlar eğitim, sağlık, yönetim, taşınmaz mallar ve mali konular ile ilgilidir. En önemlileri Medeni Kanun, Ceza Kanunu ve Ticaret Kanunudur. Bu arada Gregoryen takvimi de kabul edildi.

IV- Deniz kuvvetleri: 1926'da donanmanın savaş gücünde bir iyileşme olmadı. Alman Amiral von Gagem, Türk Hükûmetine danışman olarak görevlendirildi. "Yavuz" (Göben) gemisinde kalıyor. Atış talimleri artırıldı. Türk donanması için Rotterdam'da üç denizaltı yaptırılıyor. İzmir'te büyük bir yüzen havuz inşa ediliyordu ve burada Yavuz zırhlısı onarılacaktı. Fakat havuz Yavuz'u kaldıramayarak çöktü. Bütçede donanmaya 6 milyon lira ödenek ayrıldı. Deniz uçaklarına da önem veriliyor.

V- Boğazlar Komisyonu: Boğazlar Sözleşmesiyle öngörülen Boğazlar Komisyonu 1926'da çalışmalarına başladı ve Milletler Cemiyetine ilk raporunu sundu. Komisyon 8 üyeden ve bir Türk Başkandan (Amiral Vasıf Paşa) oluşuyor.

VI- Askeri konular: Türk Genelkurmay'ı yabancı askeri ataşelere halâ şüpheyle bakıyor. Ataşeler manevralara davet ediliyor. Ama kapalı kapılar yavaş yavaş açılıyor. Halen silah altında bulunan 1903 ve 1904 kuralarının mevcudu 90.000 tahmin ediliyor. Piyade ve topçu birliklerinde pek değişiklik yok, 8. Süvari tümeninin lağvedildiği sanılıyor. Askeri şura birkaç kez toplandı. Askerin silah ve teçhizatı ve üniformaları. Tekirdağ, Polatlı ve Söke taraflarında askeri tatbikat yapıldığı öğrenildi. Doğuda harekate hazır 13.000 asker tutuluyor. Şeyh Said ayaklanmasının 1926 baharında kesin olarak bastırıldığı anlaşıyor.

VII- Hava kuvvetleri: Yıl içinde Türk hava kuvvetlerinin mevcudunda ve teçhizatında pek artış olmadı. Bir miktar Junkers uçağı alındıysa da yenileri sipariş edilmedi. Yetkililer başka uçak tipleri üzerinde duruyorlar. Halen uçak mevcudu 106'dır. Gazimir'deki okul yılda 40 pilot yetiştiriyor. Eski

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		şehir'de yeni bir hava harp okulu açıldı. Kayseri'de bir uçak fabrikasının temeli atıldı. <u>Sivil havacılık</u> . Bir şirket, İstanbul ile Bükrüş ve İstanbul ile Ankara arasında uçak seferlerine başlıyor.	
		VIII- Ekonomik ve Mali İşler: Ürün düşük oldu. Teşvik kanunu sanayiye biraz kamçıladi. Demiryolu yapımı biraz yavaş gitti. 338 kilometre ray döşendi. Demir yolu yapımı programının dökümü. Karayolu yapımında da, özellikle Ankara ilinde, ilerleme oldu. Liman yapımı için iki yabancı şirkete görüşmeler yapılıyor. İstanbul limanı ve kabotaj hakkında bilgi. <u>Ticaret:</u> Türkiye'nin 1925 yılı dış ticareti, 1923 ve 1924 yıllarıyla karşılaştırmalı istatistikler. 1925'te Türkiye'nin ithalatı bir önceki yıla göre % 25 artarak 242 milyon T.L.'ye yükselmiş. Pamuk ve pamuklular, Türkiye'nin en önemli ithal ürünleridir. Bunların toplam değeri 74 milyon lirayı geçmektedir. 1925'te ihracat % 21 artışla 193 milyon liraya yükselmiş. Başlıca ihraç ürünleri tütün, meyve, pamuk, boya, afyon ve yündür. İhracat en fazla İtalya, Almanya, ABD, Fransa ve İngiltere'ye yapılmaktadır. Bu beş ülke aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin en fazla ithalat yaptığı ülkelerdir. Karşılaştırmalı istatistikler. 1926 yılında ithalat, 1925'e göre, epeyce düşmüştür. <u>Kamu maliyesi:</u> Mali yılbaşı 1 Mart'tan 1 Haziran'a kaydırılmış ve ek bütçe yapmak gerekmiştir. 1926-27 bütçesinde gelirler 190.158.854 TL, giderler ise 190.091.784 TL olarak tahmin edilmiştir. Bütçe denktir. Açıklayıcı istatistikler. Hükümetin genel maliye politikası, vergi yükünü çiftçi ve köylünün omuzlarından tüccar ve şehirlinin omuzlarına kaydırma yönündedir. 1926'da Türkiye'nin dış borcu 84.5 milyon TL'dir (altın). Bütçe giderlerinin % 5'i dış borç ödemelerine ayrılmıştır. 1927-28 bütçesinde yeni vergi öngörülmüyor.	
36	11 Şubat	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI GÖREVLİSİ L. OLIPHANT'TAN DEVLET KONUK AĞIR- LAMA FONUNA YAZI. ACELE	140

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		Türkiye Millî Eğitim Bakanı İngiliz eğitim kurumlarını incelemek için iki görevliyle birlikte 21 Şubat'ta İngiltere'ye gelecektir. Kendisi Gazi'nin yakın çevresindendir. İngiltere'nin resmi konuğu olmamakla birlikte, İngiltere'de kendisinin ağırlanması yerinde olacaktır. İngiltere'deki giderlerinin Devlet Konuk Ağırlama Fonundan karşılanabileceği düşünülmektedir. Gereğini takdirlerine.	
37	4 Mart	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 101.....	141
		Takriri Sükun Kanununun uygulanması 3 Mart 1929'a kadar uzatıldı, İstiklâl Mahkemelerinin görev süresi ise uzatılmadı. İsmet Paşa bu kanunu ve Mahkemeyi savundu ve barış içinde kalkınmaya yönelik tehdidin bertaraf edildiğini söyledi. Muhalefet partisinin kapatılmasının da gerekli olduğunu ileri sürdü.	
38	15 Mart	İNGİLTERE'NİN TÜRKİYE MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 133	142
		Türkiye ile Sovyetler Birliği arasında Ticaret Anlaşmasının imzalanması üzerine, Türk basını, Rus dostluğunu övdü ve bu dostluğun Türk dış politikasının mihveri olduğunu yazdı. Fakat Türklerin gözünde Rusya, şimdi İtalya ve İngiltere kadar ağırlık taşımıyor, sanırım. Dış görünüşüyle Türkiye sakinidir, Gazi muhalefeti susturmuştur. Bugünkü rejimin en yaman düşmanı siyaset değil, ekonomidir.	
39	30 Mart	İNGİLTERE'NİN TÜRKİYE MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI. GİZLİ. NO. 158	144
		Ankara'da bir balo düzenlenmiş ve Gazi, diplomat eşleriyle dans etmiştir. Sonra genç İngiliz diplomatı Hadow ile konuşmuş, Filistin hatıralarını anlatmış. Lloyd George politikasına rağmen, İngiliz milletin Türkiye'ye düşman olmadığını, İngiliz Hükûmetinin de bu görüşü doğruladığını söylemiş, İngiltere'yi övmüştür. Halide Edib'i ve	

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		Musevileri eleştirmiştir. Gazi'nin, İngiltere'de bulunan Türk siyasi mültecilerinin faaliyetlerinden rahatsız olduğu izlenimi edinilmiştir. Gazi onay vermiş; Türkiye, İngiltere ile daha iyi ilişkiler geliştirmeye çalışıyor.	
40	6 Nisan	İNGLİZ AVAM KAMERASINDA TÜRKİYE İLE İLGİLİ SORU-CEVAP.	146
		Mr. Scurr, İstanbul'daki İngiliz Büyükelçiliğinin ne zaman başkent Ankara'ya taşınacağını soruyor. Dışişleri Bakanı Chamberlain, İngiliz Büyükelçisinin sık sık Ankara'ya gittiği, fakat şimdilik orada sürekli oturamayacağı yolunda cevap veriyor.	
41	27 Nisan	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A TEL. NO. 2.....	146
		Yugoslavya'nın Türk emlakı konusundaki tutumu Türk Hükümetinin canını sıkmıştır. Hikmet Beyin (Bayur), Gazi'nin tarihi nutkunun hazırlanmasına yardım için Belgrad'dan Ankara'ya gelmiştir.	
42	9 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 297.....	147
		Altı ay Ankara'da kalmış olan Bay Knox'un ilginç raporu ilişiktir. Türkiye'nin istikrarını en fazla ekonomi tehdit edecek gibidir.	
Ek	20 Mayıs	ANKARA'DA OTURAN İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİLİĞİ MÜSTEŞAR VERİLİ MR. KNOX'UN HAZIRLADIĞI RAPOR.....	147
		Cumhuriyet rejimi, Hükümetin amacı, başkent Ankara, ekonomik kalkınma, Mustafa Kemal Paşa ve bazı tanınmış kişiler hakkında izlenimler ve görüşler.	
		<i>Rejim:</i> Türkiye'de Büyük siyasi tasarılar önce Halk Partisi grubunda görüşülüyor, ondan sonra Meclise geliyor; önemli kararları veren ise Cumhurbaşkanı ile yakın çevresidir. Mustafa Kemal, gelecek Parti kongresinde bir nutuk okuyacak ve belki yeni bir politika çizecektir. O, bir işe karar verdik-	

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		ten ve onu açıkladıktan sonra, bir daha o hedefe doğru ısrarla yürür. Mevcut rejimin gücü ve ömrü konusunda tahmin yürütmek zordur.	
		<i>Hükümetin birinci önceliği Millî Savunmadır. Askeri harcamalar kısılsa ekonomi canlanabilir diye düşünülebilir. Ama bunun büyük riskleri de vardır: çünkü, çok zor kazanılmış olan bağımsızlık tehlikeye atılmış olur. Halen askeri harcamalar bütçenin %36'sıdır. Alman Reichswher kadar mevcudu olan bir ordu için bu para fazla değildir.</i>	
		<i>Başkent: Ankara'nın başkent seçilmesinde rol oynamış olan stratejik ve siyasal nedenler hala geçerlidir. Başkentte inşaat çalışmaları ısrarla karışık olarak devam ediyor ve yeni bir şehir ortaya çıkıyor. Ankara, yabancı Büyükelçiler için bir sosyal merkez haline getirilmeğe çalışılıyor. Danslı davetlerde görülen erkeklerin çoğu genç ve biraz acemidir. Bunlar arasında Batılaşma hızla yayılıyor. Kadınların bazıları dünya görmüş ve eğitilmiş ise de çoğu sessiz seyircilerdir.</i>	
		<i>Ekonomik kalkınma: En yavaş gelişme ekonomide görülüyor. Ülkenin istikrarını tehdit eden ekonomidir. Türkler, geleneksel olarak, asker, çiftçi ve çobandırlar; ticaretle ve maliyede ise acemidirler. Bu nedenle Türkiye, ekonomide pek başarılı olamıyor. Nüfus azdır. Kaynaklar kıt. Yine de bazı gelişmeler vardır. Bütçe denktir, ihracat giderek artmaktadır.</i>	
		<i>Ankara'da bazı etkili kişiler: Mustafa Kemal Paşa, Menteşe Mebusu Şükrü Kaya, İzmit Mebusu Safvet Ziya, Afyonkarahisar Mebusu Ali (Çetinkaya), Siirt Mebusu Mahmut (Soydan), Bolu Mebusu Falih Rıfkı (Atay), İstanbul Mebusu Edip Servet, Afyonkarahisar Mebusu Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın), ve Kütahta Mebusu Nuri (Conker) haklarında izlenimler.</i>	
43	22 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 318.....	162

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		Türkiye ekonomisi. Osmanlı bankasının gizli raporu. Türkiye bir fasit daire içinde görünüyor. İngiliz, Fransız, Amerikan sermayesine sırt çeviriyor. Ancak Alman sermayesi Türkiye'de demiryolu yapımını destekliyor. Ama böyle sürüp gidemez. İdarede, bürokraside suiistimaller yaygındır. Almanlar, İngiltere'den borç alıp Türkiye'nin girişimlerini finanse ediyor. Tevfik Rüştü, İngiliz sermayesinin ilerde doğrudan Türkiye'ye gelebileceğini söylüyor.	
Ek		OMANLI BANKASI GİZLİ RAPORUNUN ÖZETİ: TÜRKİYE'NİN ÖDEME GÜCÜ	165
		Türkiye'nin 1926-27 bütçesi denk. Ama geçmiş yıllardan açığı var. Türkiye'nin 34 milyon lira dış borç ödediği Ocak ayında açıklandı. Ama yıl sonunda bütçede 13 milyon lira açık olacak. 1927-28 bütçesi 13 milyon açık devralacak. Başka açıklar da ortaya çıkacak. Bütçenin % 50 kadarı orduya gidiyor. Bütçe yıllık 17 milyonluk bir açığı taşıyabilir mi? Zorluklar var. Vergiler zaten yüksek. Türkiye, borçlarını ödeyebilmek için günlük 6.000 Sterlin saun almak durumundadır. Bu da kolay değildir. Bütçe açığı 40 milyona çıkabilir ve Türk lirası düşebilir. Türkiye ticaret gelirlerini artırmak, yabancı sermayeyi çekmek, bütçenin bazı kalemlerinden kısınu yapmak durumundadır. Ancak bu yolla dış borçlarını ödeyebilir.	
44	29 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 394.....	168
		Gazi, nihayet İstanbul'u ziyaret etmeye karar verdi. Hazırlıklar yapılıyor. Resmi program açıklandı. Ziyaret 1 Temmuz'da başlıyor. Basın sevinçten coşuyor. Ziyaret nedeni pek belli değil. Gazi'nin sağlığı konusunda kaygılı söylentiler var. Doktorlar kendisine deniz kıyısını salık vermiş olabilir, deniyor. Bu, doğru ise başkentün geleceğini de etkileyebilir. Ziyaretin başka nedenleri de olabilir. Ziyaret, İstanbul'da oturan diplomatlar arasında da kaygılar	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		yarattı. Bazı kararlar aldık: Elçilik binalarımıza bayrak çekeceğiz, Cumhurbaşkanının defterine adlarımızı yazacağız. Alman Elçisi Nadolny, Cumhurbaşkanı tarafından kabul edilmemiz için girişimde bulundu.	
45	29 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 341	170
		TBMM çalışmalarını tamamladı. Geçen yıla göre bu yıl daha az yasa çıkardı. İkinci Meclisin görev süresi sona erdi. Gazi, kapanışta beklenen büyük nutkunu okumadı. Seçime gidilecek ve Kasım başında Cumhurbaşkanı seçilecek.	
46	5 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 348	171
		Ankara'daki İkinci Kâtip Helm'in notu ilişkide sunuldu. İngiliz sermayesinin Türkiye'ye çekilmesi konusunda Gazi'nin yakın çevresinden Edip Bey ile yapılan görüşme.	
Ek.	30 Haziran	İKİNCİ KÂTİP ALEX K. HELM'İN SERVİS NOTU (GİZLİ)	172
		İstanbul mebusu Edip Servet Bey'in söylediğine göre: Gazi, yer değiştirmeye ihtiyaç duymuş. İsmet Paşa, şimdilik İstanbul'a gitmiyor, belki daha sonra orada Gazi ile buluşacakmış. Gazi ile İsmet Paşa, Musul konusunda İngiltere ile anlaşmaya karar vermişler. Anlaşabilmek için büyük zorluk yaşanmış. Edip Bey, İngiliz sermayesinin neden Türkiye'ye gelmediğini sordu. Borcunu tanımayan, faizlerini ödemeyen bir adama siz borç verir midiniz? diye sordum. Bir Fransız banker de aynı şeyleri söylemiş. Kuponlar sorunu yakında halledilecekmiş. Edip Bey, geçen yıl Mekke'de toplanan İslam konferansına Türkiye delegesi olarak şapkayla gitmişti. İbni Suud'a İngiltere ile anlaşmasını söylemiş. Gazi, milli sınırları ötesinde macera istemiyor. Poliükasının temel taşı budur. Edip Bey, Gazi ile yakın teması olan bir kimsedir.	

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47	6 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 355	174
		Gazi, nihayet 1 Temmuz'da İstanbul'u ziyaret etti. İzmit'ten yata geldi. 21 pare top atışı ile karşılandı. Geçtiği yerlere zafer takları dikildi. Dolmabahçe sarayına yerleşti. İstanbul coştı. Sarayda konsoloslar heyetini kabul etti. Büyük fener alayı düzenlendi. Ziyaret, bugünkü rejimin yerleşmiş olduğunu gösteren bir aşamadır. Gazi, sekiz yıllık aradan sonra, devirmiş olduğu Saltanat ve Hilâfetin merkezini tekrar ziyaret etmektedir. Gerçi bu ziyaret, Ankara'nın statüsünde bir değişiklik yapılacağı ve başkentin tekrar İstanbul'a taşınacağı anlamına gelmez. Ama doktorları Gazi'ye yüksek rakımlı Ankara yerine deniz seviyesindeki İstanbul'da oturmasını tavsiye ederlerse acaba bu nasıl bir sonuç verir sorusu bir merak konusudur. Beyoğlu ve Galata sakinleri Anadolu şampiyonunu biraz buruk karşılamışlar, İstanbul Türk ahalisi ise onlara katılmıştır (Bkz. No. 48).	
48	6 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 357	176
		İlgi No. 47: Gazi'nin İstanbul'daki konsolosları kabulü hakkında Başkonsolos vekilinin raporu ilişiktir. Elçiler Dolmabahçe sarayında defteri imzaladılar. Rus Büyükelçisi Gazi'yi yazlık konutunda ağırlamak isterse Alman, Fransız ve İtalyan Büyükelçileri de bunu yapmak isteyeceklerdir.	
Ek	4 Temmuz	İNGİLİZ BAŞKONSOLOS VEKİLİ MATHEWS'ÜN RAPORU	177
		Gazi, 1 Temmuz akşamı Dolmabahçe sarayında konsolosları kabul etti. Fransız Başkonsolosu bir konuşma hazırlamıştı, ama nutuk söylenmeyeceği bildirildi. Loş bir salonda Cumhurbaşkanı'nın elini sıkık ve kendisine hoş geldiniz dedik.	

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49	13 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 374.....	178
		Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüşdü, Afgan Dışişleri Bakanı Mahmud Tarzi'nin Türkiye ziyareti hakkında bilgi verdi. Türkiye'yi örnek almalarını konuk bakana salık vermiş.	
50	20 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DİŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 380.....	179
		Türkiye'de modernleşme konusunda İzmir, Trabzon, Mersin ve Edirne Konsoloslarından alınan raporlar ilişiktir. Gelişmeler bölgeden bölgeye değişiyor. Kırsal alanlarda ve iç bölgelerde din güçlüdür. Hükümet demiryoluna ağırlık veriyor, karayolu yapımı yavaş kalıyor. Gençler arasında içki alışkanlığı yaygınlaşıyor. Modern Türkiye henüz yenidir ve çağdaşlaşmaktadır. Gericilerin saldırılarına dayanıp dayanamayacağını anlamak için uzun yıllar geçmesi gerekecektir (Bkz. No. 51).	
Ek 1		İNGİLTERE'NİN İZMİR VİSKONSOLOSU WATKINSON'DAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR	180
		İzmir yöresinde çağdaşlaşma: Gazi, Batı Avrupa'da kine benzer sosyal ve ekonomik yaşam biçimini ülkesine yerleştirmek istiyor. Onun prestiji sayesinde yenilikler çabucak kabul ediliyor. Ancak halk kitleleri bunları pek kavrayamıyor. İzmir vilâyetinde karayolu yapım çalışmaları yoğunudur. İkinci sırada çağdaş eğitim var. Okul yapımı da hızla ilerliyor. Telefon sisteminde de büyük gelişme var. Konut yapımı yavaş gidiyor. Öncelikle yıkıntular temizleniyor. İzmir'de yapılan ve yapılmakta olan işlerin ve harcamaların dökümü: Türk Ocağı binaları, salhane yapımı, otomatik telefon sistemi, Bahri Baba'da geniş bir park, 230 bin lira harcama, Gazi Bulvarı'nda inşaat, itfaiye, Memleket Hastanesi'ne cankurtaran, Belediye binasında yeni evlendirme dairesi, kanalizasyon planı, Işıklar semtinde yeni	

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		bir mezarlık, Gazi heykeli hazırlığı, Alsancak'ta bir futbol sahası, İzmir-Ankara arasında yataklı vagon servisi, meyve paketleme binası... Belediye bütçesi 600.000 TL. İzmir'de daha birçok yenilikler gerçekleştiriliyor. Taksimetre, elektrikleendirme, üyatro, telsiz telefon, caz ve Charleston vs. vs. Ancak yabancılarla kuşkuyla bakılması gelişmeleri biraz yavaşlatıyor.	
Ek 2	12 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU KNIGHTTAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR NO. 14	185
		Trabzon yöresinde çağdaşlaşma: Samsun'dan güne ve doğuya demiryolu var. Trenler kaplumbağa hızıyla çalışıyor. Trabzon ve Samsun'da otomobil ve kamyon bol. Ama yollar yetersiz. Modern itfaiye araçları var. Kadınlar hala peçeli. Türklerle yabancılar arasında sosyal kaynaşma yok denecek kadar az. Erkeklerle şapka giydirilmesinden başka, resmi görevlilerin öncülüğünde modernleşme hareketi başlatılmıştır. Erzurum'da bir otel açılmıştır, Samsun ve Trabzon'daki oteller konfordan yoksundur. Daha iyi durumda bir "Pansion suisse" (İsviçre pansiyonu) var, İsviçreli bir Alman tarafından işletiliyor. Trabzon'da bir park yapıldı. "Gazi" adı verilen bir bulvar açılmaktadır. Şehir elektriksizdir, gelecek yıl elektrikleendirileceği açıklandı. Trabzon'un uygarlık düzeyi düşüktür. Çağdaşlaşma, son yıllarda dine karşı ilginin azalmasında görülüyor. Şehirde ve sahil köylerinde camiye gidenlerin sayısı çok azaldı. Ama içerde, kırsal bölgelerde dini duygular kuvvetlidir. Rakıya düşkünlük yaygınlaşıyor.	
Ek 3	27 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN MERSİN KONSOLOSU CHAFY-DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR NO. 17	188
		Mersin yöresinde çağdaşlaşma: <i>Kılık kıyaset</i> : Renkli ulusal giysiler hızla kayboluyor. Aruk Çerkez Yörük'ten veya Arnavut Kürt'ten ayırt edilemiyor. Şe-	

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		<p>hirde gençler İngiliz gibi giyiniyor artık, hatta dansinglerle birlikte smokin de geldi. <i>Maddî gelişme:</i> Demiryolu, motorlu taşıtlar, elektrik dışında Adana ve Mersin'de maddî gelişme pek yok. Eski tas, eski hamam. Adana'da ancak yarısı yapılmış bir bulvar, henüz tamamlanamamış iddialı yeni resmi binalar ve dükkânlar göze çarpıyor. Mersin belediyesi de sahile kaldırım yaptı. İlk radyo Ticaret Odası binasına kuruldu. Mersin-Tarsus yolu iyi, öteki yollar bozuk. Adana'da "Yeni Otel"den başka iyi otel yok. Orosdi-Back adlı modern bir mağaza vardı, o da yandı. Rumlar ve Ermeniler gittikten sonra vasıflı işçi bulmak zorlaştı. İyi bir marangoz, tamirci, elektrikçi, berber yok. <i>Spor ve eğlence:</i> Türkler, Avrupa sporlarına özendiriliyor. Adana ve Mersin'de spor kulüpleri kuruldu. Erkekler, kızlar bisiklete alışıyorsa. Her Cuma günü cirit oynanıyor. <i>Örf ve âdetler:</i> Haremlik-selâmlık ayrımı tarihe karışıyor. Aruk kadınlar ve erkekler evlerde bir arada oluyorlar. Toplantılarda konuşmalar pamuk, tahıl ve vergiler üzerinde dönüyor, politika konuşulmuyor. "Kokteyl" kelimesi Türkçeye girdi. Charleston dansı pek revaçta. Sınırlayıcı eski örf ve âdetler terk edilince yeni kuşak sanki ahlak dengesini kaybediyor.</p>	
Ek 4	25 Mayıs	<p>İNGİLTERE'NİN EDİRNE KONSOLOSLUĞUNDAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR</p> <p>Edirne'de çağdaşlaşma: Meriç kıyısında bir park, bir tenis kortu yapıldı, müzik de olacak. Sivrisinekleri halletmek için uğraşıyorlar. Şehre bir de meydan saati kondu, sesi her taraftan duyuluyor.</p>	192
51	20 Temmuz	<p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 384.....</p> <p>İlgi: No. 50. Mustafa Kemal'in çağdaşlaşma programını başlatmasından beri taşradaki kadınların durumu hakkında konsolosluk raporları ilişiktir. Kadınlar, İslam hukukunun aşırı baskısından XX. yüzyıl Avrupa özgürlüğüne geçiyorlar. Bu geçişte</p>	192

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Ek 1	12 Mayıs	<p>yöneticiler de temkinli ve yumuşak davranıyor ve asıl okula güveniyorlar.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU KNIGHTTAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR NO. 8</p> <p><i>Trabzon yöresinde kadınların durumu:</i> Geçen kış Vali, kadınların birkaç gün içinde peçelerini çıkarmalarını isteyen bir karar yayınlamıştı. Trabzon, Türkiye'nin en gerici vilâyeti olarak nam salmış ise de halkı rahattır. Rize ve Erzurum'da insanlar şapka giymemek için idam sehпасını boylarken Trabzonlular hemen şapkayı kabul etmişlerdir. Valinin emri üzerine peçeler de kaldırılmış, fakat karnamede zikredilmiyor diye kara çarşaf çıkarılmamıştır ve durumda pek bir değişiklik olmamıştır. Sokaklarda yalnız kız öğrencilerin yüzleri görülüyor ki onlar annelerinin çarşaflarını benimsemiyor. Trabzon'da Kadınlar sosyal hayata pek katılmıyor, öğretmenlik dışında herhangi bir meslek sahibi olmuyor, devlet memurluğu yapmıyorlar. Hizmetçi bulmak bile çok zordur. Samsun sigara fabrikasında çalışan bazı kızlar gördüm. Şehirde sosyal hayat Avrupalılar ve Lövantenlerle sınırlı kalıyor. Kadınlar erkeklerin toplantılarına katılmıyor. Onlar için sinema bile bir tabudur. Protokol ve görgü kurallarını bilmiyorlar. Valinin eşi, eşimin kendisine yaptığı ziyareti iki yıldır iade etmedi. Gazi'nin saçtığı ışık bu gözlerle fazla geliyor.</p>	193
Ek 2	21 Mayıs	<p>İNGİLTERE'NİN MERSİN KONSOLOSU CHAFYDEN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR NO. 15</p> <p><i>Mersin yöresinde kadınların durumu.</i> Bu bölge tutucu olmakla birlikte kadınlar hızla özgürlüğe kavuşuyorlar ki artık bundan geri dönülemez. Paris modasına göre giyinen ve İstanbul'da alışılmış olan yeni kadın tipi artık Adana ve Mersin'de de görülüyor. Taşradaki Türk kadınlarına dans öğretiliyor. Bir Macar hoca Adana ve Mersin'de dans dersleri</p>	195

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		veriyor. Birkaç gün önce Silifke'de bir balo verildi. Kızlar artık tek başlarına sokaklarda yürüyüş yapabiliyorlar. Eskiden bu duyulmuş şey değildi. Harem maziye karışmıştır. Kadınlar ve erkekler evlerde aruk birlikte toplanabiliyorlar. Peçe kendiliğinden ölüyor. Türk kızları artık başları açık olarak okula gidiyor, bisiklete biniyorlar. Yakında tenis kortlarında da görüleceklerdir. Kırsal alanlarda kadınlar, peçeye bürünmüyor, yüzleri açık olarak erkeklerle birlikte tarlada çalışıyorlar. Çok kadınla evlilik yaygın değildir ve belki yakında sona erecektir.	
Ek 3	25 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN EDİRNE KONSOLOSLUĞUNDAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR <i>Edirne yöresinde kadınların durumu:</i> Kadınlar yavaş yavaş, fakat emin olarak öne çıkıyorlar. Aruk peçeli kadına pek sık rastlanmıyor. Dans pek revaçta, ama eski harem ruhu tamamen kaybolmadı. Kadının genel durumu çok iyileşti. Küçük yerlerde ise gelişme daha yavaş oluyor.	198
Ek 4	28 Haziran	İZMİR'DE İNGİLİZ KONSOLOSU MR. HELM'DEN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR <i>İzmir yöresinde kadınların durumu:</i> Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin en önemli yeniliği kadınların özgürlük kazanmaları olmuştur. Yüzlerce yıllık bir geleneği değiştirmek hiç kolay bir iş değildir. Yeniliğe karşı isteksiz davrananlar olmuştur; özellikle fakir semtlerde. Varlıklı kesimler ve yeni kuşak yeniliğe daha açıktır. Kadınlar zaten tarlada, bağda, bahçede, fabrikada erkeklerle birlikte çalışıyorlardı, şimdi postane, mağaza, PTT gibi başka alanlarda da çalışmaya başladılar. Yavaş yavaş yeni meslekler de ediniyorlar. Parti politikası ise onları pek ilgilendirmiyor. Tramvayda veya trenlerde artık kadınlarla erkekler ayrılmıyor. Peçe artık fiilen kalkmıştır, yalnız bazı yaşlı kadınlarda görülmektedir. Çağdaş Avrupalı kadınların başlıkları alınmış değildir, yalnız peçe kalkmıştır. Aile yaşamında haremlik - selamlık ayrımı kalkmıştır. Ev içinde Türk	198

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		kadınının durumu Avrupalı kadından daha aşağı değildir. Tohum atılmıştır ve Türk kadını ilerde tam özgürlüğe kavuşacaktır.	
52	9 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 419..... <i>Genel seçimler:</i> Geçen ay hararetli seçim kampanyası vardı. Yeni seçimler, 1923 tarihli Seçim Kanununa göre, iki dereceli yapılıyor. Mecliste en az 300 mebus bulunacak. 340.000 seçmen bulunan İstanbul 17 mebus çıkarıyor. Nihai seçimler Eylülde yapılacak. Halk Partisi adayları henüz açıklanmadı. Bunlar, Gazi'nin imzasıyla açıklanacaklar ve 1 Kasım'da toplanacak olan yeni Meclisi oluşturacaklar. İkinci Meclisteki mebusların belki yarısı adaylar listesinde yer almayacak. Adaylar listesinin gizli tutulması çeşitli spekülasyonlara sebep oluyor. Gazi'nin, yeni seçilecek mebuslarla yeni reformlar yapmayı tasarladığı söyleniyor. Recep Bey (Peker) İsmet Paşa'ya halef olabilir. Şimdilik İsmet Paşa, Gazi'nin tam güvenine sahiptir. Vekillerin çoğu İstanbul'da bulunuyor. Dolmabahçe Sarayında toplantılar yapılıyor. Gazi, İstanbul'da geçirdiği günlerden memnundur. Sağlıklı görünüyor ve halkın önüne çıkıyor. Edirne'ye yapacağı söylenen ziyaret ise erteleniyor. (Bkz. No. 53).	201
53	15 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 428..... <i>İlgi: 52: Genel seçimler:</i> Trabzon'da seçimlerle ilgili konsolosluk raporu ilişiktir. Karadeniz kıyılarının Hükümetin Batılama programından hoşlanmadığı anlaşıyor. Bu hoşnutsuzluktan bir gün Sovyet Rusya yararlanmak isteyebilir. (Bkz. No. 54).	205
Ek	30 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU KNIGHTTAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E RAPOR NO. 19	204

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		Trabzon'daki seçimler hakkında kesin bilgi edini- lemiyor, yalnız izlenimlerimi sunuyorum: Bir dü- zine siyasi parti olsaydı Halk Partisi burada so- nuncu gelirdi. Bu Partinin savunduğu batılama ve laikleşme Karadeniz yöresine Rusya tipi komünizm kadar yabancıdır. Kapaulmadan önce Terakkiper- ver Fırka, Halk Partisinden daha popülerdi. Yörede bulunan ve Gazi'nin temsilcisi olduğu sanılan Halk Partisi müfettişi Şevket Bey'den herkes çekiniyor. "Yeni Gün" gazetesi seçimleri gerçekmiş gibi göstermeğe çalışıyor. Partiye burada yeni kazanılmış olanlar da gerici kişilerdir.	
54	31 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 460.....	207
		<i>Genel seçimler.</i> Cumhurbaşkanı halka bir seçim bildirgesi yayınladı ve mebus adaylarını açıkladı. "Devlet benim" havası taşıyan bildirge, Yunanlılara karşı kazanılmış olan zaferin yıldönümüne rastla- tılmıştır. Son mebusların 100 kadarı listede yok. Ali Fuat, Kâzım Karabekir, Cafer Tayyar ve Nurettin Paşalar da liste dışındadırlar. Yeni Mecliste galiba 315 mebus olacak. Yeni 100 aday var ki halk onları pek tanımıyor. Diplomatik tecrübesi olan mebusla- rın sayıları artırılıyor: Zekâi Bey (Apaydın), Ahmet Münir Bey, Süleyman Şevket Bey ve Nusret Sadullah Bey diplomat olan mebus adaylarıdır. Mebusların KİTlerin yönetim kurullarında görev almaları önleniyor. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, bunun gecikmiş bir reform olduğunu söyledi.	
55	21 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 486.....	209
		<i>Ermenilerin Gazi'ye suikast girişimi.</i> 14 Eylül günü, İstanbul'un Beyoğlu semtinde bir Ermeni çetesi ile polis arasında silahlı çatışma oldu. Toplantı ye- rinde kısıtlanan Ermeni çetesi, teslim ol çağrılarına silahla karşılık vermiş ve iki polisi öldürmüştü. Polis de karşılık olarak iki Ermeni komiteciyi öldürmüştü,	

No.	Tarili	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		ikisini de yaralamıştır. Çetenin Yıldız gazinosunu basmak niyetinde olduğu açıklanmışsa da asıl amacının Gazi'ye suikast düzenlemek olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Çerkes Hacı Sami'nin Gazi'ye suikast girişiminden kısa bir zaman sonra ortaya çıkarılan Ermeni girişimi ilginçtir. Ermenilerin arkasında, Mustafa Kemal'in Batıya yaklaşmasından kaygılanan, Moskova olabilir. Gazi'in başına bir şey gelirse, ülkeyi bir arada tutabilecek güvenilir bir kimse yoktur (Bkz. No. 56 ve 72).	
56	21 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI GÖREVLİLERİNDEN LANCELOT OLİPHANT'A MEKTUP, ÖZEL İlgi No. 55. Yeni Amerikan Büyükelçisi Grew İstanbul'a geldi. Onun nasıl bir kimse olduğu hakkında bana bilgi verebilir misiniz? Gazi İstanbul'da serbestçe dolaşarak kararlı katillere adeta davetiye çıkarıyor. Mesela geçen gün ikinci sınıf bir tramvaya binerek Taksim'den Tokatlıyan'a girmiş ve orada iki saat kahvede oturmuştur. Cesaretini takdir ediyorsam da Onun Ankara'ya inzivaya çekilmesini tercih ederim, zira daha birkaç yıl Türkiye'nin kaderiyle Gazi'nin kaderi birbirine bağlıdır (Bkz. No. 72).	211
57	28 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 493 Cumhurbaşkanının Başkâtibi Yarbay Tevfik Bey (Bıyıklıoğlu) Moskova'ya Büyükelçi atandı. Kendisi Lozan Konferansına katılmıştı, 40 yaşlarındadır, bekârdır. Herhalde Türkiye'nin çıkarlarını savunacaktır.	211
58	5 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 502 Cumhurbaşkanının Başkâtibi Yarbay Tevfik Bey (Bıyıklıoğlu) Moskova'ya Büyükelçi atandı. Kendisi Lozan Konferansına katılmıştı, 40 yaşlarındadır, bekârdır. Herhalde Türkiye'nin çıkarlarını savunacaktır.	212

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		İki yıl kadar önce Türkiye'deki Yahudi cemaati lideri himaye için Milletler Cemiyetine başvurmuştu. Bunun üzerine Türkiye'de Yahudilere karşı bir ara baskı yapılmıştı. Yurt dışındaki Yahudi lobisinin etkisiyle bundan vazgeçilmiştir. Gazi'nin, İsmet Paşa'nın ve Şükrü Kaya'nın rolleri.	
59	5 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 503.....	214
		Mustafa Kemal İstanbul'dan Bursa'ya geçti. Bundan sonra yazları İstanbul'da geçirecektir, denebilir. Güvenlik nedeniyle Trakya gezisinden sessizce vazgeçti. İstanbul'da kendisini halka daha da sevdirdi.	
60	26 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 535.....	215
		Gazi tarafından hazırlanan Halk Partisi programında ekonomiye, denk bütçeye, Türk lirasının değerinin korunmasına ve günevlik ve asayişe ağırlık veriliyor. Bir Devlet Bankası kurulacağı açıklanıyor.	
61	26 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 536.....	215
		Savcının talimatıyla birkaç hafta önce polis Yıldız Gazinosunu basmış, Gazinonun sahibi İtalyan Mario Serra'yı ve orada kumar oynayanları tutuklamıştı. Mahkeme önüne çıkarılan tutuklular, yasaları çiğnememiş oldukları anlaşıldığından serbest bırakıldılar. Çeşitli söylentiler var. Belki Gazi, İstanbul'da bulunduğu sırada bu gazinonun kapatılmasını emretmiştir.	
62	27 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 539.....	217
		Sovyet ihtilâlinin 10. Yıldönümü kutlama törenlerine katılmak üzere bir Türk heyetinin Lenin-	

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63	30 Ekim	grad'a gideceği açıklandı. Heyet içinde Gazi'ye yakın olan üç kişi var. Heyetin başka amacı olabilir. İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 546.....	217
		Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin dördüncü yıldönümü kutlandı. Cumhurbaşkanı bir davet verdi, resmi geçit yapıldı. Mustafa Kemal sağlıklı göründü. Törene katılan askerler iyi ve donanımlıydı. Sivillerin bazı eksikleri vardı.	
64	3 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 551.....	218
		Yeni TBMM 1 Kasım'da açıldı. Törende ben de hazır bulundum. Mustafa Kemal, oybirliğiyle yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi ve and içerek göreve başladı. Tebrikleri kabul etti. Aynı gün Başbakan İsmet Paşa istifasını verdi, Gazi onu yeni kabineyi kurmakla görevlendirdi. Maliye Bakanı Abdülhalik Bey (Renda) Milli Savunma Bakanı oldu, Denizcilik Bakanlığı Milli Savunma Bakanlığına bağlandı. Savunma Bakanı Recep Bey (Peker), Kabine dışında kaldı. Şükrü Saracoğlu Maliye Bakanı oldu. Şükrü Kaya da İçişleri Bakanlığını üstlendi. Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras) Dışişleri Bakanı kaldı. Değişiklikler iyidir. Kabinenin listesi.	
65	9 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 560.....	220
		Gazi'ye suikast hazırlamış olan Hacı Sami'nin üç suç ortağı ölüm cezasına çarptırıldı. Çete, Gazi'nin trenini havaya uçurmayı planlamış, fakat köylüler tarafından ihbar edilmiştir.	
66	19 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 572.....	221
		İzmir Başkonsolosunun Yahudilerle ilgili yazısı iliktir.	

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Ek 1	31 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN İZMİR BAŞKONSOLOSU RABINO'DAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 63	221
		İstanbul Yahudilerinden İzmir Yahudilerine yazılan ilginç bir mektubun örneği ilişikte sunulmuştur. Aydın'da Yahudi malları haczedilmiş. Yahudiler izinsiz ülke içinde dolaşamıyorlarmış. Türk okullarına Yahudi çocukları alınmıyormuş, buna karşılık Yahudi okullarında birçok Türk öğrenci varmış. Yahudiler Türk basınından da şikâyetçidirler. Demiryollarında ve idarede Musevilere iş verilmiyor-muş. Yahudi Bankası müdüründen çeşitli katkılar isteniyormuş.	
Ek 2		İSTANBUL YAHUDİLERİ İHTİYAR HEYETİ ÜYELERİ NİEGO VE SORİNO'DAN İZMİR YAHUDİ CEMAATİ BAŞKANI GOMEL'E MEKTUP.	223
		Ankara'da dikilecek Gazi heykeli için para toplamak üzere İstanbul Hahambaşlığında bir komisyon kuruldu. 25 bin lira toplanacak. Biz para toplamak üzere görevlendirildik. Gazi'ye minnettarlığımızı göstermek üzere sizin cemaatinizden de katkı bekliyoruz.	
67	21 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 633	224
		Türk Hükümeti bir Merkez Bankası kurmak için hazırlık yapıyor. Bir varsayıma göre, Gazi'nin de hissesi bulunan İş Bankası, 100 bin lirayla yeni bankanın temelini oluşturacak. Bir başka teoriye göre ise Topkapı Sarayı'ndaki mücevherler karşılığında 200 milyon liralık sermaye sağlanarak Dü-yunu Umumiye binasında bir Devlet Bankası kurulacaktır. Başka söylentiler de var.	
68	22 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 636	225
		Türkiye dışında yaşayan rejim muhaliflerinin kışkırmaları Türk Hükümetini rahatsız ediyor. Fran-sa'nın muhaliflere göz yumması şikâyet konusu-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		dur. Muhafifler Halep'te de rahatça çalışıyor ve gazete çıkarıyorlar. Irak Adalet Bakanı Rauf Çadircı Ankara'ya bir ziyaret yaptı. Kendisine, Türkiye'nin yayımcı emeller beslemediğine dair güvence verilmiş, İngiltere ile iyi ilişkiler içinde olmaları tavsiye edilmiştir.	
69	27 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 640	226
		Hacı Sami, Gazi'ye karşı suikast hazırlığını Yunan topraklarında yapmıştı. Türkiye şimdi, Yunan Hükümeti katında girişimlerde bulunuyor ve Yunanistan'daki mültecilerin kontrol altında tutulmasını istiyor. Oradaki muhaliflerin elebaşısı, 150'liklerden eski Şeyhülislam Mustafa Sabri Efendidir.	
70	28 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI HOARE'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 649	227
		"Yavuz-Havuz" olayı. Eski Bahriye Vekili İhsan Bey suistimal suçuyla Yüce Divana veriliyor. Türkiye'de ilk defa böyle bir olay yaşanıyor. Skandal, "Yavuz" zırhlısının havuza çekilerek tamir ettirilmesiyle ilgili olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Tamir işini üstlenmiş olan Fransız Şirketinin İhsan Bey ailesine 70.000 lira rüşvet verdiği sanılıyor. İhsan Bey, şantiyedeki işçilerle kendisine lüks bir villa inşa ettirmiş. Skandalı öğrenen Gazi, İhsan Beye kızmıştır. Olay son günlerde basında büyük yankı yapmaktadır (Bkz. No. 74).	
	1928		
71	4 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 3	229
		Gazi'ye yakın olan Siirt mebusu Mahmut Bey (Soydan), Türk-Sovyet ilişkilerini yorumluyor. Karşılıklı dostluk duygularını vurguluyor ve Türkiye'nin komünistler aleyhindeki kampanyasından do-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayı
72	4 Ocak	İlayı Sovyet Hükümetinin yakınmaya hakkı olmadığını söylüyor. İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 4 İlgi No. 55.	230
73	11 Ocak	Gazi'ye Ermeni suikast girişimi. Mercan Altunyan adlı Ermeninin elebaşılığı yaptığı suikast girişimi, bazı suç ortaklarının hapis cezalarına çarptırılmalarıyla sonuçlandı. Sanıklar, Rus konsolosluğu ile temasta olduklarını ve Bolşeviklik adına Yıldız Gazinosunu basmak istediklerini söylemişler. İşin içinde Sovyet ajanları varsa daha ciddi bir girişim söz konusu olmalı. Polis, hazırlanan eylemin Gazi'nin hayatına karşı bir suikast girişimi olduğu kanısındadır. İtihatçı Rahmi Bey'in de işin içinde olduğunu gösteren deliller bulunduğu açıklanmıştı ama, yargıç bunu dikkate almadı. İçişleri Bakanı tarafından adi suçlu bir çetenin siyasi suikastçılar gibi gösterildiğini iddia edenler de vardır.	231
Ek.	—	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 16. GİZLİ . Türkiye'de ileri gelen kişiler hakkındaki rapor ilişikte sunulmuştur. Bu yararlı başvuru çalışması yardımcım Mr. Helm tarafından güncelleştirilmiştir. İLERİ GELEN TÜRK ŞAHSİYETLERİ Türkiye'de ileri gelen 69 kişi hakkında tanıtıcı bilgiler ve yorumlar: özgeçmişleri, görevleri, karakterleri, eğilimleri, politik ilişkileri vs. Sırayla şu şahsiyetler tanıtılmaktadır: Mustafa Abdülhalik (Renda), Samsun mebusu Adil Bey, Dr. Adnan (Adivar), Ahmet (Ağaoğlu), Ahmet Ferit (Tek), Ahmet Muhtar (Mollaoğlu), Ali (Çetinkaya), Ali Fethi (Okyar), Ali Fuat (Cebesoy), Ali Cenani, Ali Said Paşa, Behiç (Erkin), Bekir Sami (Kunduh), Edip Servet Bey, Fahretün (Altay) Paşa, Falih Rıfkı (Atay), Mustafa Fevzi Paşa (Çakmak), Hakkı Şinasi	231

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		Paşa, Hamdi (Arpağ), Hamdullah Suphi (Tanrıöver), Hasan (Saka), Hasan Fehmi (Ataç), Hulusi Fuad (Tugay), Hüseyin (Gerede), Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), Hüseyin Cevad (Ezine), Hüseyin Rauf (Orbay), İbrahim Tali (Öngören), İhsan (Eryavuz), İsmet (İnönü), Cafer Tayyar (Eğilmez), Celâl Nuri (İleri), Cemil (Ubaydın), Prof. Cemil (Bilsel), Cevat Paşa (Çobanlı), Cevad Abbas, Kâzım Paşa (İnanç), Kâzım Paşa (Özalp), Kâzım Karabekir Paşa, Kılıç Ali, Mahmut (Soydan), Mahmut Esat (Bozkurt), Mehmet Recep (Peker), Mehmet Münir (Erete-gün), Mustafa Kemal Paşa (Atatürk), Mustafa Necatî Bey, Nurettin Paşa (Sakallı), Nusret Bey, Nusret Sadullah Bey, Rahmi Bey, Mustafa Rahmi Bey, Refet Paşa (Bele), Dr. Refik (Saydam), Dr. Reşit Galip Bey, Ruşen Eşref (Ünaydın), Mehmet Sabri Bey, Safvet Ziya Bey, Şakir (Kesebir), Ali Şevki (Berker), Şükrü Saracoğlu, Şükrü Kaya, Suat (Davaz), Albay Tevfik (Bıyıklıoğlu), Tevfik Kâmil (Koperler), Dr. Tevfik Rüştü (Aras), Yunus Nadi (Abaloğlu), Yusuf Hikmet (Bayur), Yusuf Kemal (Tengirşek) ve Zekâi (Apaydın).	
74	25 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 57. GİZLİ İlgi: No. 70.	266
		"Yavuz-Havuz" olayı. Bu olay, bütünüyle, pek önemli bir iç politika konusudur. Suiistimal veya rüşvet, bir bahanedir. Eski itühatçılardan "Kel" Ali Bey (Çetinkaya) ile İhsan Bey (Eryavuz), Başvekil İsmet Paşa'ya ve Gazi'ye ters düşmüşler. Aralarında tartışma geçmiş. Bunun üzerine, İtühatçı muhalefeti tasfiye etmek amacıyla İhsan Bey'in Yüce Divana Sevk edilmesi yoluna gidilmiştir. Ancak, İhsan Bey, vuruşmadan teslim olmaz ve belki tabancalar konuşacaktır. Gazi'nin muhalifleri çoktur; Kendisine şu sıralarda bir hal olursa, Türkiye'nin birliğini sağlayabilecek başka bir lider görünmüyor (Bkz. No. 79).	

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75	15 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 102. GİZLİ.	268
Ek		<p>Türkiye'deki misyon şefleriyle ilgili yıllık rapor ilişktedir. Bütün diplomatik işler artık Ankara'dan yürütülüyor. Dolayısıyla kordiplomatiği, Ankara'da oturanlar-İstanbul'da oturanlar diye ikiye ayırmaya gerek kalmamıştır. Başkent Ankara'da Elçilik ve Büyükelçilik binalarının yapımı devam ediyor. Alman Büyükelçiliği bu sonbahar Ankara'ya yerleşmiş olacak. Polonya Elçiliği inşaatı yavaş yavaş devam ediyor. Fransız ve Amerikan Büyükelçilikleri bina yapmak için arsa almaya çalışıyor. Romen, Avusturya elçilikleri ve daha birçok Elçilik katlar kiralamışlardır. Kısacası, başkent Ankara'ya taşınma hareketi görülüyor.</p> <p>TÜRKİYE'DEKİ MİSYON ŞEFLERİ HAKKINDA RAPOR</p> <p>Büyükelçiler: Türkiye'de Büyükelçi düzeyinde temsil edilen ülkeler ve Büyükelçileri: <i>Rusya:</i> M. Jaques Souritz, <i>Almanya:</i> Herr Rudolf Nadolny, <i>İtalya:</i> M. Luca Orsini, <i>Japonya:</i> Mr. Y. Obata, <i>Fransa:</i> M. Emile Daeschner, <i>ABD:</i> Mr. Joseph Grew, <i>İran:</i> M. Ali Han Faruki (ve <i>Büyük Britanya:</i> Sir George Clerk - B.N.Ş.).</p> <p>Elçiler: Türkiye'de Elçi düzeyinde temsil edilen ülkeler ve elçileri şunlardır:</p> <p><i>Romanya:</i> M. George Filality, <i>Macaristan:</i> M. Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, <i>Avusturya:</i> M. Auguste Kral, <i>Belçika:</i> Baron J. de Villenfagne de Sorinnes, <i>İsveç:</i> M. Wallenberg, <i>İspanya:</i> Don Juan Servet y Vest, <i>Hollanda:</i> Baron de Welderen Rengers, <i>Çekoslovakya:</i> M. Milos Kobr, <i>Afganistan:</i> General Gulam Ceilani Han, <i>Arnavutluk:</i> M. Rauf Fitso, <i>Danimarka:</i> M. Oldenburg, <i>Mısır:</i> Abdül Aziz Raşit Paşa, <i>Bulgaristan:</i> M. Theodore Pavloff, <i>Yugoslavya:</i> M. Vladimir Taditch, <i>Yunanistan:</i> M. Pappas, <i>Vatikan:</i> Mgr. Rotta.</p>	270

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		Maslahatgûzarlar: Ocak 1928'de Türkiye'de maslahatgûzarlar temsil edilen ülkeler ve maslahatgûzarları : <i>İsviçre:</i> M. Henri Martin, <i>Polonya:</i> M. C. Papée (geçici) ve <i>Irak:</i> Sabih Bey el-Nashat. Raporda yukarda adları sıralanan Misyon şefleri hakkında biyografik bilgiler ve değerlendirmeler yer almaktadır: Hangi tarihte güven mektuplarını Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanına sundukları, karakterleri, Türk Hükümetiyle ilişkileri vs.	
76	21 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 112.....	276
		Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü, dün akşam evinde bir balo verdi. Bütün misyon şefleri ve kordiploma için kademlileri davetliydi. Ankara'da böyle etkinlikler Türkiye'nin uygarlık yolunda ilerlediğinin birer göstergesidir. Balo çok başarılı geçti, her şey mükemmeldi. Türk hanımlar da çok hoşnut kaldılar. (Bkz. No. 77).	
77	21 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 113.....	277
		İlgi: No. 76. Balo ve Gazi.	
		Dışişleri Bakanının dün akşamki balosunda Cumhurbaşkanı konuklara dostluk gösterdi. Gazi, Irak maslahatgûzarı Sabih Bey el Naşat'ın eski bir silah arkadaşı olduğunu anlayınca onu iki yanağından öptü. Ardından, etrafını çeviren diplomatlara ve hayranlara uzunca bir konuşma yaptı. Sabih Bey'in saygıdeğer bir dost olduğunu, dün saygıdeğer düşman olanların şimdi saygıdeğer birer dost olduklarını, birlikte barış içinde terakki için çalışmak gerektiğini, Türkiye'nin gizli hiçbir emeli olmadığını, barış içinde kalkınma politikası izlediğini söyledi. İngiltere'nin de bu yönde çalıştığını ekledi. Fransa ve İtalya'nın da adlarını zikretti. Fransız askeri ataşesi albay Sarrou'ya dönerek, "Siz de Sabih Bey gibi benim eski bir dostumsunuz, gazetelerinize söyleyiniz, doğruyu yazsınlar, ben ölmedim,	

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78	27 Şubat	ölmeyeceğim, yarın ölsem benim yerimi dolduracak bin tane iyi insan vardır" diye konuştu. Gazi, sağlıklıydı, İngiltere'nin adını anarken samimiydi. Uygun bir cevap verdim.	
		İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 126.....	278
		1927 yılına ait Türkiye Yıllık Raporu ilişikte sunulmuştur.	
Ek		TÜRKİYE ÜZERİNE YILLIK RAPOR, 1927.....	279
		İçindekiler: I-Genel Durum, II- Yabancı Ülkelerle İlişkiler, III-İç İşleri, IV-Ekonomik ve Mali Durum, V- Askeri İşler ve Hava Kuvvetleri, VI-Deniz Kuvvetleri, VII-Konsolosluk İşleri.	
		I- Genel Durum: Ankara'da, Cumhurbaşkanı ve danışmanları, büyük projeleri olan Türkiye'nin çağdaşlaşması ve kalkınması üzerinde çalışıyorlar. Demiryolları, limanlar, okullar yapılmak ve Ankara örnek bir başkent haline getirilmek isteniyor. İki şey gerekiyor: 1-Dış kaygılardan kurtulmak, ki bu sağlanmış, 2-Sermaye bulmak ki, bu konuda pek başarılı olunamamıştır. İstanbul'da duruma başka türlü bakılıyor. Cumhurbaşkanı, büyük amaçlarını, şu geniş temele dayandırıyor:dış politikada maceradan uzak durmak, iç politikada disiplin ve birlik. Bu politikanın üç esas unsuru İngiltere'ye de uygun düşüyor. Ancak, uygulamada yabancı çıkarları baltalanıyor ve yabancı sermaye ürkütülüyor. Bugünkü Türkiye'nin en sıkıcı anormalliği budur. Türk'e iş ve ticaret fırsatı verilmek istenirken Türk olmayanların çıkarları baltalanmış oluyor. Yabancı-lara karşı baskıları önlemek için büyük Devletlerin Türkiye'ye verdikleri kredilere ambargo koymaları akla gelirse de bu da ütopiktir, yapılamaz. 1927'nin başlıca gelişmeleri: Ankara-Kayseri demiryolunun açılması, Haziran'da Cumhurbaşkanı'nın hastalanması, Temmuz'da Onun İstanbul'a ilk ziyareti, Büyük Nutuk, seçimler, yeni Kabine. Maddi kalkınma büyük oldu. Sanat da ihmal edilmedi. Ankara'ya	

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		Gazi'nin iki heykeli dikildi, opera binasının temeli atıldı. Bugünkü Türkler davranışlarıyla, giyim kuşamlarıyla, saç-sakal tıraşlarıyla da kendilerini ciddiye alıyorlar. Bir görgü kitabı piyasaya çıkar çıkmaz birkaç günde 15000 adet satı. Modanın aynası Millet Meclisinin kendisidir.	
		II- Yabancı ülkelerle ilişkiler: <u>A - İngiltere-Türkiye ilişkileri:</u> genel olarak memnuniyet vericidir. Bununla beraber iki ülke arasında tartışmalı konular da var. Gelibolu yarımadasında savaş mezarlıkları konusu, "İngiliz Muhibleri"nin baskı görmeleri, Malta sürgünlerinin İngiliz Hükümetinden talepleri gibi. <u>A 1- Irak</u> ile ilişkiler: Türkiye-Irak Daimi Sınır Komisyonu, aşiretlerin sınırı aşmaları, ortak sınırın çizilmesi, sınır olayları, Irak'ın Türkiye'de diplomatik temsilciliği, Irak Vatandaşlık Kanunu, Irak tapu kayıtları konularında değerlendirmeler. <u>A 2 - Filistin:</u> Filistin'den Türkiye'ye mal ithalinin durdurulması, Filistin tapu kayıtları konusu vardır. <u>B - Fransa-Türkiye ilişkileri:</u> Bozkurt-Lotus davası, Fransa'nın Türkiye'de ticarî çıkarları, Türkiye-Suriye sınırının çizilmesi üzerinde duruluyor. <u>C-İtalya-Türkiye ilişkileri:</u> İtalya'nın Türkiye aleyhinde İngiltere ile anlaştığı yolundaki söylentiler yalanlandı, Meis adası yakınındaki çıplak kayalık konusundaki anlaşmazlığın Lahay Mahkemesine götürülmesine karar verildi, bir İtalyan'a kiralanmış olan Yıldız Sarayı gazinosu Gazi'nin emriyle kapatıldı, 1926'da imzalanmış olan suçluların iadesi anlaşması yürürlüğe girmedir. <u>D-Almanya-Türkiye ilişkileri:</u> 12 Ocak 1927'de Ticaret ve İkamet anlaşmaları imzalandı, Almanya şimdilik Türkiye'de sadece ticarî rol oynuyor, Türkiye'deki Alman uzmanlarının sayısı gittikçe artıyor. <u>E-Yunanistan-Türkiye ilişkileri</u> iyileşiyor. İlişkileri düzeltme arzuları samimi görünüyor. Yunan irrredantizmi mezara gömülmüştür, Türkiye'nin de Av-	

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		rupalılığa sarılmış bir Balkan devleti olması Yunanistan'ın yararınadır. Mübadeleyle ilgili sorunlarda fazla ilerleme olmamıştır. İki ülke arasında tek "olay", Edirne'nin kurtuluşunu kutlamağa giden bayraklarla süslü bir trenin Yunan toprağından geçişinde yaşanmıştır. Bir de İmroz (Gökçeada) ve Bozcaada konusunda gerginlik görülmüştür.	
		<u>E-I : Bulgaristan, Romanya, Yugoslavya ve Arnavutluk ile ilişkiler.</u> Güney Bulgaristan'dan Türkiye'ye göç eden Müslümanlar konusunda sorun yaşanmıştır. Türk-Bulgar ticaret anlaşması müzakereleri devam etmiştir. Türk-Romen ilişkileri normaldir, Romen malları asgari gümrükle Türkiye'ye ihraç edilebilmektedir. Türk-Yugoslav ilişkileri önünde başlıca engel Sırbistan'daki Türk emlakı sorunudur. Türkiye'ye yeni bir Yugoslav elçisi atandı, ama Belgrad'a yeni Türk elçisi gönderilmedi. Türkiye'deki Arnavutlara Arnavut vatandaşlığını seçme için tanınan son süre bitti, çoğu Türk vatandaşlığını seçti.	
		<u>J-O: Avusturya, Macaristan, Çekoslovakya, İsviçre, Norveç ve İsveç, Danimarka ile ilişkiler.</u> Yıl içinde Macaristan'a bir Türk Elçisi atandı, ikili ilişkileri normalleşti, ticaret anlaşması da yürürlüğe girdi. Çekoslovakya ile ticaret anlaşması yakında yürürlüğe girecek. İsviçre ile Ticaret anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi, İkamet anlaşması imzalandı. Norveç'le geçici ticaret anlaşması uzatıldı, İsveç'le ticaret anlaşması görüşmeleri devam etti. İsveç Türkiye'de daha çok inşaat işlerine girmiştir. Danimarka Türkiye'de birçok iş almıştır: demiryolu yapımı, makineli tüfek, deniz uçakları satışı, liman işleri.	
		<u>P-Rusya-Türkiye ilişkileri:</u> 11 Mart 1927'de Ticaret anlaşması imzalandı ve Rus ticaret temsilcisi ile iki yardımcısına diplomatik statü tanındı. Anlaşma, basında hoşnutlukla karşılandı. Türkiye'de bir komünist parti kurma girişimleri bastırıldı. Bolşevik ihtilalinin 10. Yıldönümü kutlamalarına bir Türk	

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		heyeti gönderildi. Bolşevik karşıtı Ruslardan bazıları Türkiye'den sınır dışı edildi. Kars'ta, sınır sularıyla ilgili bir anlaşma yapıldı.	
		<u>Q-S: Hicaz, Yemen, Mısır ile ilişkiler:</u> Hicaz'a bir Türk diplomatik heyeti gönderildi. Bir Türk-Rus şirketi Cidde'ye bir Sovyet gemisi gönderdi. Türk bayrağı altında Mekke'de pan-İslamizm propagandası yapılacak galiba. İmam Yahya, Ankara'ya özel bir elçi gönderdi, ancak bir Türk-Yemen anlaşması henüz yapılmadı. Mısır'la bir ticaret anlaşması yapıldı.	
		<u>T-V: Afganistan, Çin ve Japonya, İran ile ilişkiler:</u> Afganistan'da Türk subayları görevlendirildi; Türk Harp okuluna da genç Afgan subayları gönderildi. Afganistan Dışişleri Bakanı Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Bir Türk hanım tezrifatçı olarak Afgan sarayında görevlendirildi. İki ülke, dostluk havasını sürdürüyor. Tokyo'daki Türk Maslahatgüzarı Çin'e bir ziyaret yaptı. Japonya, Türkiye'de Büyükelçilik düzeyinde temsil ediliyor, ama bu ülkede Japon çıkarları pek azdır. İran tarafına geçen Türkiyeli Kürt asiler, Türk-İran ilişkilerinde sorun yaratırlar. Tahran'daki Türk Büyükelçisi geri çekildi, İran ise sorunu halletmek üzere Ankara'ya özel bir elçi gönderdi. Küçük bazı sorunları halletmek üzere bir Türk-İran Daimi Sınır Komisyonu kuruldu. Türkiye, 1914 yılında İngiltere'nin katkılarıyla çizilmiş olan Türk-İran sınır çizgisini tanımayabilir.	
		<u>W-X: ABD-Türkiye ve Latin Amerika ilişkileri:</u> Amerikan Kongresi, Türk-Amerikan Lozan Antlaşmasını reddetti. İki ülke arasında bir <i>modus vivendi</i> yapıldı ve Büyükelçilik düzeyinde diplomatik ilişkiler kuruldu. Joseph Grew Türkiye'ye, Ahmet Muhtar Bey de Washington'a Büyükelçi atandılar. İlişkiler dostça devam ediyor. Çeşitli Amerikan şirketleri Türkiye'ye temsilciler gönderdiler. Amerikan misyoner kuruluşları bu yıl, geçmişe kıyasla daha az zarar gördüler. Türkiye ile Arjantin, Bre-	

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		zilya ve Meksika arasında dostluk antlaşmaları yapıldı. İstanbul'a bir Arjantin Başkonsolosu atandı.	
		III- İç İşleri: <i>A-Genel olarak, B-Azınlıklar, C-Kürtler, D-TBMM, E-Cumhurbaşkanı. Genel olarak:</i> 1927 yılı sakin bir yıl oldu. Yeni yasalar uygulandı. Milli Eğitim ve Sağlık Bakanlıkları en aktif Bakanlıklardı. Nüfus sayımı yapıldı, Türkiye nüfusu 14 milyon olarak açıklandı. Ankara ve İstanbul'da sosyal ve kültürel etkinlikler yoğun geçti. "Hamlet" Türkçe olarak sahneye kondu. Türk Ocakları da faaldi. <i>Azınlıklar</i> bazı kısıtlamalarla karşılaşılıyor, Türkçe öğrenmeye zorlanıyorlar. Rumlar, Ermeniler ve Yahudilerin gezileri kısıtlanmaktadır. <i>Kürtler</i> , hala bir iç sorundur. İstiklâl Mahkemeleri kapandı. Huzur sağlandı. <i>TBMM</i> , bir önceki yıla göre 1927'de daha az yasa çıkardı. Muhalif mebuslar Halk Partisinin adamlarıyla değiştirildi. Gazi yeniden Cumhurbaşkanı seçildi ve Başbakanlık görevini tekrar İsmet Paşa'ya verdi. Gazi İstanbul'u ziyaret etti, Ankara'ya dönünce altı gün süren bir Nutuk söyledi, muhalefeti ve özellikle Rauf Beyi eleştirdi. 1927'de Gazi'ye karşı suikast girişimi ortaya çıkarıldı.	
		IV- Ekonomik ve Mali İşler: <i>Mali işler:</i> Yüksek Ekonomik Kurul, Borçların yabancı parayla ödenmesi, Maliyenin durumu, yeni banknotlar, borçlar, istikrazlar, Belediye borçları, İstanbul Rıhtım Şirketi konularında ayrıntılı bilgiler ve istatistikler. <i>Ekonomik kalkınma:</i> Tarım, sanayi, demiryolları, liman inşaatı, İstanbul Serbest Bölgesi, karayolları konularında ayrıntılı bilgiler ve yorumlar. <i>Yasalar ve yönetimcilikler:</i> Milliyetçi mevzuat ekonomik kalkınmayı frenleyebilir. Tütün, şeker, alkol, tuz, kibritlekelleri gibi tekeller Hükümetin ekonomik programını destekleyebilecek kuruluşlardır. Meclisten alelacele geçirilmiş olan Sigorta ve Reassürans ile ilgili kanunların eksikleri ve kusurları vardır. Menşee şahadetnameleriyle ilgili güçlükler de devam etmektedir. Türkiye, <i>sanayi mülkiyetin korunması</i> ile ilgili uluslararası anlaşmalara katılmış	

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		<p>olmakla beraber, Türk mevzuatı bu anlaşmalara uyumlu hale getirilmemiştir. <u>Edebiyat ve Sanat Esasları</u> konusunda da benzer bir durum vardır. Batılaşmak isteyen Türkiye telif haklarına saygılı olmak durumundadır. 100 tondan küçük teknelerle taşınan malların Türkiye'ye sokulması kısıtlanıyor. 1927'de Türkiye <u>Konsolosluk harçlarını</u> gözden geçirdi ve diğer ülkelerin harçlarıyla denk hale getirdi. Liman hizmetleri tekeli yabancı gemiler için sıkıntı yaratıyor. Limanlarda başka güçlüklerle de karşılaşılıyor. Konşimentoların Türkçe olması istenmektedir. Bu konuda çeşitli girişimlerde bulunulmuştur. <u>Irak ve Filistin</u> malları konusunda da Türkiye ile İngiltere arasında anlaşmazlıklar vardır. <u>Gümrük idareleri</u> Türkiye'nin en kötü idareleridir, denilebilir. Gümrükler Genel Müdürü değiştirildi, ama gümrük idaresi Ankara'ya taşındı ve şimdi başka zorluklar çıktı. <u>Ticaret Anlaşmaları</u>: 1927 yılında ve 1928 başlarında Türkiye şu ülkelerle ticaret anlaşmaları yapmıştır: İsviçre, Norveç, Çekoslovakya, İsveç, Belçika, Bulgaristan, Danimarka, Mısır, Finlandiya, Almanya, Macaristan, Romanya, Rusya, İspanya ve Suriye. <u>1926'da Ticaret Dengesi</u>: Türkiye'nin satın alma gücü tarım rekoltesine bağlıdır. 1926 yılının ilk yarısında ithalat 107, ihracat 92 milyon TL, ihracatın ithalatı karşılama oranı % 46.2 olmuştur. Ticaret 15 küsur milyon lira açık vermiştir. Türkiye'nin başlıca ticaret partönerleri İngiltere, İtalya, Fransa, Almanya, Çekoslovakya, Belçika ve ABD'dir. Bu ülkelerle yapılan ticarete ait istatistikler. Türkiye'nin belli başlı ithalat ve ihracat kalemlerinin dökümleri. <u>İngiliz talepleri</u>: Karma Hakem Mahkemesi 19 davada İngiltere ve İngiliz vatandaşları lehine karar verdi. İzmir yangınında zarar gören İngiliz vatandaşlarının taleplerinin karşılanması için girişimler devam ediyor.</p> <p>V- Askeri İşler ve Havacılık: <u>Ordü</u>: Askeri ataşeler Türk Genelkurmayından yeterli bilgi alamıyorlar.</p>	

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		Yıl içinde derlenebilen bilgiler azdır. Ordunun teşkilâtında bir değişiklik olmadı. Türk ordusunun mevcudu 100.000 kadardır. Askerin üniforması yenileşti, iyileşti. Teçhizatı ise eskidir. Eylülde üç manevra yapıldı. İki kolordu doğu vilâyetlerinde asayiş sağlıyor. Havacılık: Türk Hava Kurumu çok faaldi. Hava Kuvvetleri dört komutanlık altında bulunuyor: Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya ve Diyarbakir. 1926'da Türkiye'nin 106 uçağı vardı. 1927'de yeni uçak siparişleri yapılmıştır. Halen Türk Hava Kuvvetlerinin 120 uçağı vardır. Pilot okulu İzmir'den (Gaziemir) Eskişehir'e taşınmıştır. Yeşilköy'de bir uçak makineleri okulu açılmıştır. Diyarbakir'de iki filo bulunduğu bildiriliyor.	
		VI- Denizcilik İşleri: Denizcilerin eğitim ve talimleri artırılıyor. Alman deniz subaylarının sözleşmeleri bir yıl daha uzatılacak. Parasızlık deniz kuvvetlerinin güçlenmesini engelliyor. İzmit'te bir mayın fabrikası kuruldu. Hasar görmüş olan yüzen havuzun tamiri bitti. "Yavuz" tekrar havuza çekildi, 1929'da hazır olacak. Denizcilik Vekâleti lâğvedildi. Deniz Kuvvetleri bütçesi 6 milyon liradır, bunun 1 milyon 700 bin lirası "Yavuz"un tamirine harcanıyor. Yıl içinde Fransız, İtalyan, İspanyol ve İngiliz savaş gemileri Türkiye'ye ziyaretler yaptılar. İspanyol filosunun ziyareti İnebahtı savaşının 400. yılına rastladı. Çanakkale Boğazındaki savaş gemileri enkazlarının temizlenmesinde fazla bir ilerleme olmadı. Telsiz telgraf ve radyo. Ankara ve İstanbul'da güçlü birer telsiz istasyonu kuruldu, radyo yayınları çok arttı.	
		VII- Konsolosluk İşleri: Türk Medeni Kanunu 4 Ekim 1926'da yürürlüğe girmişti. Evlendirmeler artık Evlendirme memurları tarafından yapılıyor, konsolosluk ancak kendi vatandaşları olan çiftleri evlendirebiliyor. Türk konsolosluk harçları, karıplıklı olarak artırılabilir.	

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79	12 Mart	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI KNOX'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 149 İlgi: No. 70 ve 74. "Yavuz-Havuz" olayı. Sulistimalle suçlanan Eski Bahriye Vekili İhsan Bey, dokunulmazlığı kaldırılarak Yüce Divana sevk edildi. Basın olaya geniş yer verdi. Türkiye'de sulistimal ve rüşvet artmıştı ve Gazi bundan rahatsız oluyordu. Bu dava onun isteği üzerine açılmıştır. Cumhurbaşkanı, önceden temizleme hareketinin işaretlerini verdi: Eylül'de, milletvekillerinin bundan böyle kamu şirketlerinde görev alamayacakları yolunda bir karar yayınladı. Ekim'de, Halk Partisi Kongresinde, bütün şahsı mallarını millete bağışladığını açıkladı. İhsan Bey'in ilk kurban olarak seçilmesi doğal sayıldı. "Yavuz" ismi de büyük yankı yapacak nitelikteydi. Ayrıca siyasi nedenler de var. Eski İstiklâl Mahkemesi Başkanı İhsan Beyin tutuklanıp yargılanması ve aynı mahkemenin üyesi Ali Bey'in gözden düşmesiyle bunların artık görevlerini tamamlamış, Türkiye'nin normale dönmüş olduğu mesajı da verilmek istenmiştir. "Jacobin"ler ve silahşörler tasfiye edilmişlerdir. 315 üyeli yeni TBMM'nde yeni bir muhalefetin nüvesi vardır. Gazi'den sonra Türkiye'nin en ağır topu olan Genelkurmay Başkanı Fevzi Paşa, askeri ihalelerde ve satın almalarda sulistimale asla göz yummayacağını açıklamıştır (Bkz. No. 81).	352
80	11 Nisan	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI KNOX'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 191 TBMM, Türk ihtilâlini tamamlayan önemli bir adım daha attı: Dinle ilgili hükümler Anayasadan çıkarıldı. Genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti artık tam anlamıyla laik olduğunu söyleyebilir. Beş yılda bu dev işi ancak Mustafa Kemal başarabilmiştir. Ancak, İslam dini Türk devletinde artık bir faktör olmaktan çıkmıştır denemez. İhtilâlin yaratıcısı asıl "Türkiye Türklerindir" düsturuna dayanmaktadır.	357

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Ek	6 Nisan	"STAMBOUL" GAZETESİ KESİTİ	359
		Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasasının değiştirilmiş olan maddeleri: 2. Maddede Türkiye devletinin dininin İslam olduğu yolundaki hüküm kaldırılmıştır. 16. Maddede milletvekillerinin yeminlerinde ve 38. Maddede Cumhurbaşkanı'nın yemininde yer alan dine ve Allaha atıflar çıkarılmıştır. Aynı şekilde 26. maddede dine değinen hüküm kaldırılmıştır. Maddelerin son şekli.	
81	18 Nisan	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 194.....	360
		İlgi: No. 70, 74, 79. "Yavuz-Havuz" olayı. Dava sonuçlandı. İhsan Bey 2 yıl ağır hapis cezasına çarptırıldı. Gazi bu olaydan başarıyla çıktı. Bir Jacobin unsur başarıyla saf dışı edildi. Suiistimal eğiliminde olanlar uyarılmış oldular. Ancak ceza hafif kaldı, yeterince caydırıcı olmayabilir. Gümrüklerde ve poliste "bahşiş" serbestçe alınıp veriliyor. Yeni davalar olabilir. Bu davada İngiliz şirketinin adı geçmedi.	
82	22 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 256.....	361
		Afgan Kralı onuruna verilen ziyafette Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı ile Afgan Kralının yapukları konuşmalar. Gazi, bu konuşmasına büyük önem vermiştir. Zira, kardeş Afganistan'a bazı mesajlar vermeyi amaçlamıştır. Konuşmasında, Afganistan'ın bir Asya ülkesi, Türkiye'nin ise bir Avrupa ülkesi olduğunu söylüyor. Türkiye'nin Afganistan'a yapacağı yardımı "imkânları ölçüsünde" diye kısıtlıyor. İngiltere aleyhinde bir dil kullanmıyor. Kendi yapuklarını Afganistan'a örnek olarak gösteriyor. İlginçtir: bu konuşmalarda İslam dini hiç geçmiyor.	
83	29 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 266.....	363

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		Türkiye, Avrupa rakamlarını resmen kabul etti. Bu konudaki yasa 20 Mayıs'ta çıktı ve 1 Haziran'da uygulanacak. Latin alfabesinin kabulü de gündeme geliyor. Arap alfabesi Türk diline hiç uymuyor. Hafta tatilini Cuma gününden Pazara kaydırma eğilimi de var (Bkz. No. 84, 88).	
84	30 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 268.....	364
		Meclis tatile girdi. Mebuslar İstanbul'a taşınıyor, Gazi'nin de yakında oraya gitmesi bekleniyor. Meclis tatile girmeden önce Türk vatandaşlığı kanunu ile Avrupa rakamlarının kabulü hakkındaki kanunu çıkardı. Mebuslara, seçim bölgelerini ziyaret etmeleri, oraların ihtiyaçlarını belirlemeleri salık verildi. Bu, Cumhurbaşkanı'dan çıkan bir düşüncedir.	
85	30 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 269.....	365
		Afgan Kralının ziyareti. Kral ve Kraliçe 19 Mayıs'ta geldiler. Sivastapol'dan İstanbul'a kadar "İzmir" vapuruyla seyahat ettiler. Ertesi sabah Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanı ve Bakanlar tarafından karşılandılar ve yeni "Ankara Palas" oteline indiler. Akşam Cumhurbaşkanı konuklar şerefine bir yemek verdi. Kral, 21 Mayıs günü yabancı misyon şeflerini kabul etti, akşam bir davet verdi. Buna Cumhurbaşkanı ve Türk devlet erkânı katıldı, yabancılar davet edilmedi. 23 Mayıs'ta Kral Ankara Palas'ta bir davet verdi ve buna kordiplomatik de katıldı. Bununla ziyaretin resmi bölümü sona erdi ve Kral ve maiyeti 27 Mayıs'ta Ankara'dan ayrıldı. Gazi, Krala bir murrassa kılıçla kendi fotoğrafını hediye etti.	
86	18 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 297.....	367
		Cumhurbaşkanı 5 Haziran'da İstanbul'a geldi ve Afgan Kralının boşaltmış olduğu Dolmabahçe Sa-	

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		ray'na indi. Maiyetinde eski dostları var. Teşrifat asgaride tutuldu. Şehir bayraklarla donatıldı. İsmet Paşa Ankara'dadır, daha sonra İstanbul'a gelecektir.	
87	14 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 385	369
		8 Ağustos'ta Taksim meydanında Gazi anıtı açıldı. Açılış törenine kordiplomatikten yalnız İtalyan Büyükelçisi çağırıldı. Bir İtalyan heykeltraşın eseri olan anıtın açılışı dolayısıyla Mussolini Gazi'ye bir kutlama telgrafı gönderdi. Açılış konuşmalarında İstanbul'un işgal günleri hatırlatıldı. İngiliz işgalinin acı günleri kolay unutulmadığını kabul etmek gerekir. Açılışı yapan Milli Eğitim Bakanı Gazi'yi övdü. Bu övgüler, bugünkü rejim aleyhindeki propagandaları dengelemeyi de amaçlamaktadır, denilebilir. İşleri iyi gitmeyen acemi iş adamları, kuraklık yüzünden iyi ürün alamayan köylüler Hükümet hakkında pek iyi şeyler düşünmüyorlar. Doğrusu yönetimin alt kademesindekilerin pek çoğu beceriksiz ve yeteneksizdir. Fakat Hükümetin durumu sağlamdır. Belirsiz olan faktör Gazi'nin sağlık durumudur. Gazi'nin taraftarlarının, O'nun bir yıldan fazla yaşamayacağını düşünerek, ülkenin kontrolünü elde tutabilmek için planlar yapıklarını sağlam bir kaynaktan öğrendim.	
88	22 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 391	371
		İlgi: 83, 84. Devlet dairelerinde Avrupa rakamlarının kullanılması hakkındaki kanun TBMM'nden geçmişti. Latin alfabesine ise beş yılda geçilebileceği düşünülüyordu. Fakat Ankara liderleri bu süreyi kısaltmak için bu yaz kolları sıvadılar. Her yerde yeni alfabenin yoğun propagandası yapılıyor, kursları açılıyor. Gazi'nin kendisi bu hareketin başını çekiyor ve yeni harflere "Yeni Türk harfleri" adını veriyor.	

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		Dolmabahçe Sarayı'nda Bakanlar için alfabe sınıfı açıldı. Yeni alfabe henüz son şeklini almadı ve resmileşmedi. Yabancılar bu değişiklikten hoşnutlar.	
89	5 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 406	372
		Gazi'nin İstanbul'da tatil geçirdiği sırada Türkiye'ye gelen yeni Fransız Büyükelçisi Kont de Chambrun'un güven mektubunu sunması konusu Fransızların gözünde büyük önem kazandı. Cumhurbaşkanı, yabancı elçilerin yalnız başkent Ankara'da oturabilecekleri düşüncesiyle, onların İstanbul'da varlığını kabul etmiyor ve yeni Fransız Büyükelçisini kabul etmek için tatilini kesip Ankara'ya da dönmüyor. Fransa ise yeni Büyükelçinin bir an önce güven mektubunu sunup göreve başlamasını arzu ediyor. İğ biraz sarpa sarmış görünüyordu. Sonunda sağduyu yolu bulundu. Kont de Chambrun'un güven mektubunu sunmadan önce de Türk Hükümetiyle resmi temasa girmesi sağlandı.	
90	5 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 408	374
		Türk-Rus ilişkilerinde rahatsızlık var. Türk tüccarı Rusya'da kötü muamelelerle karşılaşılıyor, Türk malları Rusya'da haczediliyor, tepki olarak Türkiye'deki Rus mallarına el konuyor. Komünist sempati-zanları Türkiye'de tutuklanıyor. Ankara'da Türk Komünist Partisi adına dağıtılan bir bildiride Gazi'ye "burjuva diktatör" diye dil uzatılmıştır.	
91	5 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 410	375
		Latin alfabesi kampanyası hızla devam ediyor. Trabzon'da yeni alfabe hareketi var. Mahkumlar Gazi'ye yeni harflerle dilekçe yazıyorlar. Yeni harflerin asıl propagandacısı Gazi'nin kendisidir. Gazi,	

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Ek	27 Ağustos	alfabeyi öğretmek için şehir şehir dolaşıyor, 1-2 Eylül günleri Çanakkale'ye ve savaş yerlerine de gitti. İNGİLTERE'NİN TRABZON KONSOLOSU MATTHEW'DAN BÜYÜKELÇİ SIR G. CLERK'E YAZI NO. 64	376
92	19 Eylül	Gazi'nin Sarayburnu konuşmasından beri Trabzon'da da latin alfabesine ilgi arttı. Yerel gazeteler ve motorlu araçlar, Arap rakamları yerine Avrupa rakamlarını kullanıyor ve araç plakalarını yeni harflerle yazıyorlar. Türk Ocağı, alfabe kursu açtı. Vali, Ankara'dan 50.000 adet alfabe istedi. Latin Alfabesi iki-üç yıldan beri güney Kafkasya'da başarıyla kullanılıyomuş. İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 426	377
93	27 Eylül	İsmet Paşa, 13 Eylül günü Malatya'da bir konuşma yaptı ve iç politika, dış politika ve ekonomik işler konularına parmak bastı. Ülkenin huzur ve sükun içinde olduğunu ve İstiklâl mahkemelerine gerek kalmadığını söyledi. Dış politikada ülkenin bağımsızlığının korunmasının amaçlandığını, çeşitli ülkelerle anlaşmalar yapıldığını anlattı. Ekonomik işlere gelince İsmet Paşa, Türkiye'nin dış ülkelerde borç almak niyetinde olmadığını belirtti. Başbakan konuşmasında yeni alfabe üzerinde de durdu. İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 437	378
		Gazi, 14 Eylül'de İstanbul'dan ayrıldı. Karadeniz yoluyla Ankara'ya döndü. Geçtiği her yerde Pazar meydanlarına karatahta kondu ve halka yeni harfler öğretildi. 1928 yılı bir <i>annus mirabilis</i> (mucize yılı) olarak görülebilir. Yeni alfabenin ilerlemeyi hızlandıracağı düşünülüyor. Yalnız İstanbul'da 200 alfabe kursu açıldı. Mebuslar da alfabe hareketini kamçılamak için seçim bölgelerini dolaşıyor. Ülkenin hiçbir yeri Gazi'nin alfabe sınavından kurtulamayacak gibi görünüyor. Devlet daireleri ve bu	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		arada Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı ilk aydan itibaren yeni yazıya geçeceklerini açıklıyorlar. Halk, yeni alfabe konusunun şapka giymekten çok daha ciddi olduğunu kavıyor. Cahil kişiler arasında saçma bir söylenti dolaşıyormuş. Güya Gazi bütün ülkeyi Hristiyanlaştıracakmış. Gazi, ibadeti de çağdaşlaştırmayı, camilere oturma sıraları ve musiki koydurmayı, müminlerin ayakkabıyla camiye girmelerini ve Türkçe ibadet etmelerini de düşünmüş, ama dostları tarafından, henüz erken diye bu gibi düşüncelerden caydırılmış.	
94	4 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 444	380
		Gazi Ankara'ya döndü ve Fransız Büyükelçisi Kont de Chambrun 28 Eylül'de nihayet güven mektubunu sundu. Büyükelçi sıcak konuşma yapmış. Gazi de aynı şekilde karşılık vermiştir. Ama Suriye sınırı gibi konularda masaya oturunca Türklerin tutumu pek yumuşak olmaz sanırım.	
95	30 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 482	381
		Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin beşinci yıldönümü törenlerine katıldım. Gazi, TBMM binasında kutlamaları kabul etti. Resmi geçit töreninde yalnız denizciler yoktu. Törenlere katılan gençler, diğer şehirlerde de Ankara gençleri gibi iseler, Türkiye geleceğe umutla bakabilir. Akşam Dışişleri Bakanı, yeni otelde (Ankara Palas'ta) bir davet verdi. Buna başta Gazi olmak üzere Türk devlet erkânı ile birlikte yabancı misyon şefleri de katıldı. Yemekten sonra baloya gidildi. Gazi iki saat kadar benimle (Sir G. Clerk) konuştu (Bkz. No. 96).	
96	30 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN FOREIGN OFFICE GÖ. REVLİLERİNDEN MR. RONALD'A ÖZEL MEKTUP	383

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		İlgi: No. 95	
		Cumhuriyet kutlamalarında resmi yemek üç saat sürdü. Gazi ilk defa bu yemeğe katıldı. Baloda saat 1'de ayrılmak üzereydim ki Gazi beni görüp yanına davet etti. Irak, Mısır temsilcileri ile Kel Ali de yanındaydı. Gazi, hep Fransızca konuştu, İngiltere'ye hayranlığını dile getirdi, yeni alfabeyi anlattı. Din konusuna değindi. Gazi'nin sohbeti üç saat kadar sürdü. Gazi, İngiltere'nin Türkiye politikasına güvenmeğe başladığını ve bizim dostluğumuza karşılık vereceğini göstermek istedi, sanırım.	
97	31 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 468	385
		Polonya, Mısır ve Irak Elçileri Gazi'ye güven mektuplarını sundular ve sunarken karşılıklı konuşmalar yapıldı. Iraklı'nın nutku oldukça şarklı, öteki nutuklar ise zararsızdır.	
98	1 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 483	385
		TBMM'nin açılış törenine misyon şefleri de davet edildi. Gazi, konuşmasının sonunda alfabe konusuna da parmak bastı. Konuşmasının Fransızca çevirisi bize önceden verildi. Konuşmanın dış politikayla ilgili bölümüne milletvekilleri ilgisizdi. İç politikayla ilgili bölümü ise hararetle alkışlandı. Konuşmasını yaptıktan hemen sonra Gazi ayrıldı ve Meclis alfabe kanununu görüşmeye başladı. 1 Aralık 1928'den itibaren yeni alfabenin kullanılması zorunlu oluyor.	
99	14 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI LORD CUSHENDUN'A YAZI NO. 492	386
		İsviçre Elçisi Martin, 11 Kasım günü güven mektubunu Cumhurbaşkanı'na sundu.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
100	27 Kasım	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 506. GİZLİ Türkiye'de yeni alfabeyle birlikte eğitim reformu da düşünülüyor. İngilizce de öğretiliceği yolunda bir haber alındı. Haberin kaynağı Gazi'ye yakın olan Falih Rıfkı'dır (Atay). İngilizce öğrenme yönünde genel bir eğilim var. Fransızcanın yerini İngilizcenin alacağı söyleniyor. Bu karar herhalde İngiltere aşkından kaynaklanmıyor. Bugüne kadar Türkler yabancı dil olarak yalnız Fransızca öğrenmişlerdi. Şimdi İngilizceye ve Anglo-Sakson kültürüne yönelme var.	387
101	4 Aralık	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 527 Osmanlı borçları sorunu 30 Kasım'da Meclise geldi ve Gazi'nin arzusu üzerine, alacaklı temsilcileriyle 13 Haziran 1928'de yapılmış olan anlaşma kabul edildi. Böylece Türkiye ile Batı Avrupa ülkeleri arasındaki anlaşmazlık sona erdi. Maliye Bakanı ılımlı biçimde durumu açıkladı. Milletvekilleri, özellikle Fransa aleyhine sert konuşmalar yaptılar. Dışişleri Bakanı onları yatıştırmaya çalıştı. Yedi saat süren müzakereler sonunda Meclis, yapılmış olan anlaşmayı oy çokluğuyla onayladı.	389
102	20 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI TROUTBECTEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A TEL. NO. 61 (KISMEN) Gazi ve Hükümet aleyhinde yeni bir komplo ortaya çıkarılmış ve İstanbul ve Bursa'da 150 kişi tutuklanmış (Bkz. No. 104).	390
103	21 Aralık	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 548 Signor Grandi eşiyile birlikte Ankara'ya geldi. Gazi ve Başbakan tarafından kabul edildi. Dışişleri Bakanı onun şerefine büyük bir yemek verdi. Sıcak konuşmalar yapıldı. Basın İtalya'yı övüyor. Signor	391

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		Grandi'nin asıl amacı Türk-Yunan ve Türk-Arnavut ilişkileri olduğu ileri sürüldü. Ama asıl amaç Tevfik Rüştü Beyin İtalya'ya yapmış olduğu ziyareti iade etmektir. Türk-İtalyan ilişkileri yüzeysel olarak değişmiştir. Türklerin şüpheleri bir ölçüde güvene dönüştürülmüş görünüyor.	
104	27 Aralık	İSTANBUL'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 549 İlgi: No. 102.	392
		Gazi'ye komplo konusunda çeşitli söylentiler dolaşıyor, ama doğru bilgi almak zor. Hükümet duruma hakimdir. İstiklâl Mahkemesi kurulmayacaktır. Sansür kalktı, basında birçok yazı çıkıyor, bazıları da birbirleriyle çelişkili. Hükümet konunun ciddiyetini küçümser görünüyor ve bu yönde açıklamalar yapıyor. Ama olay ciddidir, kanısındayım. Kâzım Karabekir ve Refet Paşaların tutuklandıkları yolundaki haberler yalanlandı. Kutsal sayılan Arap alfabesinin yasaklanması ve zorla Latin alfabesine geçilmesi hoşnutsuzluğu artırmış ve Afganistan'daki son gelişmeler (Kral Amanullah'ın devrilmesi) de komploculara ilham vermiş olabilir (Bkz. No. 106, 109).	
	1929		
105	1 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ROMA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ İR R. GRAHAM'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 5 (İtalya Dışişleri Müsteşarı) Signor Grandi, Ankara'ya yaptığı ziyaretin başarılı geçtiğini söyledi. Mustafa Kemal'in kişiliğinden çok etkilenmiş. Ankara'nın oturulabilir bir başkent haline getirilmek için yoğun çalışmalar yapıldığını görmüş. İtalyan Büyükelçiliğinin Ankara'ya taşınacağını bildiriyor.	394
106	1 Ocak	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI MR. EDMONDS'TAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 1	395

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		İlgi: No. 104 (Gazi'ye karşı) Komplo girişimi konusunda yeni bir açıklama yapılmadı. Bursa'daki hareketin lideri Albay Mehmet adlı bir Çerkez, yardımcıları da küçük rütbeli subaylar imiş. Planları, oradaki kolorduyu ele geçirip Ankara'nın üzerine sevk etmek imiş. Kimler tarafından desteklendikleri belli değil. Bir de Çankaya'da, Gazi'nin bekleme odasında taban cayla yakalanan Kadriye Hanım var. Onun da Bursa komplocularıyla beraber olduğu sanılıyor (Bkz. No. 109).	
107	1 Ocak	ANKARA'DA İNGİLİZ MASLAHATGÜZARI MR. EDMONDSTAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 2	396
		Yeni Türk alfabesi bir aydan beri bütün Türkiye'de kullanılıyor. Bir kargaşa olmadı. Yalnız gazetelerin tirajı düştü, Devlet dairelerinde işler yavaşladı. Yetişkinlere okuma yazma öğretmek için "Millet mektepleri" açılıyor. Alfabe konusunda Trabzon'dan alınan rapor ilişiktir. Dil konusunda da adım atılıyor, süslü uzun cümlelerden vazgeçiliyor, Gazi'nin kendisi de kısa cümleler kullanıyor.	
108	7 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 5	397
		Mr. Troutbeck ile Mr. Malet'nin Güney Anadolu'ya inceleme gezileriyle ilgili raporları ilişikte sunulmuştur. 1926 yılında da o bölge hakkında bir rapor hazırlanmıştı. İkiisi arasındaki fark çarpıcıdır. Bugün Türkiye kendisini güven içinde hissetmekte ve enerjisini reformlara vermektedir. Okuma yazma bilmeyen bir halk yeni alfabeye eğitiliyor. Gazi'nin kendisi de dahil, hiç kimse girişilen işin büyüklüğünü gözden uzak tutmuyor. Ama reformlar hızla ilerliyor. Raporun sonucu, Gazi'nin kontrolü bir kaç yıl daha devam ederse Türkiye'nin kalıcı başarılar kazanabileceği yönündedir.	
Ek	Kasım 1928	İNGİLİZ BÜYÜKELÇİLİĞİ GÖREVLİLERİNDEN J.M. TROUTBECK İLE W.I MALLETT'İN KASIM	

No	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		1928'DE YAPTIKLARI ANADOLU GEZİSİ HAKKINDA NOTLAR	998
		<p><u>Nüfus seyrek</u>: Ankara, İstanbul, Kütahya, Uşak, İzmir, Mersin, Kayseri yöreleri ziyaret edildi. Anadolu'da göze il çarpan şey nüfusun pek seyrek oluşudur. Bu durum, maddi gelişmenin önünde bir engeldir ve Türkiye bu engeli aşmak durumundadır. Hükümet bunun farkındadır, tedbirler alıyor. Anadolu bir zamanlar Doğu dünyasının tahıl ambarıydı, yine olabilir. <u>Eğitim</u>: Türk liderler, sorunun farkındadırlar ve eğitim için Padişahların hiçbir zaman yapmadıklarından daha fazla para ayırıyorlar. Yeni alfabe hızla yayılıyor. <u>Güvenlik ve asayiş</u>: Altıncı yılına basmış olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, dışta güvenliği, içte asayiş sağlanmış bulunmaktadır. Bu, ekonomik bakımdan önem taşımaktadır, zira Türk köylüsü artık kendisini üretime verebilmektedir. <u>Ulaşım</u>: Üreticilerin kolaylıkla pazara ulaşabilmeleri gerekir. Her tarfta yollara el atılmıştır. Eski yollar onarılıyor, yeni yollar açılıyor. Motorlu araçlar artıyor. <u>Sermaye ve kredi</u>: Reformların, sermaye ve krediye şiddetle ihtiyacı var. İzmir valisi, söze başlar başlamaz, demiryolu yapımı için yabancı ülkelerin yardım etmediklerini söyledi. Şehir imar bekliyor. Fakirlik, parasızlık her tarfta göze çarpıyor. <u>Milliyetçilik</u>: İzmir'de oturan yabancılar, belki kapitülasyonlar döneminin imtiyazlarından mahrum kaldıkları için, vergilerin yüksekliğinden yakınıyor, bütçe gelirleriyle demiryolu yapılamayacağını söylüyorlar. Türkler de, kendilerini soymuş olan bu Levantenlerden yaka silkiliyorlar. Rum ve Ermeni kovulunca kalifiye elaman pek kalmamış. Türk acaba öğrenebilecek ve onların boşluğunu doldurabilecek mi sorusuna gelince: Türk her tarfta birçok teknik iş üstlenmiştir. Yapukları ace-mice ve çocukça ise de çocuklar büyür ve öğrenir. Öğrendikleri de görülüyor. <u>Nüfus farklılığı</u>: Evet, artık Türkiye Türklerindir; ama Anadolu'da bir tek Türk değil, birçok değişik Türk vardır. Meselâ Kütahyalı ile Kayserili farklıdır. 3000 yıldan beri</p>	

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		Anadolu'da insanlar karmakarışıktır. Dağlı ile ovada oturan farklıdır. Ama Anadolu'da artık bir birlik bilinci doğmuştur ve bundan böyle Türkiye yabancı istilâya karşı birlik içinde hareket edebilecektir. Yeni doğmuş olan bu milli birlik, Gazi'nin kutsal eseridir. Anadolu'da yabancı düşmanlığı yok, yalnız Yunanlıya karşı olumsuz duygular besleniyor. Mersin'de Fransızlar da pek sevilmiyor. <u>Sonuç:</u> Modern Türkiye'nin programında dış macera yok. Türk, kendisini batılaşmaya vermiştir, bütün dikkatini bu konu üzerinde toplamıştır. Bulgar İmparatorluğu 9. Yüzyılda Hıristiyanlığı kabul edince, önce, hızla ilerlemiş, fakat çok geçmeden dağılıp gitmiştir. Acaba Türkiye birliğini koruyabilecek mi? Yoksa burada tarih tekrerrür mü edecek? Bunun cevabını zaman verecektir. Fakat yeni Türkiye, görevini cesaretle üstlenmiştir. Geleneginden kopmakta, zihniyetini değiştirmektedir. Gazi, on yıl daha yaşar ve iktidarı elinde tutarsa, reformları kökleşebilir.	
109	11 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 19.....	404
		İlgi: No. 106. Gazi ve rejim aleyhinde komplo girişimi hakkında Ankara'da suskunluk var, İstanbul'da ise her türlü olumsuz söylenti dolaşıyor. Ateş olmayan yerde duman çıkmaz. Girişimin İstanbul bölümü küçük, Bursa bölümü çok daha önemli görünüyor. Konya'da da gerici bir askeri hareket olduğu söyleniyor. Sivas'ta bir ayaklanma olduğu yolundaki haber resmen yalanlandı. Hükümet, bu dağınık hareketleri kontrol edebiliyor. Hoşnutsuzluk nedeni olarak yeni alfabenin zorunlu tutulması gösteriliyor. Ama asıl hoşnutsuzluk nedeni, Gazi ve yakın çevresinin dinde köklü reform yapacakları yolundaki haberlerdir. Bu haberler üzerine Gazi, programını değiştirmiştir. Komplonun bir diğer nedeni de Afganistan'daki son gelişmelerdir (Amanullah	

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		Han'ın devrilmesi). Amanullah Han güçlü bir ordu kurabilseydi bu duruma düşmezdi deniyor. Gazi, Afgan Kralının hatasına düşmemektedir (Bkz. No. 110 ve 116).	
110	13 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 20..... İlgi: No. 109.	407
		Dinde reform yapmaktan vazgeçen Gazi, şimdi toprak reformunu düşünüyor. Büyük çiftliklerin 1000'er dönüme bölünerek topraksızlara dağıtılması öngörülüyor. Plan, siyasi bir başarı olabilir. Refahın küçük çiftçilere yaygınlaştırılmasıyla ülkenin istikrar ve refahı artırılabilir.	
111	14 Ocak	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 23..... Türk ilaç kodeksi hazırlanmış ve onay için Cumhurbaşkanına sunulacaktır. 1 Ocak 1930'dan itibaren uygulanacaktır.	408
112	5 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 53..... 1928 yılında Türkiye'de görevli misyon şefleriyle ilgili yıllık rapor ilişikte sunulmuştur. Ankara'da elçilik binalarının yapımı devam ediyor. Almanya Büyükelçiliği artık kesin olarak Ankara'ya yerleşti. Fransa bir kançılara binası yaptırdı. Polonya Elçiliği binasının inşaatı ilerliyor. Macar ve İtalyan elçilikleri binaları yapımı için ödenekler ayrılmıştır.	409
Ek	5 Şubat	TÜRKİYE'DE GÖREVLİ MİSYON ŞEFLERİ HAKKINDA RAPOR Büyükelçiler: Rusya: Jaques Souritz, Almanya: Rodolf Nadolny, İtalya: Luca Orsini Baroni, ABD: Joseph Grew, Afganistan: General Gulam Djeylani Han, Fransa: Emile Daeschner, İran: Mohammed Ali Khan Faruki. Elçiler: Romanya: Georges Filality, Macaristan: Tahyi de Tahvar et Tarkeo, Avus-	410

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		nurya: August Kral, İsveç: Wallenberg, İspanya: Don Juan Servert y Vest, Hollanda: Baron de Welderen Rangers, Çekoslovakya: Milos Kobr, Bulgaristan: Theodore Pavloff, Yugoslavya: T. VI. Taditch, Yunanistan: J. Papa, Danimarka: O.C. Mohr, Belçika: Louis Leclerc, Polonya: C. Olzowski, Irak: Sabih Bey Nishat, Mısır: İbrahim Ratib Bey, İsviçre: Henri Martin, Vatikan : Mgr. Rotta. Maalahatgûzarlar: Japonya: H. Aahida, Arnavutluk: Jajuli. Yani 1928 yılında Türkiye'de 7 Büyükelçi, 17 Elçi ve 2 maalahatgûzar olmak üzere toplam 26 yabancı misyon şefi görevlidir. Elçi ve Büyükelçilerin Cumhurbaşkanını Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e güven mektuplarını sunmaları, göreve başlamaları, karakterleri vs. hakkında bilgi verilmektedir.	
113	6 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 56.....	415
		Türkiye hakkında 1928 yıllık rapor ilişikte sunulmuştur.	
Ek		TÜRKİYE ÜZERİNE YILLIK RAPOR, 1928.....	416
		İçindekiler: I-Genel durum, II- Dış politika ve yabancı ülkelerle ilişkiler, III- İç işleri, IV- Ekonomik durum, V-Askeri işler, VI- Hava kuvvetleri, VII- Denizcilik işleri, VIII- İngiliz talepleri ve IX-Çeşitli konular.	
		I- Genel durum: 1928'de Ankara, başkent olarak durumunu pekiştirdi. Gazi'nin programında Ankara'nın esaslı bir yeri var. Son üç yıl içinde başkentte önemli maddi değişiklikler oldu ve yepyeni bir şehir ortaya çıktı. Avrupalılar, Ankara'yı başkent olarak kabul ettiler. Ankaralıların yabancılara karşı tutumları da son üç yılda değişti, şimdi yabancılara daha sıcak davranıyorlar: davetlere katılıyor, yabancılara davet ediyorlar. Ancak kadınlar çok çekingen. Zihniyet değiştirmek kolay olmuyor. Türkiye'nin diğer bölgeleri de Ankara'daki yenilikleri örnek alıyorlar. Bütün bu gelişmelerin, Gazi'nin itici gücünden kaynaklandığını kimse inkâr ede-	

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		mez. Ankara'da görülen bu gelişmelerin yaşayıp yaşamayacağı coğrafyaya ve Gazi'nin kendisine bağlıdır. 1928'de Türkiye'nin dış politikası ve iç yönetimi, bütünüyle sağlam idi.	
		II- Dış politika ve yabancı ülkelerle ilişkiler: <i>Giris:</i> Türkiye'nin dış politikası barışçıdır. Sınırlarını çizmiş olan Türkiye, şimdi, uluslararası durumunu güçlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Nihai hedefi Yakın ve Orta Doğu'nun önder devleti olmaktır. Raporunda, Türkiye'nin 1928'de şu ülkelerle ilişkileri anlatılıyor: Büyük Britanya, Irak, Fransa, İtalya, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan, Yugoslavya, Romanya, Arnavutluk, ABD, Rusya, Afganistan, İran, Mısır, Arabistan, Almanya, Polonya, Orta Avrupa ülkeleri, Belçika, Hollanda, İsviçre, İskandinav ülkeleri, Baltık ülkeleri, Latin Amerika ülkeleri, Çin ve Japonya. .	
		<i>İngiltere:</i> İşgal günlerinden beri süren Türklerin İngiltere'ye karşı olumsuz tutumları, değişmeğe başladı. Ama, şüphe devam ediyor. Çünkü Kabinenin yarısı eski Malta sürgünlerinden oluşuyor, Çanakkale unutulmuyor, İzmir'de ise Yunan işgaliyle İngiltere aynı kefeye konuluyor. Yine de değişme görülüyor, İngiltere'ye doğru bir yöneliş seziliyor. Ancak arada bazı sorunlar da var. Genel olarak, kendinden daha emin olan Türkiye eski baş düşmanından daha az kuşkulansıyor, denilebilir.	
		<i>Irak:</i> Türkiye Irak'a yakınlık gösteriyor. Irak Elçisi Ankara'da sıcak ilgi görüyor. Irak da Türkiye ile ilişkilerini iyileştirmek istiyor. 1928'de ticaret, ikamet, transit anlaşması görüşmeleri devam etti, fakat sonuçlanmadı. Türk-İran sınırı, yıl içinde ufak tefek sürtüşmeler konusu oldu. Aşiretlerin sınırı ihlalleri, Rovanduz valisi Seyit Taha'nın Türkiye aleyhtarlığı gibi konular Türkiye'nin şikâyetlerine sebep olmuştur. İngiltere'ye de nota verilmiştir. Celâdet Bedir Han tarafından Halep'te Kürt "Hoybun Cemiyeti" kurulmuştur. Bu dernek Ermeni "Daşnak" komitesi tarafından finanse edilmiştir ve bunun bir ajanı da Bağdat'tadır.	

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		<u>Fransa:</u> 1928'de Türk-Fransız ilişkileri hemen hemen tamamen Suriye sınırı sorununa düğümlendi. Anlaşmazlık, Sınır Komisyonunun Danimarkalı Başkanı General Ernst'in keyfi bir kararından kaynaklandı. Askeri ve siyasi saiklerle hareket eden Türk tarafı, bu kararı protesto etti. Gazi'nin tatile çıktığı bir sırada Türkiye'ye gelen Yeni Fransız Büyükelçisi de Chambrun, güven mektubunu sunmak için epeyce beklemek durumunda kaldı. Sınır sorunu yüzünden Türk basınında Fransa aleyhinde bir kampanya görüldü.	
		<u>İtalya:</u> Türk-İtalyan ilişkileri sakin bir döneme girdi. 30 Mayıs 1928'de Türk-İtalyan dostluk ve hakem anlaşması imzalandı. Dr.Tevfik Rüştü, Milano'da Mussolini ile buluştu. Mussolini, Türkiye, İtalya ve Yunanistan arasında bir üçlü pakt önerdi. Türkiye, Yunanistan'ı paktın dışında bırakmak istedi. Sonunda Türk-İtalyan anlaşması yapıldı.	
		<u>Yunanistan:</u> Nüfus mübadelesinde çıkan sorunlar, yıl içinde Türk-Yunan ilişkilerini etkileyen başlıca faktördü. Türk ve Yunan Dışişleri Bakanları Ceno-va'da buluştular, ama anlaşamadılar. İki Bakan, Mussolini'nin çağrısı üzerine Milano'da da buluştular, yine bir anlaşmaya varamadılar. Venizelos yeniden iktidara gelince, yıl sonuna doğru Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinde iyimser bir hava esmeye başladı.	
		<u>Bulgaristan:</u> Türkiye, Bulgaristan'a yaklaşma politikası izledi. Şubat'ta bir ticaret anlaşması imzalandı. Türk tarafı bir hakem ve saldırmazlık anlaşması da önerdi. Ama bu gerçekleşmedi. Bulgaristan'daki Türklerin baskı görmeleri ve Türkiye'ye göç etmeleri de iki ülke arasında bir sorun oldu.	
		<u>Yugoslavya:</u> Türkiye ile Yugoslavya arasında önemli bir tek sorun var: Sırbistan'daki Türk emläki sorunu. Yıl içinde iki ülke ilişkilerinde pek gelişme olmadı.	
		<u>Romanya:</u> Türk-Romen ilişkilerinde önemli bir olay yok.	

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		<u>Amanatlık:</u> Mustafa Kemal Arnavutluk'ta Krallık ilân edilmesini tepkiyle karşıladı. Türkiye, Ahmet Zogu'nun Krallığını tanımadı. Tirana'daki Türk Elçisi geri çekildi.	
		<u>ABD:</u> Türkiye ile ABD arasında <i>modus vivendi</i> yerine bir ticaret anlaşması yapılamadı. Ama Amerika'nın Türkiye'ye ihracatı artıyor. Türkiye Kellogg Pakuna katıldı.	
		<u>Rusya:</u> Dış görünüşüyle Türk-Rus ilişkileri dostça devam etti. İkili bazı anlaşmalar yapıldı, ithalat-ihracat anlaşması yenilendi. Arada bazı sürtüşmeler oluyorsa da Türkiye, Rusya ile kavga etmek istemiyor. Doğu Anadolu'da Sovyetlerin çok sayıda konsolosluk ve ticaret temsilcileri var. 1928'de İzmir, Mersin ve Trabzon'da da Sovyet ticaret büroları açıldı. Bir Sovyet filosu Mayıs'ta Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Türk Hükûmeti, Sovyetlerin komünizm propagandasından rahatsız oluyor. Komünizm propagandası yapan bazı kişiler Türkiye'de hafif cezalara çarptırıldılar.	
		<u>Afganistan:</u> Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han Türkiye'yi ziyaret etti. Ziyaretin başarılı geçmesi için Türkiye elinden geleni yaptı. Ziyaret sırasında dostluk antlaşması imzalandı. Türkiye, Afganistan'a yardım ve desteği sınırlı ölçüde tuttu. Bu ülkeye uzmanlar göndermeyi taahhüt etti. Türk Hükûmeti, Afganistan'da çıkan ayaklanmadan kaygılandı ve İngiltere'den kuşkulandı.	
		<u>İran:</u> 1928'de Türk-İran sınıрыla ilgili müzakereler yapıldı, fakat bir anlaşmaya varılamadı. 1926 tarihli dostluk antlaşmasıyla ilgili bir protokol imzalandı. Bu protokol, 25 Mayıs'ta yapılan Türk-Afgan antlaşması ve 15 Haziran'da yapılan İran-Afgan antlaşmasıyla birlikte üçlü bir pakt oluşturuyor.	
		<u>Mısır:</u> 1928 baharındaki İngiliz-Mısır krizi sırasında Türkiye, Mısır'dan yanaydı. Ama Mustafa Kemal, Mısır hanedanına pek sempati beslemiyor, Kral Fuad'ı kutlamadı.	

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		Almanya: Almanya, Türkiye ile ticaretini artırmak için hiçbir fırsatı kaçırmıyor, Ankara'da Büyükelçilik binası için de büyük para harcadı. Alman Büyükelçisi artık sürekli olarak Ankara'ya yerleşti.	
		Polonya: Türkiye ile ilişkilerine büyük önem veriyor, Berlin'deki Elçisini Ankara'ya atadı, Ankara'da büyük bir Elçilik binası yaptırıyor, buradaki Elçiliğini Büyükelçilik düzeyine çıkarmak ve Trabzon'da bir Konsolosluk açmak istiyor.	
		Orta Avrupa: Türkiye-Çekoslovakya ticaret ve ikamet anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. Türk Dışişleri Bakanı Budapeşte'yi ziyaret etti.	
		Belçika ve Hollanda: Türkiye -Belçika ticaret ve denizcilik anlaşması yürürlüğe girdi. Türkiye - Hollanda ticaret anlaşması imzalandı, ama henüz onaylanmadı.	
		İsviçre: Türkiye'ye elçi atadı, Aralık 1928'de Türkiye-İsviçre Uzlaşma, Adli Tesviye ve Hakem Muahedesi imzalandı.	
		İskandinav ve Baltık ülkeleri: 1928'de İsveç, Türkiye'de sanai ihaleleri aldı; Türkiye ile ticaret ve denizcilik anlaşması imzaladı. Estonya ve Letonya da Türkiye ile ticaret anlaşmaları imzaladılar.	
		Latin Amerika: Meksika ve Brezilya ile Türkiye arasında imzalanan dostluk antlaşmaları 1928'de yürürlüğe girdi	
		Çin ve Japonya: Bir Milliyetçi Çin heyeti Türkiye'den geçti, Nanking'e Türk maslahatgüzarı atandı. Türkiye'deki Japon elçisi ülkesine döndü, yerine yeni bir Büyükelçi henüz gelmedi.	
		III- İç İşleri: Türkiye'nin laik bir Bağılı Devlete dönüşürülmesi süreci devam etti. 1928 yılında eski Denizcilik Vekili İhsan Bey davası ("Yavuz-Havuz" davası) yaşandı. Ayrıca eski Ticaret Bakanı Ali Cenanî Bey de Yüce Divana sevk edildi. Yönetimin alt kademelerinde rüşvet devam ediyor, Mübadillerin iskânı işinde İçişleri Bakanı başarılı olamadı. İzmir ve Trabzon taraflarında asayişsizlik görüldü, "Kürt sorunu" arka planda kaldı. Komünist bildiriler dağıtan 40 kişi tutuklanıp hafif cezalara çarptırıldı.	

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Eğitim politikası yavaşlamadan devam etti. Sağlık alanında yeni yasalar çıkarıldı. Sıtma, verem ve zührevi hastalıklara karşı savaş devam etti. Adalet mekanizmasında iyileştirmeler yapıldı, vasıflı yargıçların sayısı arttı. Azınlıklar için 1928 yılı mutlu bir yıl oldu. Kabine'de değişiklikler oldu. Denizcilik Bakanlığı kaldırıldı, Tarım Bakanlığı da Ekonomi Bakanlığı çatısı altında Ticaret Bakanlığı ile birleştirildi. Nafia Vekili Behiç Bey, Budapeşte'ye Elçi atandı.

İBMM, laikleştirmeyi tamamladı: Devletin dininin İslam olduğu yolundaki madde Anayasadan çıkarıldı. Mebusların Allah yerine namus ve ihsanları üzerine yemin etmeleri kabul edildi. Gazi, sağlığını korudu, yazı Dolmabahçe sarayında geçirdi. Onun İstanbul'da bulunduğu sırada alfabe kampanyası başlatıldı. Yeni alfabe "Gazi alfabesi", "Türk alfabesi" dendi. Gazi, Başöğretmen olarak alfabe seferberliğine çıktı. Herkesi okuryazar yapmak amaçlandı. Bazı tepkiler oldu, Gazi'nin hayatına karşı suikast girişimi ve bir komplo ortaya çıkarıldı. Hükümetin durumu ve kemalist rejim sağlamıştır. Ancak iflas eden iş yerleri, kuraklık ürünü mahvetti. Bütçenin % 40'ı askeri harcamalara gidiyor. Ama borçlar sorunu ve demiryolları işi halledildi. Gazi, yenileştirme politikasını başarıyla yürüttü.

IV- Ekonomik durum: Giriş: Türkiye, maliyesini sağlam temele oturtmağa çalışıyor. Bu amaçla kuponlar sorununu halletti ve Anadolu demiryollarını satın aldı. Denk bütçeyi sürdürmeye uğraşiyor. Ama ekonomik zorlukların tam üstesinden gelinebilmiş değildir. Türkiye, dış kredi alamıyor, toplayabileceği vergiler limite dayanmıştır, harcamalarını, özellikle askeri harcamalarını kısmıyor, iddialı demiryolu projelerini bütçe gelirleriyle finanse etmeye çalışıyor, 1928'in cılız hasadı ülkede büyük sıkıntı yaratmıştır...

Ticaret: Türkiye, kurak bir son bahar ve çetin bir kış geçirmiş, 1928'de iyi ürün alamamış, hayvanlar

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		<p>telef olmuştur. Bu durum ticareti olumsuz etkilemiştir. İthalat da ihracat da düş kırıklığı yaratmıştır. Ticarete gerileme olmuştur. Türkiye'ye ihracat yapan ülkelerin baş sıralarında İtalya, İngiltere, Almanya, Fransa, Çekoslovakya görünmektedir. Onların ardından sırasıyla Belçika, Rusya, ABD, Hollanda ve Japonya gelmektedir. İstatistikler.</p> <p><u>İhracat ve Bütçe:</u> Türkiye'nin başlıca ihracat ürünleri tütün, kuru meyve, yün, halı, kilim, pamuktur. Bunları ihraç ettiği ülkeler sırayla: İtalya, ABD, Almanya, Fransa, İngiltere, Yunanistan, Suriye, Mısır, Rusya ve Hollanda olmuştur. İstatistikler. Türkiye'nin 1928-1929 bütçesinde gelirler 207.173.199, giderler 207.169.388 TL. olmuştur. 1929-30 bütçesinde gelirler 220.298.300, giderler 220.297.268 TL. olarak tahmin edilmiştir. <u>Borçlar:</u> Osmanlı borçlarıyla ilgili anlaşma, Gazi'nin arzusu doğrultusunda önce Halk Partisinde, sonra 30 Kasım'da Meclis'te onaylanmıştır. İstanbul Belediye borçları konusunda bir anlaşmaya varılamamıştır.</p> <p><u>Demiryolları, Karayolları, Sulama işleri ve Kamu ihaleleri:</u> Demir yolu yapmak için ihale almış olan Belçika grubu başarısız kalmış ve ihale Türk Hükümetince iptal edilmiştir. Alman, Amerikan şirketleri bu ihaleyi almak için başvurmuşlardır. Yıl içinde müzakereler yapılmış, fakat bir sonuca varılamamıştır. Demiryolu yapmak için ihale almış olan İsveç grubu ile Türk Hükümeti arasında da tartışma çıkmıştır. İhale şartlarında ve öngörülen bedelde değişiklik tartışılmıştır. Planlanan demiryolu hatları hakkında bilgi: <i>Samsun-Turhal-Sivas-Kayseri hatunun</i> eksik bölümleri Türk müteahhitlerce yapılıyor, <i>Ereğli-Safranbolu-Ankara hattı</i> İsveç grubu tarafından yapılıyor, <i>Keller-Malatya-Ergani-Diyarbakır hattı</i> ihaleye çıkarılmıştır, <i>Kütahya-Tavşanlı-Balıkesir hattını</i> Alman grubu üstlenmiştir, <i>Kayseri-Ulukışla hattında</i> bir ilerleme olmamıştır. <i>Anadolu Demiryolu</i> Türk Hükümeti tarafından satın alınmıştır. Toplam 150 milyon İsveçre Frangı ödenecektir. Vilayetler yol yapımına</p>	

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		<p>huz vermişlerdir. 2096 kilometrelik yolun yapımı devam ediyor. 1089 kilometre yeni yol açılmıştır, bunun 822 kilometresi şosedir. Türk Hükümeti, 1928'de dikkatini sulama işlerine de çevirdi. Bu işlere sekiz yıl için 250 milyon lira ayrıldı. Ankara'da Cumhurbaşkanlığı sarayı, Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Bayındırlık Bakanlığı, İçişleri Bakanlığı, şehir sulama şebekesi; Adana, İnebolu, Bafra ve Konya'da sulama işleri; Ereğli limanı, İstanbul Serbest Bölgesi ihale edilmiştir. Samsun ve Mersin limanlarının ihalesi için görüşmeler yapılmaktadır.</p> <p>Endüstriyel kalkınma alanındaki gelişmeler yavaş olmuştur. Lozan'da imzalanan ticaret sözleşmesi yakında sona erecek ve Türk Hükümeti, gümrük vergilerini istediği gibi arttırabilecek ve dolayısıyla endüstriyel kalkınmayı hızlandırabilecekler.</p> <p>V- Askeri İşler (Kara Kuvvetleri): 1928'de, Türk Genelkurmayı ile yabancı askeri ataşeler ilişkilerinde iyileşme oldu. Ordunun gücünde ve teşkilatında pek değişiklik olmadı. Piyade için dağ topları sipariş edildi. Süvari okulu ziyaret edildi ve çok etkileyici görüldü. Topçularda bir değişiklik yok. Askeri birliklerin üniformalarında ve teçhizatında büyük iyileşme oldu. Askeri ataşeler manevralara davet edilmediler.</p> <p>VI- Havacılık: Türk Hava Kurumu çalışmalarını sürdürdü, bütçesini artırdı. Eskişehir hava alanı tam teçhizatlıdır. Hava Kuvvetleri teşkilatı üç gruptan oluşuyor: Eskişehir, Diyarbakır ve İzmir. Uçak sayısı 180 kadardır. Eğitim Eskişehir ve İzmir'de veriliyor.</p> <p>VII- Denizcilik İşleri: Türk denizcilik çevreleri İngilizlere yöneliyorlar. Eğitim için İngiltere, Fransa, İtalya ve Almanya'ya ikişer deniz subayı gönderildi. "Yavuz" skandalı üzerine Deniz Kuvvetleri personelinde değişiklikler oldu. Deniz Kuvvetleri fiilen Kara Kuvvetlerinin kontrolü altındadır. Bahriyenin mevcudu, 800'ü subay olmak üzere toplam 4800'dür. Destroyer ve denizaltı satın alımı için</p>	

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		ihale açıldı. Türkler mayınları tercih ediyorlar. "Yavuz" zırhlısı İzmit tersanesinde bekliyor. "Birinci İnönü" ve "İkinci İnönü" denizaltıları İstanbul'a geldi ve birkaç dalış tatbikatı yaptılar. 1928'de İngiliz ve Sovyet filoları Türk sularını ziyaret ettiler.	
		VIII- İngiliz Talepleri: İpranossian ve İngiltere Bankası'nın talebini Türk Hükümeti reddetti. İngiltere'nin Türkiye'den diğer talepleri şunlardır: Savaş öncesi talepler, İzmir'de istimlak edilen İngiliz emlakı, İstanbul Belediyesinin 1909 borcu, Denizcilik işlerinde istihdam edilen İngiliz vatandaşlarının hakları, Filistin'in Lozan Ticaret Sözleşmesinden yararlanması.	
		IX- Çeşitli konular ve Türkiye'de İngiliz kuruluşları: Türkiye ile İngiltere arasında şu konular da gündemdedir: Çanakkale Savaş Mezarlıkları, İngiliz uçaklarının Türkiye üzerinden uçmaları, Boğazlar Komisyonu, İngiltere'nin Edirne Konsoloslugu, Uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı, İngiltere Büyükelçiliği ile Konsoloslukları arasında haberleşme, "Kaplan" gemisi konusu ve Türkiye'de el konulan eski düşman lokomotif ve vagonları. Türkiye'deki İngiliz kuruluşları ile ilgili olarak da bazı sorunlar vardır: Bu kuruluşlar, İstanbul ve İzmir'de iki denizci hastanesi, İstanbul'da üç İngiliz okulu ve Türk-İngiliz Karma Hakem Mahkemesidir.	
114	9 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 60	479
		Ankara'da, Cumhurbaşkanı, Bakanlar ve ileri gelen Türkler bana dostça davrandılar. Ama Türk basınında yabancı ve özellikle İngiliz aleyhtarlığı da görülüyor. Yabancı şirketlerce yapılmış olan ve iyi çalışmadığı görülen bazı tesisler, Türk milliyetçiliğini alevlendiriyor ve yabancı aleyhtarlığını kamçılıyor. Hükümetten mali destek alan "Milliyet" gazetesi, İngiltere'nin Afganistan politikasına da saldırıyor. Ancak gerek Gazi'nin, gerek İsmet Paşa ve Tev-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		fik Rüşdî'nin bana dostça davranmaları samimidir, kanısındayım. Çünkü son iki yılda Türk dış politikası, Türkiye'nin gerçek çıkarlarının İngiltere ile dostluk ilişkilerinde olduğunu göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla basında görülen yabancı aleyhtarlığını fazla önemsemiyorum. Bu arada Ankara'ya gitmeyi de düşünmüyorum.	
115	14 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 66. GİZLİ	483
		Mr. Helm'in Türkiye'nin genel durumu hakkındaki raporu ilişiktir. Onun değerlendirmesine ve Türkiye'nin İngiltere'den daha önce yardım alabileceği yolundaki görüşüne katılıyorum. Ama yardımın nasıl isteneceği ve hangi şartlarla verileceğine de bağlı.	
Ek	10 Şubat	TÜRKİYE'NİN BUGÜNKÜ GENEL DURUMU HAKKINDA MUHTİRA. GİZLİ	483
		Türkler, beş yıldır ülkelerinin efendisidirler ve dışarıdan engellenmemişlerdir. Ülkenin yeniden yaratılması bakımından Gazi ve Türkiye eşanlamlıdır. Gazi, yalnız bir defa, yani kadınların başörtüleri konusunda, maharetle geri adım atmıştır. Afganistan'daki son gelişmeler üzerine de Gazi reformlarına ara vermiştir. Rejim istikrarlıdır ve düşünülebilecek bütün alternatiflerden daha iyidir. Ama kontrol elden bırakılırsa bütün reform binası çökebilir. Ülkede hoşnutsuzluklar vardır ve komplo girişimleri de bunu göstermiştir. Yeni alfabenin tam sonuçları birkaç ay sonra görülecektir. Halen Dışişleri Bakanlığındakiler bile eski yazıyla not tutuyorlar. Yeni yazı yüzünden zaten yavaşlamış olan bürokrasi çarkı taşrada hepten durabilir de. Çok şükür iyimserlik nedenleri de vardır. Başta Gazi'nin kendisi. Onun itici gücü eşsizdir, sağlığı yerindedir. Çankaya klifi dahil merkezi idarede iki gurup var: çalışanlar ve parazit dalkavuklar. Gazi şimdiye kadar bunların birbirlerine müdahalelerini önlemiş ve aralarındaki dengeyi korumuştur. Ama bu	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		denge bozulabilir ve merkezi idareyi zayıf düşürülebilir. Gazi hayatta kaldıkça bir tehlike yoktur. Gazi'den sonra Onun yerini kim doldurabilir? Çeşitli halefler vardır. Kazım, İsmet, Fevzi Paşalar... Çalışanlar İsmet Paşa'yı tercih edeceklerdir. Gazi reformları pekiştirip güvenceye almayı düşünüyor. Türkiye'nin geleceği bakımından para kilit rolü oynayacaktır. Türkiye, ya para bulacak, ya da çökecektir. Dış mali yardımlara ihtiyaç duyacaktır. Son beş yıl içinde İngiltere, yeniden Türkiye'de prestij kazanmıştır. Türk basınında görülen İngiliz aleyhtarlığı uzun sürmez. Türkiye, kredi almak için Amerika'ya ve başka devletlere yanaşmayı düşünebilirse de asıl İngiltere'den yardım bekleyecektir. İngiltere, son beş yılda Türkiye'ye karşı pasif bir politika izlemiştir; şimdi artık Türkiye'ye yardım elini uzatamaz mı?	
116	15 Şubat	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 67..... İlgi : No. 109	490
		Bursa komplosu sanıklarının yargılanması sona erdi. Mahkeme zabıtlarına göre, bu ufak bir olaydır. Komplo, Cemal adında bir mahkum tarafından tertiplenmiş. Bu kişi, "İslam Dininin Müdafaası için İhtilâl Komitesi" adlı bir örgüt kurmuş ve bununla bir darbe yapmayı hayal etmiş. Cemal, her şeyi inkâr etmiş, ama çelişkili ifadeler vermiş. Mahkeme Cemal ve üç suç ortağını idam cezasına, dokuz kişiyi de çeşitli hapis cezalarına çarpırmıştır. Diğer tutukluları, delil yetersizliğinden beraat ettirmiştir. Anlaşıyor ki, polis sistemi, komployu ortaya çıkaracak kadar iyidir. Olağanüstü tedbirlere başvurulmadan sorun halledilmiştir. İddianamede "İngiliz" adı da geçiyor. Sanıklardan biri "Laz Ali" imiş ve bu "İngiliz" kelimesiyle karıştırılmış olabilir. Bu konuda Dışişlerinde girişimde bulunuldu. (Bkz. No. 124).	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
117	7 Mart	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 114.....	493
		"Takriri Sükun Kanunu"nın süresi sona erdi ve bu vesileyle İsmet Paşa bir konuşma yaptı. Gazi'nin telkini üzerine bu kanunun süresinin uzatılmadığını açıkladı. İstiklâl Mahkemeleri de kaldırılmıştı. Paşa, son dört yılın en büyük başarısının inkılaplar olduğunu belirtti ve Gazi'nin sağlığıyla ilgili söylentileri yalanladı. Gazi ile Hükümet arasında görüş ayrılıkları bulunduğu yolundaki söylentileri de tekzip etti. Bu gibi söylentilerin Suriye'de bulunan kaçaklar ve komiteciler tarafından çıkarıldığını ekledi. Türkiye'de Komünizm propagandası yapanların da kontrol edildiğini söyledi.	
118	16 Nisan	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MR. EDMONS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 164.....	494
		Vasıf Bey (Çınar), Millî Eğitim Bakanlığından istifa etti ve istifası kabul edildi. İlkokulların kontrolü konusunda İçişleri Bakanı ile anlaşmazlığa düşmüş deniyorsa da istifayı Başbakan istemiştir, sanılıyor. Zira, Gazi ve İsmet Paşa, Vasıf Beyin atanması konusunda farklı düşünüyorlar. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına Cemal Hüsnü Bey (Taray) getirilmiştir.	
119	30 Nisan	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 191.....	496
		Türkiye'nin ilk çocuk haftası sona erdi. TBMM'nin açılışı tarihi olan 23 Nisan 1920, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyetin ilan edildiği 29 Ekim 1923 kadar önemli bir tarihtir ve bundan böyle "Çocuklar Günü" olarak bilinecektir. Çocuklar, Padişahu hatırlamayan, eski dini etkilerden uzak ve yeni yazıyla eğitim gören bir kuşak olarak yetişecekler. Bu ülkede çocuklar ve kadınlar yüzyıllarca ihmal edilmişlerdi, çocuk ölüm oranları korkunçtu, ülkede nüfus pek seyrekti...Mustafa Kemal, büyüklüğünü göstererek, şimdi bir yandan hareme son veriyor, diğer yandan	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		çocuklara eğiliyor. Bu konuda Türk Ocakları Başkanı Hamdullah Suphi'nin (Tanrıöver) rolü olmuştur. Türkiye'nin her tarafından gelen çocuk delegeleri, 23 Nisan sabah Gazi'nin, İsmet Paşa'nın ve Meclis Başkanının ikametgâhlarına götürülmüşler, öğleden sonra Ankara Palas'ta bir çocuk şenliği düzenlenmiş, buna Gazi de katılmış, çocuklarla arkadaşlık etmiştir. Devlet okulları, izci teşkilâtları, Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu ve hastane reformu ile Hükümet, çağdaş bir nesil yetiştiriyor. Çağdaş nesil de rejimin en iyi savunucusu oluyor.	
120	1 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 192.....	498
		Ankara'da İran Büyükelçiliği binasının temeli, 25 Nisan günü İsmet Paşa tarafından atıldı. Törene kordiplomatik temsilcileri de katıldı. İran Büyükelçisi, bu temel taşının Türk ve İran kardeşliğini simgelediğini söyledi. Gazi'ye ve Rıza Şah Pehlevi'ye iyi dileklerle tören sona erdi.	
121	3 Mayıs	İNGİLTERE'NİN ROMA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR R. GRAHAM'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 302. GİZLİ	499
		Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı Tevfik Rüştü Bey (Aras), resmi bir ziyaret için 27 Nisan günü Roma'ya geldi. Aynı gün Kral ve Mussolini tarafından kabul edildi. Ertesi gün öğleyin Roma Valisi, akşam Mussolini birer yemek verdiler. Mussolini ve Tevfik Rüştü Bey yemekte birer konuşma yaptılar. Mussolini dostluktan ve barıştan bahsetti, Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e hayranlığını ve sempatisini dile getirdi. Türk Bakan, aynı duygularla karşılık verdi. Samimi dostluktan ve barıştan bahsetti. Mussolini'yi ve İtalyan Kralını övdü. İki ülke arasında samimi işbirliğinin gelişmesi ve başarılı olması dileğinde bulundu. Tevfik Rüştü Bey, 29 Nisan sabahı basın temsilcilerini kabul etti. Yakında Türkiye ile İtalya arasında bir ticaret anlaşması yapılacağını bildirdi. Türk-Yunan ilişkilerinin iyi olduğunu, Yunanistan'la da anlaşma-	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		yapılacağını, böylece Türkiye, İtalya ve Yunanistan arasında üçlü bir pakt oluşacağını söyledi. Türk-Arnavut ilişkilerine değindi. Yugoslavya ile de em-lâk konusunda bir anlaşma yapılacağı umudunu dile getirdi. Sovyetler ile ilişkilerinin fevkalâde olduğunu, Afganistan'ın bağımsızlığından yana olduklarını sözlerine ekledi. 29 Nisan günü Signor Grandi bir öğle yemeği verdi, aynı gün Mussolini bir defa daha Türk Bakanı kabul etti ve kabulün ardından Türkiye-İtalya Tarafsızlık, Uzlaşma ve Adli Tesviye Antlaşmasının onay belgeleri törenle teatü edildi. O gün akşam Mussolini, Türkiye Büyükelçiliğinde verilen yemekte hazır bulundu. Türk Heyeti 30 Nisanda Roma'dan ayrıldı. Mussolini ve Grandi, bana (İngiliz Büyükelçisine), bu ziyaretin siyasi önemi olmadığını söylediler.	
122	4 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'A YAZI NO. 257. GİZLİ	502
		Cumhurbaşkanı, Misyon şeflerini 1 Haziran'da Ankara'da vereceği garden partiye davet etmişti. Daveti reddedemezdim, Ankara'ya gidince de 3 Haziranda Kralın doğum günü resepsiyonu için İstanbul'a yetişemezdim. İstemeye istemeye Kralın doğum günü için resmî resepsiyonu Ankara'da yapmaya karar verdim. 1 Haziran'da Ankara'da oldum ve dün de resepsiyonumu verdim. Türk makamları da ellerinden geleni yaptılar. Protokol Şefi, sabahtan beni ziyaret ederek Cumhurbaşkanının, Başbakanın ve Dışişleri Bakanının tebriklerini sundu. Meclis Başkanı, Başbakan, Dışişleri Bakanı ve milletvekilleri davetime geldiler ve bana dostluk gösterdiler. Cumhurbaşkanı, hem bodosunu hem de baş yaverini gönderdi ve Majeste Krala şahsî tebriklerini ilettiler.	
		<i>Foreign Office'in notu:</i> Kralın Cumhurbaşkanına teşekkür ettiğini bildirelim. Bu raporun siyasi önemi de var: Ankara'yı Türkiye'nin başkenti olarak tanımış oluyoruz (Bkz. No. 123).	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
123	5 Haziran	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN FOREIGN OFFICE'DE MR. LANCELOT OLIPHANT'A ÖZEL MEKTUP İlgi: No. 122. Kralın Doğum Günü Davetini Ankara'da yapmam bana pahalıya çıktı. Her şeyi oraya taşımamız gerekti. Ama değdi. Türkler çok keyiflendiler. Davetün başarılı geçmesi için ellerinden geleni yaptılar. Su gibi içki tüketildi. Gazi'nin, yaveriyle ilettiği tebrikleri not etmekle yetindim. Majeste Kralın teşekkürlerini bildirmem hoşnuduk yaratacaktır.	504
124	18 Temmuz	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 310 İlgi: No. 116 Bursa komplosu mahkumlarının idam cezaları infaz edilmedi. Cemal'in cezası 18 yıl hapis, üç suç ortağının cezaları da dörder yıl hapis cezasına çevrildi. Gazi'yi öldürmeye teşebbüs suçuyla tutuklanan Kadriye hanımın yargılanması ise devam ediyor (Bkz. No. 125).	505
125	1 Ağustos	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 337 İlgi: No. 124 Kadriye Hanım beraat ettirildi. Gazi'yi öldürmeye kastetmemiş, Onunla görüşmek istemiş imiş. Yarı-resmi "Milliyet", bu kararı çağdaş Türk adaletinin bir örneği olarak gösterdi. Biz de bundan hoşnut kaldık, çünkü savcı, eski İngiliz subaylarının da bu için içinde olduğunu iddia ediyordu.	506
126	16 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 390 Türkiye'deki seçim sistemi üzerine bir not ilişktedir. Avrupa modellerinden alınmış olan Türk seçim sistemi Halk Partisi aracılığıyla işliyor. Bir mu-	507

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
Ek		halefet partisi yok. Halkı, partinin Başkanı olan Cumhurbaşkanı'nın prestiji çekiyor. TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SEÇİM SİSTEMİ	508
		Türkiye'deki seçim sistemi, 1909 tarihli seçim kanununu esas alan 1923 tarihli Seçim Kanununa ve Anayasaya dayanan iki dereceli bir seçim sistemidir. Seçim bölgesi vilâyettir. 20.000 nüfus için bir milletvekili seçilir. 200 birinci derece seçmen 1 ikinci derece seçmeni seçer, ikinci derece seçmenler de milletvekillerini seçerler. 18 yaşını bitirmiş bütün erkekler seçme hakkına sahiptir. Seçilebilmek için 30 yaşına ermiş olmak gerekir. Devlet görevlileri bulundukları bölgeden seçilemezler. Seçimler her dört yılda bir yapılır. Milletvekilleri, yalnız kendi vilayetlerini değil, bütün milleti temsil ederler. Meclis, Cumhurbaşkanı seçer. Cumhurbaşkanı dört yıl için seçilir ve Meclis üyeleri içinden Başbakanı tayin eder. Başbakan da milletvekilleri arasından Kabinesini oluştur.	
127	18 Eylül	İNGİLTERE'NİN BERUT BAŞKONSOLOSU SATOW'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANINA YAZI NO. 95. GİZLİ	509
		Yakında İstanbul'dan gelen Dağıstanlı Ömer Adil beni ziyaret etti. Türkiye Müslümanlarının ülkelerindeki rejimi devirmek ve Mustafa Kemal'in yerine Osmanlı Hanedanından birini getirmek, ondan sonra Türkiye'yi İngiliz himayesi altına sokmak istediklerini söyledi. Ayaklanma Hilâfet sancağı altında yapılacağı için Türk ordusu da isyancılara katılacakmış. İngiltere'nin böyle bir planı desteklemeyeceğini söyledim. Öyleyse Bolşevik Hükûmetine döneceklermiş. Adil Bey'in elinde vaktiyle Sir A. Ryan'dan almış olduğu bir tavsiye mektubu vardır. <i>Foreign Office'in notu: Ömer Adil Bey'e İngiltere adına hiçbir cevap verilmemelidir. İngiliz görevlileri bu ihulâlcileri sempatiyle dinlememelidirler. (Bkz. No. 128).</i>	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
128	23 Ekim	İNGİLTERE DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI GÖREVLİSİ MR. MONTEAGLE'DEN BERUT BAŞKONSOLOSU MR. SATOW'A YAZI NO. 117 İligi: No. 127 Dağıstanlı Ömer Adil ile ilgili yazınız alındı. Bu şahıs yaklaşık 30 yıldan beri Mekke'de yaşamaktadır. Türkiye'deki yerleşik Hükümet aleyhinde entrika çeviren bu gibi şahıslar İngiltere Hükümetinden destek beklememelidirler.	511
129	23 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 428. GİZLİ Aralık 1923'te İngiliz işgal gemilerinin sonuncusunun İstanbul'u terk edişinden yaklaşık altı yıl sonra, 12 Ekim 1929 günü Akdeniz Donanması Başkomutanı Amiral Sir F. Field komutasındaki bir İngiliz filosu İstanbul'a bir dostluk ziyareti yaptı. Ziyaret resmi mahiyette olduğundan Amiralin zamanının çoğu resmi seremonilerle geçti. 13 Ekim günü Ankara'ya hareket edildi. Ertesi gün Ankara'da ziyaretler yapıldı ve Amiral, Gazi tarafından kabul edildi. Kabulde ben de (Büyükelçi) hazır bulundum. Görüşme 80 dakika sürdü. 16 Ekim'de İstanbul'a dönüldü. Programın en önemli bölümü 18 ve 19 Ekim günleri İstanbul'da yapılan hava gösterileriydi. 30 İngiliz uçağı İstanbul üzerinde akrobasi gösterileri yaptılar ve halkı coşturdular. Uçaklar gök yüzünde kusursuz bir ay-yıldız resmi de yaptılar ve alkışlandılar. Son olarak Amiral, 20 Ekim günü Cumhuriyet Anıtına çelenk koydu. Ziyaret çok başarılı geçti. (Bkz. No. 130).	512
130	23 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 429 İligi: No. 129. Akdeniz donanması Başkomutanının Türkiye ziyareti dış görünüşüyle başarılı oldu. Ancak bu ziyaretin derin anlam taşıyıp taşımadığı ayrı bir sorudur. Gazi dahil, görüşülen bütün Türkler Amirale ko-	516

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
		nukseverlik göstermişler, sıcak davranmışlardır. Ziyaret, dostluk yolunda ileri bir adım olmuştur; ancak İngiltere, Türklerin tam güvenini henüz kazanamamıştır. Türkiye'ye tam güven verebilmek ve gerçek dostluk kurulabilmek için sabır ve zaman gerekmektedir.	
131	30 Ekim	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 440.....	519
		Dün, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin altıncı yıldönümü törenlerine katıldım. Tören, geçen yılık törenin benzeriydi. Ama bazı yenilikler de vardı. Cumhurbaşkanı bizleri zamanında kabul etti, uçaklar gösteri yaptılar, geçit törenine daha fazla öğrenci katıldı. Akşam Dışişleri Bakanının yemeği ve yemekten sonra Türk Ocağındaki balo, geçen yıla göre daha iyi düzenlendi. Türkler bana dostluk gösterdiler ve İngiliz filosunun ziyaretinden dostça bahsettiler. Gazi benimle pek dostça sohbet etti. İki ülke arasında dostluk duygularının geliştiği görülüyor. Türkler, kendilerine karşı art niyet beslemediğimizi kavıyorlar.	
132	3 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 442.....	521
		1 Kasım'da Cumhurbaşkanının kısa bir açış konuşmasıyla TBMM yeni yasama dönemine başladı. Yeni dönemde köklü değişiklikler öngörülmüyor. Yalnız Gazi'nin toprak reformuna değinmesi Mecliste alkışlandı. Silahlı Kuvvetlerle ilgili sözleri de hararetle alkışlandı. Konuşmasının sağlık, eğitim ve bayındırlık bölümleri iyi karşılandı. Gazi, dış ilişkilere kısaca değindi, Türk dış politikasının temelinin barış olduğunu belirtti. Bu konuda İsmet Paşa'nın 9 Kasım'da bilgi vermesi bekleniyor. Başbakan İsmet Paşanın ve Dışişleri Bakanının değiştirilecekleri yolunda söylentiler var. Bu iki kişinin çekilmesi İngiltere için üzücü olur. Ancak yakında böyle bir değişiklik olacağını sanmıyorum. İsmet Paşa'nın yapacağı konuşmayı bekleyelim.	

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
133	21 Kasım	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA BÜYÜKELÇİSİ SIR GEORGE CLERK'TEN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 461 "Chronica" adlı Rum gazetesine verilen ceza ertelenmiştir. Ankara'da rüşvet dağıtmak suçuyla yargılanan altı Yahudi de para cezasıyla kurtulmuşlardır. Bazı Bakanlar ve eski Bakanlar rüşvet almakla suçlanmışlardır. Birisi Gazi'nin de bir kutu sigara aldığını söyleyince Gazi kutuyu fırlatıp atmış ve Adalet Bakanından bu konuda araştırma yapmasını istemiştir. Taşrada Hristiyanlara baskı yapıldığı haberleri geliyor. Mardin'de bir Ortodoks papaz öldürülmüş imiş. Belki başka bir olayla karıştırılıyordur.	522
134	17 Aralık	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MR. EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 488.GİZLİ Kötü hasat ve ağır dış borç ödeme yüzünden Türk borsası ve Türk lirasının değeri düştü. Hükümet, İstanbul'daki Rum spekülâtörleri suçluyorsa da ithalat-ihracat dengesizliğinin sorun olduğunu kavradı ve "Türk malı kullanmalı" kampanyası başlattı. Osmanlı Bankasından 500 bin sterlin borç aldı. 12 Aralıkta Başbakan Mecliste bir konuşma yaptı ve sonun aşırı ithalattan ve yetersiz ihracattan, dış borç ödemeden ve özellikle panikten kaynaklandığını söyledi. Üretimim ve Türk malı kullanımının artırılması için ne gerekiyorsa yapılacağını bildirdi. Kamu kuruluşları ve belediyeler dış siparişleri durduracaklar. Merkez Bankası kurulacak. Gazi, Yalova'dadır ve İsmet Paşa'yı yalnız bırakıyor, belki onun yerine Fethi Beyi düşünüyordur. Bu arada Lira biraz yükseldi, halen bir İngiliz lirası 10.30 TL'dir.	523
135	18 Aralık	İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MR EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANI MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 490 Türkiye'nin Milletler Cemiyeti'ne katılıp katılmayacağı konusunda Dışişleri Bakanının düşüncesini sordum. Konsey'de üyelik sağlanmadıkça katılmak niyetinde olmadığını söyledi. Ancak, Türkiye'nin	526

No.	Tarihi	Kimden kime Yazıldığı ve Özü	Sayfa
196	20 Aralık	<p>gittikçe Milletler Cemiyetine yaklaştığını; fakat Rusya ile ilişkilerinde gerginlik yaratmaktan sakındığını, sanırım.</p> <p>İNGİLTERE'NİN ANKARA MASLAHATGÜZARI MR EDMONDS'DAN DIŞİŞLERİ BAKANİ MR. A. HENDERSON'A YAZI NO. 494</p> <p>(Sovyet Dışişleri Bakan Yardımcısı) Karahan 12 Aralık'ta İstanbul'a, 17 Aralık'ta da Ankara'ya geldi. İyi karşılandı, başarılı bir ziyaret yaptı, Gazi tarafından da kabul edildi. Bu ziyaretin inisiyatifi Ruslardan gelmiştir. Türk Milli Mücadelesinin Rus yardımları sayesinde kazanıldığı ziyaret dolayısıyla tekrar vurgulandı, ancak Gazi ve İsmet Paşa'nın politikası baulaşma yönündedir. Türkiye'de komünist propagandası devam ediyor, ama kontrol altında tutuluyor. Ticaret anlaşması için müzakerelere devam edileceği bildiriliyor. Türkler, genel olarak ziyaretten memnun kalmışlardır.</p>	527

BELGELER

No. 1

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

Confidential
No. 1

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 1, 1926
(Received January 11, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you herewith the annual report for 1925 on the heads of missions in Turkey. The parts of these notices reproduced from the reports of previous years are enclosed in brackets and dated.

2. Since last year the diplomatic status of most missions has been fixed, but in some cases abnormal relations still continue. Against the name of each country I have written the status of its representative or failing this, the nature of its treaty position towards Turkey.

3. As last year, I have divided the report into two parts - Constantinople and Angora. The number of missions permanently located at the capital is still four only, but I summarise what I know as to the various establishments maintained or contemplated at Angora at the moment of writing:-

Afghanistan: permanently established in a decent native house in the middle of the town.

France: a house has been leased in the centre of the town. Ground floor was a shop and has been turned into a "salle de fêtes" by M. Sarraut and furnished with a Gobelin tapestry and old silk chairs, settees and candelabra from the Embassy attics. All the other rooms in the house are extremely small.

Germany: a large area (28.000 square metres) on the Chankaya Road. There is a very good wooden house on it with a stone basement. The German Ambassador tells me his Government has just found the credits for the construction of a new stone house on the site.

Greece hires a good-sized native house in the middle of the town. In summer the Greek Legation always hires a house somewhere in the country, on the hills.

Hungary hires a small Evkaf House in the town, where a secretary lives permanently as liaison officer for the Minister, who resides normally in Constantinople, but visits the capital fairly often.

Italy has selected a site of about 24.000 square metres in the Chankaya district, but the transfer of the land has not yet been effected. The Italian Government intends to put up some sort of building on it, but plans are still vague.

Poland has a hired house and garden in the country and a small Evkaf house in town which serves as an office. A site has been selected in the Chankaya district, but the transfer has not yet been effected. On it the Polish Government intends to erect a very large house. The plans contemplate providing seven or eight rooms to be used as guest rooms for travelling Poles.

Russia has a site on the Chankaya Road just below the Germans - not very large, perhaps about half the German site, at a guess. On it an enormous building is now almost completed, constructed entirely in reinforced concrete and of a most peculiar design. I am told that its internal arrangement is equally peculiar, consisting almost entirely of corridors and vast halls without any doors.

United States hire a small Evkaf house, where one of the secretaries always resides for a month at a time.

I have &c.

R. C. LINDSAY

F.O. 424/264, p.5, No.7

F.O. 371/11533/E. 224

No. 2

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

Confidential

No. 24

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 19, 1926

(Received January 25)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith some notes on political matters made by Mr. Helm during his recent visit to Angora.

2. The paragraphs on Salih Bey's remarks are of particular interest, for here we have a fleeting glimpse of a rat preparing to leave a ship. Of course it would be unwise to attach too much importance to the language of Salih when warmed up with *douziko*, and still more to assume that the ship is now sinking; but in Constantinople we often gather the impression that the present régime in Turkey is increasingly unstable, and here we have some confirmation of it from one of the Ghazi's intimate entourage. Boredom, depression, insomnia and every excess are sapping the *moral* and the health of the President; the President and the régime

are one; and it is widely felt that neither can last very much longer. What is likely to follow on a catastrophe is past all conjecture; but there are many sober people who share Salih's view that there will be bloodshed.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's High Commissioner at Bagdad.

I have &c.

R.C. LINDSAY

F.O. 424/264, p. 12, No. 10

ENCLOSURE IN No. 2

Memorandum by Mr. Helm

Confidential

January 18, 1926

During my six days' stay at Angora in connection with the site and house questions I naturally saw a good deal of Salih Bey, to whom the house at present belongs, and our conversation was not confined to the house question. On two occasions—about two hours one morning at his house and again on the 16th instant when I lunched with him in town—he grew quite expansive, on the second occasion probably as a result of a continuous supply of *douziko*. For the most part I refrained from asking questions, and merely let him talk.

Salih Bey is a year younger than the Ghazi (45). The two grew up together and entered the army at the same time. They were together in Tripoli, and again during the general war. I was shown many old photographs of two together. During the Nationalist movement and until eighteen months ago Salih was the Ghazi's aide-de-camp. He is now Deputy for Bozok (Yozgad), and generally admitted to be the innermost circle at Tchan Kaya.

We first got away from the house question—I had been pressing him to reconsider his decision not to accept rent for a temporary occupation of the house by your Excellency—by his saying that he always believed in showing kindness where possible, as one never knew when it might be returned. He himself had had enough of ups and downs, but, by sticking to the Ghazi through thick and thin, he had come out on top. He owed everything to the Ghazi. From that we got to kings, presidents, &c., and he said all were temporary—kingdoms, republics and everything. He had been brought up to fear Abdul Hamid, but the Sultans were gone. Today Turkey had Mustafa Kemal and a republic, but no one knew what changes to-morrow might bring. The Turkish Republic would only be secure if the Ghazi lived another fifteen years, with a suggestion that he did not think this probable. He was, however, he said, not a politician. We were talking as friends, &c.

Twice during my visit Salih told me that he had spent the previous evening with the Ghazi. He just "dropped in" when he desired. They were generally four or five in the evenings. They had drinks - the Ghazi drank a lot of *douziko*—and played games and danced to a gramophone, and they always had a good time. Sometimes they "listened in" to Moscow and Berlin, but this was rather dull. The cronies generally parted about 3 A.M., not always strictly sober.

The Ghazi slept very badly. He could never sleep before 3 A.M. and often not then. If this was the case, he went off at a very early hour to his farm (10 kilom. west of Angora.) He was also subject to fits of depression. Once he told Salih that he thought he was going to die, in which case, he said, all that he had was to go to the People's Party. At this Salih said he wept and "begged him not to die, for the moment the Ghazi dies I know that "they" will hang me. Once the Ghazi dies there will be complete anarchy in Turkey, and nobody can foretell what will happen." Several times in recent months the Ghazi had asked him if he were afraid, but he (Salih) had invariably replied "No, my Pasha, I will follow you always, no matter what you do or say."

At times the Ghazi got very dissatisfied with his manner of existence. He was naturally of a bright, cheerful disposition, and liked company. He intensely disliked being cooped up at Tchan Kaya, and often complained that all the others could go to Constantinople and Europe as they liked, while they made him remain surrounded by armed guards. The most he could do was to make short tours in Anatolia, from which he got no pleasure. Salih was going to accompany him in about a fortnight's time on a tour —to Konia, Adana and "round about".

The Ghazi was the only man in Turkey to-day —he was Turkey. The Ministers merely did as he told them. When even the most unimportant matter came before the Cabinet they at once looked to him, and his word was law. All the revolutionary steps taken in Turkey in recent years had been the product of the Ghazi's brain. He thought it all out beforehand, but told nobody till he announced his decision. The greatest step of all had been the abolition of the fez. He told nobody till he made his speech at Kastamuni — this town was chosen because it was the centre of the chief opposition area — and the Cabinet was left to carry it into effect.

One more point in Salih Bey's talks be of interest. The Ghazi had asked him if he had now sold his house, to which he replied that he had. The Ghazi said "Well done, and what are you proposing to do now?" Salih said he thought of building a new house on his plot of land just behind our site, but the Ghazi said "I advise you not to do anything of the kind; do not built up here at all." Salih told me that, in view of this statement of the Ghazi, he thought of renting one of the Evkaf houses in town.

I have given Salih's statements as accurately as I can recall them, and refrain from reading anything into them. I should, however, state that his remarks about

casting bread upon the waters was made at the time when he was very desirous that we should accept his hospitality, while everything else reported above was said in the last two days of my visit, *i.e.*, after he had been induced to accept rent.

One evening, at Fresco's, I met Jelal Munif Bey, who was formerly Chamberlain to the Caliph. He speaks English very well. He has just been appointed consul-general at New York. We were only able to talk for a few minutes, and I remarked to him on the progress I had noticed in Angora. He admitted that there had been progress of a kind, but, he said, "the progress is only for a few who have nice houses in which to live. What about the officials? If only you could see the miserable conditions in which they live! No, Angora is no place for an official, and I am jolly glad to be leaving it to-morrow."

I had a long talk with M. Yencke, the agent of Holtzman, a German firm which is doing a lot of work at Angora, including the construction at the Ghazi's farm. He said that he saw the Ghazi very often, and liked him. He was, however, very difficult at times — probably after drinking bouts of which he showed signs — and took quite childish notions into his head. These were difficult to remove as he was so headstrong, and he was constantly ordering things to be changed. Some buildings had been changed four or five times, and the Ghazi sometimes wired for him (M. Yencke) to come at once from Constantinople to Angora for matters which turned out to be extremely trivial. When plans for any construction had been prepared, the Ghazi liked to ask the people with him for their views, and when all or even some of these were embodied in the plans the results were often ridiculous.

Soon after operations at the farm commenced, the need for a water supply became evident, and M. Yencke was asked to submit an estimate for a reservoir. His estimate for a covered one measuring 40 by 20 metres was £ T. 15.000. but this the Ghazi judged to be much too expensive. An open one costing £ T. 8.000 was then suggested, and Colonel Tefvik Bey (who had been at Lausanne) proposed that it should be shaped like lake Lemana. The Ghazi, however, said there was no need to go to Europe. "Let us have our own Sea of Marmora." M. Yencke had accordingly to prepare a plan for a reservoir so shaped and properly to scale. The estimated cost was £ T. 16.000, but this was reduced by £ T. 1.000 by the sacrifice of the golf of Ismid, and the Marmora Lake, as it is known, less the golf of Ismid, all to scale, properly oriented, and measuring roughly 40 by 20 metres, is now almost completed, with little jetties at all the principal Marmora ports!

The Ghazi's latest whim is to have a billard table in a room on the first storey at Tchan Kaya. M. Yencke pointed out that this would not be satisfactory, as the floor already sags (at least one of the walls is of mud bricks), but he has ordered to get it done during the President's absence at Adana! M. Yencke stated that the Ghazi had spoken to him of the construction of a new kiosk — he thought quite close to the present one.

Nobody seemed inclined to talk to me about Mosul, though there was no doubt about the curiosity of all the officials with whom I spoke as to when your Excellency was likely to arrive. Mr. Trost, the American delegate, said he thought they were curious, but pessimistic, while others told me that the possibility of war could be ruled out. I heard that the Government was getting into serious financial straits, and that some people, e.g., Salih Bey, were making the most of present opportunities.

There is apparently an official order in force at Angora that Constantinople shall now be known as Stamboul. Telegrams would only be accepted if so addressed, and, in spite of my protests, the telegraph clerk insisted on changing the name in the body of one of my telegrams.

A. K. HELM

F.O. 424/264, p.12-14, No.10

No. 3

War Office to Foreign Office

Secret

28 January, 1926

(Received 3 February 1926)

Dear Mr. Blend,

The attached extract from a report which has been received from the same source as that referred to in previous correspondence under the above number, is forwarded for your information.

Yours sincerely,

F.O. 371/11547/E 782

ENCLOSURE IN No. 3

Very Secret

18.1.1926

Not to be circulated

An important discovery was made today.

The name of Mustapha Kemal's secret agent who was in London about 14 days ago is a Turk who passes under the name of DABOUR. He spent some days in Paris before his return and is the man who was hidden from me at the Embassy. He is a most dangerous character.

An Egyptian Prince*, near relative of King Fuad, sent a message to Chevki on Saturday to the effect that he would not be able to lunch with him today as he had gone to Monte Carlo that evening on account of the weather here. He recommended a certain Sinclair Pooley to Chevki for the purpose of assisting in Press matters. I believe Pooley is doing s.s work for the Foreign Office at any rate I am getting in touch with Pooley**.

F.O. 371/11542/E 782

No. 4

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

Confidential

No. 59

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 8, 1926

(Received February 15, 1926)

Sir,

For some time past I have noticed an increasing wave of acute Nationalism in this country making itself felt sometimes by direct legislation aimed against foreign interests, sometime by petty interference in the private affairs of individuals. I have however, hesitated up to the present to take any forcible action for a variety of reasons and it was not until I received your telegram No.12 of the 2nd February, telling me that concrete proposals for a friendly settlement of the Irak frontier dispute were receiving sympathetic consideration that I made up my mind that I now had a suitable opportunity for reviewing the general position of the British resident in this country with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In my telegram No.13 of the 4th February I had the honour to inform you that I was preparing a general report on the subject and I shall now endeavour to give you as clear an idea as I can of the tendencies at work without obscuring the main features of the picture with unnecessary detail.

2. Turkish Nationalism does not differ in essentials from other forms of European Nationalism. It is, however, aggravated by the isolation of Turkey in her distant capital at Angora and by the novelty of the disease which runs a high fever in its early stages. It is a disease which has affected the whole nation and one should, I think, guard against ascribing it too much to the personal caprices of the Ghazi. At the same time I believe it is correct to say that the present rising wave of Nationalism is following closely the course of the Ghazi's increasing restlessness (I

* Prince Djemal Toussoun.

** Bu yazının altına Foreign Office'de şu not düşülmüştü:

"This discovery, though no doubt important from the S.I.S. point of view, appears to have no political significance. G. W. Rendel, 9.ii.26"

had almost said madness, but the Ghazi has a curious knack of keeping different sides of his personality in watertight compartments and combining a very level judgement on some matters with an unbalanced restlessness in others.) In this case I am inclined to date the present phenomenon from the Ghazi's speech at Castamouni last September when the campaign against the fez was launched.

3. Since the Castamouni speech the Ghazi's lieutenants have been indulging in an orgy of projected legislation. Some of the draft laws which are now before the Commission of the Assembly may never see the light of day, but they are none the less important as a sign of the tendencies now at work. I have before me at the moment of writing at least ten such draft laws all of recent date, some of which are so prejudicial to foreign business interest that the head of the largest British company in Turkey recently informed me that should they become law he might have to close down the whole of his business here.

4. Let me quote a few examples of this projected legislation: The Minister of Commerce, a particularly violent Nationalist, has recently given birth to a project for the appointment of Turkish commissars on the boards of all Turkish and foreign companies, the commissars to be appointed by the Ministry of Commerce and their salaries paid by the company at a rate fixed by the Ministry of Commerce. The presence of the commissar on the board would of course deprive the company of all secrecy and control and would paralyse operations.

5. If the above project became law all companies would be affected. In addition to this there are draft laws affecting only Turkish companies the most obnoxious provisions of which are that all reserve funds of the company must be converted into Turkish Government bonds, the capital of companies newly constituted must be 51 per cent. Turkish and a large proportion of the members of the board must be Turkish. For foreign companies it is being proposed that they should be forced to keep their books in Turkish and that they should be subjected to a rigorous control generally. The distinction, however, between Turkish and foreign companies is being interpreted in such a way by the Turkish Government that, were their interpretation to be accepted, those British companies whose major operations are in Turkey would be forced to register as Turkish companies. This interpretation contravenes article 5 of the Residence Convention.

6. It may be that not one of these projects will become law. They show, however, quite unmistakably that there is a strong movement on foot to assume such control over foreign companies as to squeeze them out of the country. I have heard from at least one long-established British firm that Turkish officials have admitted quite openly that this was the intention.

7. To pass from projected to actual legislation the most significant feature is the tendency to increase the number of monopolies. There are now four

monopolies in existence, viz., explosives, matches, sugar and petroleum, the two last having just been added to the list. According to the Treaty of Lausanne the Turks have a perfect right to create monopolies. In doing so I think they have a two-fold intention. One motive is no doubt to obtain revenue for immediate needs, but a more important motive is, I am convinced, to restrict foreign economic penetration. If the Turks continue to increase the number of monopolies they will gradually approximate to the Soviet system of the control of foreign commerce by the Government. Their motives are not the same as those of the Russians whose main purpose is to prevent *bourgeois* penetration of their country, though I suspect that Russian Nationalism, which has shown a certain sympathy for the Bolshevik opposition to all foreign Governments, plays its part there too. In the case of the Turks it is not based on opposition to the capitalist, but to the foreign capitalist, and, in so far as the Turks take leaves out of the Russian book they do so quite dispassionately for their own ends.

8. I wish to lay the main emphasis in this report on projected and actual legislation, as the points I have referred to above are more important, though perhaps less vexatious than the numerous minor complaints which are constantly being brought to my notice. If these complaints to which I shall refer presently stood by themselves I might ascribe them to the inefficiency or corruption of minor officials, but when taken in conjunction with actual legislation, I can only regard them as part of a deliberate campaign to make the life of the foreigner here an intolerable burden.

9. I will confine myself to a few instances of this campaign. Numerous orders and decisions by the police or municipal authorities, which are never put in writing, are being produced to force foreign firms of all kinds, whether shops, banks, &c., to employ at least 75 per cent. Moslem Turks on their staff. They are also being ordered to keep their books in Turkish. Hitherto, these orders were confined to concessionary companies, then came the turn of the banks and now shops are being molested. When the port services were nationalised, foreigners and non-Muslim Turkish subjects were prevented from carrying on professions such as pilotage, diving and ship chandling.

10. In addition to this certain cases have been brought to my notice in which foreigners have been called upon to dismiss their porters and employ Turks. The municipal authorities are trying to reserve all kinds of callings for Turks. For example, on the plea of revising chauffeurs' licences, they are holding back all licences belonging to foreign and non-Moslem Turkish chauffeurs. Also foreign masters and engineers employed on vessels flying the Turkish flag have been notified that these callings are reserved for Moslem Turks.

11. I will not burden you with further examples of these petty vexations. The cases I have mentioned affect the interests of foreign employers, and non-Moslem

Turkish employees. Discrimination of this kind against non-Moslem Turks infringes the rights of minorities as guaranteed by the treaty. This being so, foreign employers cannot legally be forced to carry out an order which is illegal and which is damaging to their business and interests. As regard foreign employees their rights are already safeguarded by the Residence Convention and the Turkish authorities have no justification in depriving them of their sole means of livelihood.

12. There is one further case of high-handed action against a long-established British institution which I am reserving for treatment in a separate dispatch. The British High School for Girls has been subjected to quite unwarranted interference as regards liberty to choose and discharge Turkish teachers and the work of the school has suffered in consequence.

13. Before closing this long record of misdemeanours I must say a few words about the treatment of British capital in general in this country. The cases of the Anatolian Railway, the Eastern Telegraph Company, the public debt and the Galata bridge tolls have been reported in previous despatches. Two further British concerns, viz., the Aidin Railway and the telephone company, have been subjected to vexatious interference and are unable to get any satisfaction. As a result of these interferences neither company is making any profit.

14. Such are briefly the facts, and the indictment is a heavy one. With the nature of the campaign you are already familiar, for in every respect it resembles that conducted against the Christian minorities and described in reports prepared by the inter-Allied Conferences of Ambassadors, in its open violation of the spirit of the Lausanne Treaty and in its more furtive but even more widespread violation of its letter. The difference is that now, in the course of intensification, it is becoming a source of acute discomfort to foreign traders established here. Its object is easy to see. Imbued with a profound distrust of all non-Turkish elements, a distrust due to the policy of the Powers towards Turkey for more than a hundred years, the republic is resolved to surround itself with a Chinese wall of exclusiveness and reconstruct a State in which there shall be no room for the exercise of foreign influence even by individuals or traders. This policy is being pursued with the remorseless pertinacity characteristic of Mustafa Kemal and it receives the cordial support of the whole population. In many respects the offences complained of are intangible in character and it must pass the wit of man to devise a formula for insertion in a treaty which will prevent their constant repetition. In the last few weeks they have become greatly accentuated, and if at the present moment His Majesty's Government hope, by achieving a broad settlement of the Mosul question, to bring about a *détente* or even cordiality in Anglo-Turkish relations, it is well that the dangers to non-political intercourse should be present to their minds.

15. It has seemed to me that if His Majesty's Government are contemplating some concrete proposal for dealing with the Mosul question, it were well that I should first open up the whole of the situation above described with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have therefore proposed to you that I should proceed to Angora forthwith for the purpose, and I await your telegraphic instructions.

I have &c.

L.C. LINDSAY

F.O. 424/264, p.17-19, No.16
F.O. 371/11540/E.1072

No. 5

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

Confidential
No. 81

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 24, 1926
 (Received March 1, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 17th instant the National Assembly at Angora was the scene of a remarkable legislative feat, when the new Civil Code, consisting of more than 900 articles, was passed without amendment and without anything but laudatory comment in the course of a single short sitting. It is further enacted that its application in the Turkish courts is to begin six months hence. No wonder M. Henri de Jouvenel, who was present on this historic occasion, perhaps thinking of the French Chambers' travail over the budget, perhaps with his tongue in his cheek, exclaimed to an interviewer that the Parliaments of Europe have much to learn from that of Turkey.

2. The new code is more than based upon —it is, practically —a literal translation of the Swiss Civil Code. Certain alterations, generally of an unimportant character, have been introduced, but it can already be said that the new code introduces monogamy, entrusts marriage and divorce to secular instead of religious authorities, and put the Turkish woman on an equality with the Turkish man, besides completely altering the law of inheritance. In one alteration that is understood to have been introduced the elemental Turk shows himself. The marriage of a Moslem woman to a Christian man is declared to be illegal.

3. The old code which is thus replaced was promulgated in 1869 and was a belated product of the reforms which began a hundred years ago. It was compromise between Moslem law and the Code Napoléon. As such it was most unsatisfactory so far as European interests were concerned. It was unsuited to modern business and to Western private life, and it was full of inconsistencies. On

the other hand, it had for the Turk the important merit of safeguarding the principles of the sacred law.

4. The step just taken by the Turkish Government is therefore a bold one, and the Government is well aware of it. Its spokesmen admit that they are breaking with the tradition of thirteen hundred years. But, they say, if the recent revolution was to be completed and bear its fruit, the fetters of the old code had to be broken off from Turkish life. The private life of the Turk is henceforth to be regulated not by Moslem law, which his present rulers regard as the main cause of his backwardness, but by the same sort of law as runs in every civilised land. The adoption of the new code is therefore part and parcel of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's policy of Westernisation.

5. Had the country been free to express its feelings, there would undoubtedly have been disturbances, for if there is one thing which will move the Turk of the old school it is the thought that the sacred law is in danger. But once the parliamentary judicial commission had finished with the Bill, the Government allowed no chance for any kind of criticism. It was introduced before the Assembly by the Minister of Justice, two other speakers eulogised it, and it was passed without a word of discussion. Reverend Deputies, to whom it must be anathema, were convinced of its acceptability by the thought of the gibbets outside and by the eagle eye of the Ghazi in his box.

I have &c.

R. C. LINDSAY

F.O.424/264, p.27-28, No.26

F.O.371/11533/E.1386

No. 6

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 120

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 17, 1926

(Received March 22, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on the 28th ultimo the Assembly approved without demur the Government's proposal for the jurisdiction of the Independence Tribunals to be prolonged for another six months. These courts, which have now been in existence at Angora and at El Aziz for a year, may therefore continue their convenient function of removing all and every form of opposition to the Government.

2. When at Constantinople in December the Angora Independence Tribunal gave out that it had discovered a plot here with vast ramifications at Erzerum, Marash and elsewhere. An old priest from Stamboul who (as mentioned in Sir R. Lindsay's despatch No.939 of the 30th December) happened to have written a pamphlet against hats and westernism some years ago was duly hanged with a mufti who was in some way associated with him. At Marash a number of people were arrested and twenty of them were executed for causing sedition—presumably when hats were being introduced—by inciting the congregation after mosque to remove local officials, throw open the prison and take charge of the town. Similarly a number of men from Brussa were tried and four executed as "reactionaries". A former Vali of Trebizond named Hamid Bey, whom Mr. Knight reported to be Mustafa Kemal Pasha's most pronounced opponent there, was suddenly despatched to Angora for trial, but, contrary to expectation, he got off with an injunction not to live in Trebizond any more. His popularity in the district apparently made the tribunal hesitate either to leave him there or to execute him. Equally mysterious was the acquittal of an Adana journalist of liberal tendencies called Abdul Nadir Kemali Bey and a number of others from the same place. Evidence was given implicating Bekir Sami Bey, once Kemalist Minister for Foreign Affairs, but now an inconspicuous Deputy, in an attempt to set up a Government more nearly representative of the people. The proceedings seemed to be called off as arbitrarily as they are usually pushed through to a condemnation. Only a week ago the Mayor of Milas, a village in the extreme south-west of Anatolia, and several others from the same place were hanged. The reason was not very clear, but it is to be presumed that they had expressed themselves as displeased with hats and the Kemalist régime in general.

3. Action has been taken against persons suspected of being in touch with Turkish exiles abroad. Several retired officials were hanged at the end of January for intriguing with a certain Cherkess Edhem, a well-known anti-Kemalist now at Athens. A week later it was reported that two of the "traitors" in Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, Syria, &c., one an ex-mufti and the other an ex-Deputy, who had incautiously returned to Turkey and had been arrested because they had published an "anti-republican" pamphlet in Egypt. The upshot is not known.

4. By these periodical hangings at Angora of malcontents taken from all classes and from all over the country the Government keeps the population mute and passive while it forces through the measures which it considers to be for the nation's good. Further innovations which are now being mooted in the press are the adoption of the European alphabet, of a Turkish Koran and of Turkish, instead of Arabic, prayers in the mosques. Turkish Korans are already on sale, and it has been announced tentatively that prayers in Turkish, though not obligatory, are permissible.

5. One of the worst judicial murders perpetrated by the Independence Tribunals has been that of a Tzarist Russian named Nicola Evghenopoulo, who had a commercial information bureau in Galata and having, perhaps, more than the usual inquisitiveness of his race, used to supply information upon matters of economic, legal, and historical interest to business men, journalists and others. This inoffensive person was executed for espionage - no doubt as a lesson to others who might be really guilty. In an endeavour to make up for this odious act, the Independence Tribunal made a great show of magnanimity in acquitting two other Greeks accused of nothing worse than objecting to the municipality demolishing a church.

6. While the one tribunal is thus busy at Angora, the other at El Aziz is still dealing with the aftermath of last year's Kurdish rebellion. Executions are announced from time to time. Eighteen Kurds were hanged the other day for having caused heavy losses to a whole regiment. The Government needs this tribunal to keep the Kurds quiet as much as it needs the Angora tribunal to suppress opposition among Turks.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting High Commissioner in Irak.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/264, p. 44, No. 15

No. 7

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 137

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 24, 1926
(Received March 29, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, whereas in past years the 18th March has been allowed to pass without remark, this year the anniversary of the first landing at the Dardanelles has been made the occasion of much boasting about the resistance offered by the Turkish army. Linked up with this have been references to the fighting at Suvla and Anafarta, which, it is recalled, Mustafa Kemal Pasha alone turned into Turkish victories. The anniversary is thus turned to the Ghazi' credit. It has been noticeable lately that the press is being used in a new way for the glorification of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Its references to him have hitherto been couched in language nearly as servile as that in which Abdul Hamid was spoken of when on the throne, but latterly articles have appeared whose only point is to eulogise the President. It is announced that all who have personal knowledge of him are committing their reminiscences to writing in order that they may be

preserved by the Ministry of Public Instruction. The editor of the semi-official "Jumhuriyet" recalls the time when the great man of to-day was but a humble major whom he used to meet in a café at Salonica. He also recalls, a more recent incident in the field when the Ghazi, from mere intuition, knew that his own intelligence officers were misinformed about the movements of a certain Greek division. Y. Nadi, of the "Jumhuriyet", in his recollections of the Ghazi, searches in vain for something in nature to which the Ghazi can be compared. Not even the sun can hold a candle to him.

2. Another paper, the "Milliet", the Ghazi is honouring with a series of recollections. They are reproduced by the entire press, but they are sorry stuff. The Ghazi never thought Germany would win the war. He always said the Committee of Union and Progress leaders should never have handed the army over to the Germans. After "rendering certain services" at the Dardanelles, he recalled on the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, and told him that with the Germans running the Turkish general staff the country was going to the dogs. They daren't hang him, but they did hang a Major Yukub Jemil, whose offence was that he wanted to make Mustafa Kemal Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief. "Taking a general view, I came to the conclusion that hanging people is a bad thing", remarks the Ghazi, leaving the reader to speculate whether he has since changed his mind. He refused the command in Arabia because he was opposed to an attack on the Suez Canal. When in Palestine he quarrelled with von Falkenhayn, who was in command, and refused boxes of gold with which the German sought to conciliate him. He had no opinion of Enver, who lost an army on each campaign, nor of Talaat, who ridiculed him in public, but in private begged for his advice. With Jemal Pasha he was on friendly terms, and when Jemal, to help him, gave him £ T. 2.000 for his horses and afterwards sold them for £ T. 5.000, Mustafa Kemal refused the difference upon Jemal offering it.

3. A great man he considers to be one who takes action to save his country and thereby becomes so; one who without flattery or deception sees his country's true ideal and presses towards it, knowing that all are against him, but confident that, though humble, he can surmount all obstacles. Having thus hinted at his own political sagacity and military ability, at his generosity, honesty and idealism, the Ghazi describes the ex-Sultan Vahidettin as a boor and an idiot surrounded by servile retainers, a man who could never have made a good ruler.

4. This propaganda suggests that the Ghazi and his friends realise that his stock is low in the country. In particular they may wish in some measure to counteract the effect of the reports of his scandalous private life.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

No. 8

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 181

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 14, 1926
(Received April 19, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to report briefly on the general political situation as it strikes me after nearly four weeks' absence and on the eve of going to Angora to negotiate about the Irak frontier.

2. The position of the Ghazi and of the present régime as a whole is still substantially unimpaired, but perhaps public opinion is somewhat more restive than it was. The hat and tekke laws, which keep the eastern vilayets on the verge of revolt, form the subject of active discontent in the west too; but to them is now added the more material and sensible grievances afforded by the prospects of heavier taxes and the actual enforcement of the two great monopolies of sugar and petroleum. The mismanagement of these latter has been made insultingly clear to the whole public, for there is hardly a place in the country where their entry into force has not been marked by a local crisis of supply, which has forced the commodities up to fantastic prices to the consumer. The general restiveness is, however, to some extent counterbalanced by the distinctly xenophobe tendencies of the Government's policy, which is almost universally popular.

3. I am told on all sides that Tewfik Rushdi Bey is in a more shaky position than ever, and that he is only retained in office to negotiate about the frontier by the influence of Ismet and the President, who really want a settlement. I need hardly say that once the negotiation is needed, whether in success or in failure, Tewfik's disappearance will be a matter of the most complete indifference to me. More disquieting, however, is a report from more than one source that the Ghazi is coming to depend more and more on the advice and company of his most extremist friends.

4. The press has a great deal to say about the date of my journey to Angora, but remarkably little about the political side of the frontier question. It is evidently being kept quiet, and such leading articles as appear say very little. Ahmed Aga Oglu, who is most certainly in the pay of the Russians, in the "Hakimieti Millié" three or four days ago told his readers in so many words that Turkey would not get Mosul town.

5. There is a marked nervousness, amounting to latent panic, over Italy's alleged aggressive tendencies. You will have noticed from Major Harenc's report enclosed in my despatch No. 170 of the 7th April that Ismet Pasha's recent tour along the south coast was really a military inspection of possible landing places;

and on all sides I hear of the apprehensions aroused by Signor Mussolini's vibrant speeches. The Italian Ambassador assures me that they are merely the roarings of the sucking dove, but he displayed great anxiety to know whether, as reported in a local paper, we intended to guarantee Turkey's frontiers in any way.

6. On the whole, Turkey is weak, and her Government is now conscious of her weakness. There is unquestionably a strong desire to come to terms with His Majesty's Government over the frontier, and a settlement can be had cheaply. Whether it can be had on the terms I am authorised to offer will transpire shortly.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Acting High Commissioner for Irak.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY

F.O.424/264, p.63, No.66

No. 9

*Mr. W. G. Childs, Foreign Office, to Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Librarian,
Foreign Office*

20 April 1926

Mr. Gaselee,

Since writing the paper on Turkish war-aims and Pan-Turkism I have had an opportunity of speaking to Colonel T.E. Lawrence on the subject. He told me that by a curious accident he was able, in September 1918, to have several conversations with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and that among the topics discussed was that of Turkish war-aims. The gist of Mustafa Kemal's statements is as follows:

He declared that the real Turkish interests in the war lay in the East, and that this opinion was strongly held by the C.U.P. and the party more closely defined as the Pan-Turks. He stated further that the attainment of Turkey's Eastern ambitions had been made the subject of a pre-war agreement between the German Government and the inner group of Turkish leaders. (Doubtless the same group - Enver, Talaat and others, who were in negotiations for a secret treaty with Germany before the war.) Mustafa Kemal understood that the agreement was in the nature of a definite pledge to the Turkish leaders rather than a formal agreement between the Governments.

The essentials of the pledge were: That on the conclusion of the war (taken for granted as a successful war) Germany would ensure that Turkey was placed in possession of Trans-Caucasia, North Western Persia, Daghestan, Terek, and the Trans-Caspian region. These prospective territorial gains in effect assuring the

fulfilment of Pan-Turkish territorial ambitions, formed the governing consideration which secured Turkish support for Germany in the war. (Some doubt existed as to whether the whole of Trans-Caucasia was intended, but the area to which the pledge applied certainly included Russian Armenia and the Moslem regions of Trans-Caucasia).

In speaking of Pan-Turkish views regarding Egypt and the Arab Countries (Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia) Mustafa Pasha used more decided terms than I have ventured to employ when writing on the same subject. Egypt, he said, was of no interest whatever to the Pan-Turks (for purposes of conquest) and the Turkish operations against Egypt were merely demonstrations for strategical purposes. As for Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, they were not only valueless in the Pan-Turkish scheme of things (except in certain strategical aspects relating to the war) but would be positive dangers and encumbrances if they remained in Turkish possession. The Pan-Turks, he declared, would lose them without a regret; they would even be glad to be rid of them.

It should be explained, however, that when Mustafa Kemal spoke thus the British Army of the Tigris had not yet begun its final advance, and that he did not envisage the loss of Mosul and control of the routes thence into western Persia. Indeed I may make the suggestion that the stubborn attitude of the Turkish Government regarding Mosul at the Lausanne Conference and subsequently, has its real source in Pan-Turkish aims for the future.

Enver Pasha's insistence on the offensive for the recovery of Baghdad had been in the German interest, but also with the purpose of recovering control of the routes from Baghdad into Persia. The plan therefore had the advantage of serving both German and Pan-Turkish interests, a matter of special importance to Enver Pasha.

Enver Pasha was, in truth, in a very difficult position. He has the handle by which Germany held the Turkish Government; but he was also the chief leader of the Pan-Turks, and thus compelled to support the policy of the Pan-Turks, for the party was exceedingly powerful. Enver therefore had to serve two masters. His influence with his Government varied with the fluctuations of the war. He was most powerful when the course of the war promised well for Germany; whenever the war went against Germany the Pan-Turks demanded that their interests should come first, and were able to impose their will on him.

Mustafa Kemal apparently did not allege that Enver was in German pay - that, perhaps, went without saying. But the fact may be noted that in the "Memoire" which Mustafa Kemal is now publishing in a Turkish newspaper, he relates how the Germans had endeavoured to influence him (Mustafa Kemal) by sending him "a box of gold" — a gift he adroitly evaded. In considering Enver Pasha's wartime

policy it is safe to assume that he not only had German masters but German paymasters.

It is of great interest that Mustafa Kemal should have told Colonel Lawrence that at the beginning of 1918 he had become the leading spirit of those Pan-Turks who put pressure on Enver Pasha and required that Turkish interests must come before German. By this Mustafa Kemal's following had grown so powerful that the party was able to dictate the broad lines of Turkish military policy. It insisted that immediate steps should be taken to realize Pan-Turkish aspirations in the East. Mustafa Kemal asserted that at this stage it was plain to him and his supporters that Germany would lose the war: they demanded therefore that Turkey's remaining military resources should be devoted to exploiting Pan-Turkish aims. They required the concentration of one hundred thousand Turkish troops in Trans-Caucasia and North Western Persia. Mustafa Pasha told Colonel Lawrence that he had declared at the time that if one hundred thousand Turkish troops were in the Caspian regions when Germany collapsed the exhausted Entente Powers would find it impossible to eject them. The Powers might hold Turkey in Europe and Constantinople and the Straits, but they could not in practice overrun Anatolia nor maintain themselves there. With one hundred thousand Turkish troops in Trans-Caucasia the Turks would speedily reach Trans-Caspia and once they were in Central Asia he saw no limits to the possibilities which would offer. A Turkish army could appear on the frontier of Afghanistan; it could reach Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia if desired. In Mustafa Kemal's opinion a Turkish army at large in Central Asia would have everything its own way, and secure for Turkey territorial gains far outweighing losses which might occur in the West.

This plan, Mustafa Kemal explained, Enver Pasha had at last been compelled to adopt and put into execution, in spite of German opposition. But the Turkish troops concentrated for the purpose had never reached the numbers required, nor was the policy adopted in time.

With regard to Talaat Pasha, Mustafa Pasha said that as a matter of personal policy that astute Grand Vizier always refused to take sides when the military leaders differed.

I hope to obtain from Colonel Lawrence before long a more complete account of his conversations with Mustafa Kemal, and to embody its matter in the paper on Pan-Turkish war aims. I should also like to include at least a part of the letter of Mustafa Kemal's which General Moberley reproduces in his "History of the Mesopotamian Campaign". I wonder if General Moberley would let us see again a galleyproof of the Chapter in which the letter appears?

W. G. CHILDS

No. 10

*Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Librarian, Foreign Office, to Brigadier General
Moberly, Historical Section Committee of Imperial Defence*

24th April, 1926

Dear General Moberly,

Thanks for your letter of April 15th. Mr. Childs is glad to have correction in the second paragraph, and is making the change accordingly in his memorandum before it is printed.

Since drawing up the original paper, he has had the opportunity of a talk with Colonel Lawrence, who told him that by a curious accident he was able in September 1918 to have several conversations with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and that among the topics discussed was that of Turkish war aims. The gist of Mustafa Kemal's statements is as follows:

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The essentials of the pledge were: That on the conclusion of the war (taken for granted as a successful war) Germany would ensure that Turkey was placed in possession of Trans-Caucasia, North Western Persia, Daghestan, Terek, and the Trans-Caspian region. These prospective territorial gains in effect assuring the fulfilment of Pan-Turkish territorial ambitions, formed the governing consideration which secured Turkish support for Germany in the war. (Some doubt existed as to whether the whole of Trans-Caucasia was intended, but the area to which the pledge applied certainly included Russian Armenia and the Moslem regions of Trans-Caucasia).

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the war) but would be positive dangers and encumbrances if they remained in Turkish possession. The Pan-Turks, he declared, would lose them without a regret; they would even be glad to be rid of them.

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had declared at the time that if one hundred thousand Turkish troops were in the Caspian regions when Germany collapsed the exhausted Entente Powers would find it impossible to eject them. The Powers might hold Turkey in Europe and Constantinople and the Straits, but they could not in practice overrun Anatolia nor maintain themselves there. With one hundred thousand Turkish troops in Trans-Caucasia the Turks would speedily reach Trans-Caspia and once they were in Central Asia he saw no limits to the possibilities which would offer. A Turkish army could appear on the frontier of Afghanistan; it could reach Eastern Turkestan and Mongolia if desired. In Mustafa Kemal's opinion a Turkish army at large in Central Asia would have everything its own way, and secure for Turkey territorial gains far outweighing losses which might occur in the West.

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With regard to Talaat Pasha, Mustafa Pasha said that as a matter of personal policy that astute Grand Vizier always refused to take sides when the military leaders differed.

Although you are at liberty to make use of this in your history, the information should not be attributed publicly to Colonel Lawrence, and it would be best to refer to Mustafa Kemal's part in general terms and as if it were a matter of common knowledge.

Mr. Child's wishes, in his memorandum as he is revising it for print, to include at least a part of Mustafa Kemal's letter which you are reproducing in the "History of the Mesopotamian Campaign". Could you send me, for Mr. Child's use, a copy of the text of the whole letter? *

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) S. GASELEE

F.O. 370/215/E.2540

* Bu yazı üzerine General Moberley, 28 Nisan 1926 günü Mr. Gaselee'ye şu mektubu yazmıştır:

"Dear Mr. Gaselee,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th with its account of Mustafa Kemal's attitude, which besides being interesting will, I hope, be very useful to me. I note that I am not to attribute the information to Colonel Lawrence.

I enclose herewith a proof of the letter from Mustafa Kemal which you ask for.

Yours sincerely,

MOBERLEY

F.O. 370/215/E.2755

No. 11

*Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain**Confidential*
*No. 199*ANGORA, April 20, 1926
(Received May 3, 1926)

Sir,

One of the curses of life at Angora is the society. Last night Mr. Edmonds and I attended a large social function at the Soviet Embassy, given as a formal inauguration of the new Russian Embassy house. This is a large structure in reinforced concrete built in the most extreme modern style, but not unpleasing to look at from the outside. Internally it consists mainly of a very large ball-room and passages and corridors. M. Suritz complains that from the practical point of view it is most inconvenient, and though it has cost £ 35.000 to built it, considerable additions are already required.

2. All Angora was present, from the Ghazi downwards, and the evening began with a violin performance by M. Blinder—some perfectly splendid music, a real treat for the gods. Then, while the ball-room was cleared for dancing, I went to the supper-room where champagne flowed and where I met the Ghazi. He was courteous and even affable. In the supper-room I found myself in the midst of the judges of the Independence Tribunal — two regular swashbucklers, with a dear old man as President, just like a Scotch elder. Mr. Wedgwood Benn recently made great friends with them — a most extraordinary conjuncture. I wandered out and watched the dancers; Tewfik Rushdi reproached me for not joining in, for a person who does not dance in modern Turkey is just as strange a being as one who does not like Angora. I explained that I had never danced since the old valse had gone out of fashion. Later yet I found myself in a Moorish alcove, where I came across M. Blinder, the violonist. To my delight I found that he had had his musical education at Manchester and was intimately acquainted with my own native town of Wigan. We were getting on famously when the Ghazi entered with a lady on his arm. He had been dancing vigorously and had also and obviously been refreshing himself. This continued throughout the conversation, at the end of which I had three glasses still full of champagne hidden behind a dish of oranges. First, Ismet was sent for; then Tewfik Rushdi. M. Suritz hurried in; M. Blinder vanished; all Angora stood silently and respectfully round the walls of the little room, and Mr. Edmonds giggled discreetly in the corner. The talk was uninspiring —our new Embassy house, arboriculture, lawn tennis, life in general. "The world is a hard place," he said, "full of toil, tragedy and difficulty. We must enjoy ourselves; be gay, joyous, merry. We must dance and be happy. This waving his arm in the air, this is life!" Then he suddenly asked why I was not dancing. Tewfik Rushdi intervened to say that I was a famous valser. In spite of my protests, an abrupt order was promptly

issued, the orchestra struck up an unaccustomed valse, a trembling damsel was flung into my arms and the Ghazi and I took the floor together.

3. After this I had a definite object in life, which was to dodge his Excellency, and I succeeded pretty well. One terrible period occurred when Mr. Edmonds and I, eating ham in a corner, found our retreat cut off by the presence; but its perceptions were by then somewhat dulled, and the danger passed. "Life" went on merrily, and the Ghazi and Ismet contended playfully for the dancing rights over a mountainous Turkish lady. The company begun to thin out, for the small fry slipped unobtrusively away and only the great and the joyous felt it necessary to remain. Finally, my Polish colleague and I decided that, as the Turkish "protocol" had not yet been drafted, we might throw our own conceptions of etiquette to the winds and take our leave. Ismet was still whirling, Nejati was kissing a gentleman friend in the middle of the ball-room; the father of Mlle. Boggetti was a deplorable spectacle in the corner of a sofa, and the late Minister for Foreign Affairs wreathed himself around me, crying out, "I have studied English history and I know all about Charles II and Queen Victoria and those English squires and how they did drink; and you are a gentleman, a real gentleman!" Mr. Edmonds and I came away raging at having to undergo the indignity of attending such a function, but laughing in spite of ourselves. But above all we could not understand why all the Turks should have been so extraordinarily amiable to us when two days before we had proposed to them terms for the settlement of the Irak frontier which could only mark a complete diplomatic defeat of Turkey.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador)

R. A. LEEPER

F.O. 424/264, p.65, No.72

No. 12

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 202

ANGORA, April 23, 1926

(Received May 3, 1926)

Sir,

It is surprising with what gratuitous acerbity the Turkish Government normally conducts its policy with other foreign Governments. Albania is a case in point, and the following information comes from Reouf Bey, the Albanian Minister, who has recently arrived here. He was formerly in the Turkish Civil Service, and in the Hamidian days he actually spent two years at Angora as mutessarif in a sort of semi-exile on account of his fervent views on Albanian nationalism.

2. When he arrived here they kept him waiting twenty-five days before they would appoint a date for the presentation of his credentials. Then they proceeded to insist that he should make his speech to the President in Turkish (quite contrary to their own rules), "just as if we were still rayahs," as the Minister put it. Reouf Bey declared he was going to speak in Albanian, but relented so far as to use French, but in revenge he made his speech very short and cool, and introduced a pointed reference to the fact that the former relations between Turkey and Albania were severed; so that Turks went around saying: "Is Albania a Great Britain that her Minister should make such a speech?"

3. Then came his real troubles. There is an exchange convention between Turkey and Albania, in virtue of which Turks residing in Albania and Albanians residing in Turkey must by a certain date either adopt the nationality of their residence or repatriate themselves and see their properties compulsory liquidated. In spite of this the Turkish authorities are insisting on treating Orthodox Albanians as if they were Greeks and are seizing and liquidating their property everywhere. In vain Reouf Bey points out that the position of Albanians, irrespective of religion, is defined by treaty, and protests against the action taken; he gets polite phrases from Tewfik Rushdi Bey, but absolutely no satisfaction. He told me he has now written to his Government suggesting that it should retaliate by seizing all the property in Albania belonging to Turkish subjects.

4. The fact is that Tewfik Rushdi Bey's ideas now are entirely concentrated on making treaties. Foreign relations in a broad way do not really interest him; I suspect that he has no stomach for a fight with his rough ministerial colleagues, and that when one of them takes some violent nationalistic action against foreign interests even in defiance of treaty stipulations, he acquiesces in the Cabinet and endeavours to deal with the angry foreign representative by tergiversations and soft words.

I have &c.

(For the Ambassador)

R. A. LEEPER

F.O. 424/264, p.66, No.73

No. 13

Editorial of "The Times" (London) of June 23, 1926

THE TURKISH PLOT

The discovery of a plot to assassinate the President of the Turkish Republic, Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha himself, is bound to cause considerable anxiety in those States that are neighbours of Turkey or are particularly interested in the

maintenance of internal peace and stable political conditions in the new Republic, which have been gravely jeopardised if the conspirators had succeeded. The remarkable career of the Turkish Dictator, the stubborn pertinacity with which he defended the Turkish cause against Allied diplomacy and Greek arms, his destruction of the Sultanate, his Cromwellian abolition of the Turkish Caliphate of Islam—all this has made him one of the most remarkable figures in the recent history not only of Turkey, but of all the Near East. If his reforming zeal has injured the interests or offended the sentiments of many of his countrymen, his efforts to promote the welfare of the patient smallholders, who form the great majority of the inhabitants of Anatolia, and his military and political exploits have won the respect—he is not a type that looks for gratitude—of a multitude of Turkish farmers and fighting men. Certain incidents in the career, certain traits in the character of this modern replica of Selim the Grim have undoubtedly added to the number of his critics and of his enemies. But, however severe the Turkish Censorship, however active the Turkish Home Office may be, the indignation of the Turkish Press and the popular demonstrations in honour of the Ghazi's escape are undoubtedly more than conventional manifestations. The Turk of the Asiatic uplands has never been over-critical of his leaders—provided that they led him—and to Mustapha Kemal's capacity to lead the men the recent history of the Levant bears eloquent and convincing testimony.

But if what seems to have been a serious plot against the life of the redoubtable leader has aroused indignation and alarm, equal concern will be felt, and not in Turkey only, at the startling sequel to its discovery. According to the latest news from Constantinople, practically all the members of the Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary Opposition have been arrested and will shortly be brought before the Tribunal of Independence—one of those special Courts for the trial of political offences which, under one name or another, have been a feature of Turkish constitutional practice since the final fall of the Hamidian despotism in 1909. Among those apprehended are men who have played a very distinguished part in the Turkish Nationalist movement since Mustapha Kemal took command of the remnant of the Ottoman Army in the early summer of 1919. Ali Fuad Pasha represented Angora at Moscow for the eventful years; Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, the leader of the Opposition, commanded the army which devastated the Armenian Republic and re-conquered Kars for the Crescent in 1920; Refet Pasha, a soldier whose mettle British troops learnt to respect at Gaza, is an ex-Prime minister and was the first of the Nationalist chiefs to enter Constantinople. Some of the former members of the Committee of Union and Progress have also been haled to Smyrna, and with these mass arrests the Constitutional Opposition disappears, at least temporarily, from the foreground of Turkish politics. Whether it will reappear or be driven underground cannot yet be foreseen. It is certainly regrettable that the question of the guilt or innocence of so many of its leaders should have to be

decided by a Court composed entirely of political partisans of the Ghazi. It is even more regrettable that its President, Ali Bey, who may or may not be identical with the Deputy of that name who was involved in a fatal shooting affray in the precincts of the Angora Assembly, should have already made public his views on the nature of the conspiracy before awaiting fuller evidence than can yet be available. Conspiracy and schism were a painful feature of the history of Turkey in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; there are prophets of evil who maintain that now that the Christian populations whose claims tended to combine their Turkish masters against them have been expelled or reduced to political insignificance, the fierce factiousness and jealousy of the days of Janissaries will return and will compel the best intentioned Turkish rulers to deal ruthlessly with opposition. But, whatever the truth as to the conspiracy, the new Turkish régime will surely gain prestige by giving its political opponents at least as fair and public a trial as national sentiment and the laws of the land permit. A calm and sober magnanimity is the condition of the lasting success of a Dictator.

No. 14

Extract from the "Daily Telegraph" (London) of June 23, 1926

REAL MEANING OF THE TURKISH "PLOT." KEMAL AND HIS OPPONENTS. BOLSHEVİK INTRIGUES.

FROM OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT.

A certain foreign Government whose agents in Turkey have long been noted for the celerity and, as a rule, the soundness of their intelligence services, is now in possession of the first impressions of its agents regarding the alleged wholesale conspiracy of the Progressist, or "unionist," Opposition against the President of the Republic and the Kemalist régime. These first impressions are of considerable interest.

The agents in question preserve an open mind as to the value of the evidence about to be laid before the Independence Tribunal at Smyrna in regard to the reported plot, by relatively humble individuals, to murder Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Such a plot, they aver, is neither unlikely nor without precedent, and may be convincingly proved. On the other hand, very serious doubts are cast upon the wider charges brought against so many politicians and soldiers of distinction. Indeed, it is hinted that the Angora Government, which has never felt very comfortable about these personages, because of their local popularity at Constantinople and of their past or present relations with foreign Governments and financiers, may have seized upon the murder plot as a useful pretext for placing these alternative leaders under lock and key, or deporting them, at a time

when there is a good deal of dissatisfaction, both political and fiscal, with the present régime.

What gives colour to these doubts and suspicions is the statement that members of the Russian "Cheka" are believed to have played a prominent part in "unearthing" the alleged conspiracy and warning Angora, where the relations between the Turkish President and the Soviet Embassy are intimate and cordial. Now, Moscow has a special grudge against some of the accused men. Its influence in Turkey has found a very constant opponents in General Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, the ex-Minister of War and former Commander of the Turkish Army on the Caucasian Soviet border.

When Moscow, some time ago, offered to police Turkey's eastern provinces, and thereby release her eastern army for service against Great Britain, Italy, and Greece, should war break out over the Mosul dispute, the above-mentioned general was foremost in opposing the Soviet offer, on the ground that, were Russia to secure a footing in these provinces, it would be difficult to get her out again. Similarly with Bekir Sami Bey, who was Turkish Foreign Minister in 1921, and Ali Fuad Pasha, who was one of the first Turkish Envoys to Moscow, the Soviet Government experienced great difficulties, which it has neither forgotten nor forgiven, in overcoming Turkish objections to its propagandist or trading methods.

Finally, Moscow, which has never ceased to encourage the anti-monarchical and anti-religious bias of the Kemalists, has frequently resented the endeavours of the "Unionists" to curb this, as contrary to the national and international interests of Turkey.

Attention is called by the foreign observers referred to above to two other features of the broader indictment. In the first place, the individuals arrested are mostly Turks or Caucasians, and do not belong to the "international" group, which seems to have been spared. In the second place, Moscow is suggesting to Angora that the alleged conspiracy has been aided and abetted by a foreign Power. The story originally in circulation that General Refet Pasha, the ex-Military Governor of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace, and Admiral Reouf Bey, the ex-Premier and former captain of the cruiser *Hamidieh*, intended to carry out a coup d'état in the old capital by appealing, on the strength of their past exploits and popularity, to the Bosphorus garrison and the fleet, is vitiated through the absence of Reouf from Constantinople. It may be recalled how, a short while before the expulsion of the last Turkish Sultan and Khalifa, Refet and Reouf, together with others, were accused of having visited him secretly at the Palace, but were then able to prove the innocence of their actions.

No. 15

An account from G. Knox, Angora, to Sir R. Lindsay, Constantinople

ANGORA, July 11th, 1926

The Ambassador,

The President's sudden return came as a considerable surprise. The Government themselves seem to have had no information themselves before yesterday morning.

Those of my colleagues and I who called at the Ministry in the morning were told that the President would probably arrive about 7p.m. and that they would be happy if the diplomatic corps would attend in their top-hats. On enquiring again at the Ministry at six o'clock I learned that the train would not arrive until after midnight —the Ministry could not ask us to attend at so late an hour but they would nevertheless be highly gratified if we did so —again not forgetting the top-hats.

After discussion with some of my colleagues we decided that there was nothing for it but to go and we duly assembled at the station at midnight. There was no "service d'ordre": anyone apparently who wished walked in, and an immense crowd was gathered, generally of the seediest and most villainous looks. Thank's to the Ministry's insistence on the hats we were able to identify Tewfik Rushdi and each other and so could more or less group ourselves. When the train was due to arrive all the lights and illuminations suddenly went out but after ten minutes' howling pandemonium were got going again. At last when it was nearly one o'clock the train came in. Tevfik Rushdi elbowing his way through the crowd led us along the advancing train but overshot the President's carriage the windows of which were blocked by half a dozen giggling flappers. When the train finally drew up the carriage was two lengths behind us. Tevfik Rushdi dived into the crowd head down with one hand aloft waving a battered top-hat, the Albanian Minister followed him kicking and elbowing his way; the rest of us were content to look on, except Suritz who managed to slide away into a commanding position near the door. We got out of the station in time to see the Ghazi and his party drive off at furious speed.

The absence of precautions inside the station was the more remarkable in view of those taken outside. In the station yard there was a large body of tatterdemalion troops and along the road to Chan Kaya at every hundred yards a group of three gendarmes with soldiers both mounted and on foot patrolling between them. The appearance of the troops was shoddy and down at heel to the last degree but the gendarmes were smart and businesslike.

Angora, July 11th (1926)

(Initialled) G.K.

F.O. 371/11528/E.4511

No. 16

Sir R. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 376

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 21, 1926
(Received July 26, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 17th instant I was received in farewell audience by the President of the Republic at his Chankaya residence. The audience was semi-official in character, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was present in the room throughout, as also the President's chief private secretary and chief aide-de-camp. The Ghazi Pasha spoke to me throughout in Turkish, Tewfik Rushdi acting as interpreter. He devoted himself entirely to broad considerations of Turkish policy, and everything he said aimed at showing how complete was the breach between the Turkey of to-day and that of the past. Nobody, he said, could have believed that the Turk would ever be able to adapt himself to the new conditions, yet he had done so, and the whole world was surprised at the completeness of the change. He himself had never had any doubt on the point, and had never for a moment lost courage. The first time he had ever worn a hat in public had been at Castamuni, which was the most reactionary town in Anatolia; and yet, within twenty-four hours of his making his speech there on the subject of hats, the inhabitants had all, and without exception, thrown their fezzes to the rubbish heap. But the real change that had taken place had been a change inside and not outside the skulls, for from the envelope it was generally possible to judge of the character of the letter inside it. Turkey was now completely modern and completely Europeanised. In the past the religious element had in every village arrogated to itself the leadership of the community; he had himself, as a young man, noticed this and its ill effects. Similarly, the holy men had exercised their influence on the Central government, and had thus constituted themselves into the intermediary between the people and the Government with a benumbing effect on the whole policy of the State. All this organisation of the past was now shattered, and under the republic there was direct contact between governors and governed. The ideas of the past had been essentially illogical and were now discarded. There were parties still hankering after these old illogical policies, working for them abroad; doubtless I knew to what he was referring. When he had begun to assume the leadership in Turkey they had been the first to approach him and try to win him to their ways of thought. He had refused from the first to have anything to do with them. Just as the Ottoman Empire was the direct descendant of the Seljuk Kingdoms, so these parties were the direct descendants of the Ottoman Empire, but they were now smashed, and the breach with the past was complete.

and could never be closed again. So too in foreign policy. The tortuous methods of the Sublime Porte had been discarded, and for them had been substituted new relations of perfect frankness and sincerity. He was glad to think that relations with Great Britain were now open and sincere. The Ottoman Empire had always desired territory. The Powers of Europe could to-day feel perfectly confident that the Turkish Republic had no desire for territory merely for its own sake. He would quote the Yemen as an example. When the war ended there was still in the Yemen Turkish troops and a complete Turkish Administration in being. These men had sent to him asking to be taken over and acknowledged by the republic, and his answer had been that the republic had no use for them where they were, and they were doing no good to Turkey.

2. I had looked forward to this interview in the hope that it would give me an opportunity of some real talk with the President, and I was rather disappointed at the formal ceremonial which eventually surrounded it. What was interesting was the general direction given to his talk by the President. Most of it was indeed common place; but I really believe that he was sincerely convinced of the truth of all he said, and that I had before me a man making a long speech to me about the subject nearest his heart. He has worked passionately for the modernisation of Turkey; he believes genuinely that he has achieved his aim; and so far as foreigners and foreign Powers are concerned he longs for them to believe that they are faced with a new Turkey with a new mentality, which deserves to be treated with the confidence, trust and intimacy which European Powers can sometimes feel as between each other.

3. Mustafa Kemal was born in Salonica in 1880. His father Ali Reza emigrated to Salonica, where he found employment in the offices of the Ottoman Public Dept Administration. He left this post and set up as a wood merchant. He then married a Turkish woman and the young Mustafa was born. Immediately after Ali Reza died, and immediately after that the widow married a Turkish officer. Another tale, told me by Ferit Bey, Turkish Ambassador in London, is that Mustafa Kemal comes of an old Turkish family settled in the Morea, and virtually exterminated in the war of liberation. Mustafa's immediate forebear escaped and settled just outside the boundaries of the new Greek State, and when in the forties the Greek frontier was advanced further north, our Turk instantly picked himself up again and settled in Salonica, where, with his family, he continued to live in honourable but reduced circumstances. I am inclined to think that this tale of Ferit's relates to Mustafa's mother or step-father.

4. Young Mustafa Kemal had the ordinary education of a Turkish officer, and distinguished himself in the classes of the military school. All his life his personality has given him a conspicuous position among his comrades, and always, even in early days, he has been addicted to drunken. He has never really reconciled

himself to the leadership of any person, and quite young he got interested in the progressive movement. The very day he was appointed staff-captain he was summoned to Yıldız and underwent several days' cross-examination. He was saved from exile to Yemen by being smuggled off to Damascus by friends. He served in Tripoli with Enver and quarrelled with him. In Tripoli he captured some Italian guns and painted his name on them. Later, in the military museum at Constantinople, he found these guns labelled as the capture of Enver Pasha, and with his own hands then and there he erased Enver's name and substituted his own. He sought out the director of the museum, and told him what he had done, and the amended inscription remained thenceforward. This was typical of his relations with Enver, which became so strained that things became too hot for him, and this time he was saved by Fethi Bey, an old friend, who was then Minister at Sofia, and took him as military attaché. Before the war he was anti-German, and conducted quite a campaign in favour of depending on France for munitions and supplies of all sorts. Perhaps this was merely the reaction of a masterful mind against a domineering race, but he has maintained that he was opposed to Turkey's entering the Great War. In it he had important commands, but he did not get on with Germans, and it was to get him out of the way that he was sent to Germany in the suite of Vahideddin, after which, till the very last stage of the war, he was on the shelf. It is a puzzle how such a man can have been selected to tame the rising tide of Nationalism in Anatolia. A word of warning about him was passed to Damad Ferid at the last moment, but he passed it off, saying, "he is a Turkish officer and a gentleman, and it will be all right."

5. Mustafa Kemal, with his energy, determination and ruthlessness should have been a Gengis Khan or a Hulagu, leading victorious hordes over continents, and filling in the intervals between campaigns with hideous debauches of wine and women. The debauches are carried on almost openly, and in the intervals he is almost bored by the comparatively petty play of politics. His iron constitution enables him to stand the one, and undoubted patriotism keeps him at work on the other, but he is hardly reconciled to his lot by the wealth he has acquired, of which he undoubtedly and perhaps rightly considers himself fully deserving.

6. In person he is about 5 feet 4 or 5 inches tall, strongly built, but moves lightly. Light brown hair, now getting rather thin on the top. Grey-green eyes, with a slight cast in them. Clean shaven, strong regular features, bushy eyebrows. Thin straight lips, closing tight and indicative of determination and hardness...

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY

No. 17

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 419

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 11, 1926

(Received August 20, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the general report on Turkey for 1925, which was completed by Sir R. Lindsay shortly before his departure.

2. The members of the staff who have assisted in its production are the military attaché, the commercial secretary and Mr. Helm.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 371/11556/E. 4798

ENCLOSURE IN No. 17

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I - INTERNAL AFFAIRS

General Narrative.

No one imagined at the beginning of 1925 that the cabinet of Fethi Bey was anything but transitional in character. The National Assembly had adopted a highly critical attitude towards the President's policies, and it evidently, suited the President for the time being to assume a quasi-constitutional pose and let the Assembly have a Ministry as nearly as possible according to its desires, but the Ghazi was far from being whole-heartedly reconciled to the situation, and the first days of the year showed the tendencies at work. Rejeb, Minister of the Interior and a true extremist, organised a cave against his Prime Minister and suddenly resigned over a matter of minor domestic policy and seems to have received the support of the People's party in his action; an acute crisis instantly arose, but the Ghazi preferred to maintain his constitutional pose for a while longer and telegraphed from Konia, where he was on tour, instructions for smoothing matters over. Rejeb was appointed secretary of the People's party, on which Fethi nominally depended for support in the Assembly, and Jemil Bey replaced him at the Ministry of the Interior. Simultaneously, Fethi, naturally a broadminded and moderate man, was showing signs of yielding to extremist pressure. The suppression of the "Orient News" was one instance; another and more important one was the expulsion of the Orthodox Patriarch from Turkey, which took place on the 30th January, and is dealt with in detail in another part of this report. Fethi was clearly seeking to strengthen his position by anti-foreign action, and he certainly did acquire some popularity by what he did. At the same time, three or four bye-elections which took place just now showed that public opinion was moderately inclined. Nureddin Pasha, a stark religious reactionary was elected at Brussa, and in the other constituencies the successful candidates, whatever they really were, were not adherents of the Popular party.

2. The expulsion of the Patriarch brought Mustafa Kemal Pasha in a hurry from Konia, and a situation of considerable tension between Greece and Turkey ensued. Troops were moved towards frontiers, and a feeling of insecurity prevailed. But danger of serious complications was conjured when Lord Curzon delivered his statement on the 10th February in the House of Lords, making it clear that His Majesty's Government would not take any active part in the affair. The excitement subsided gradually, but Fethi had but few days in which to enjoy the prestige he reaped from his action.

3. On the 15th February an official communiqué announced that one Sheikh Said of Khinis had taken to the hills with a band of some fifty horsemen. A collision had taken place at Piran, telegraph wires had been cut, and gendarmes had been killed. The Government had taken all necessary measures for suppressing the

movement by forces on the spot, by aeroplanes and by other means, and order was already restored; but it was interesting to learn that the Ghazi and the Chief of Staff had been spending some time at the central telegraph office in urgent communication with the local authorities. For a few days nothing much transpired but reassuring news, and then developments followed quickly on each other. On the 22nd February the public was electrified to hear that Ismet Pasha, who had been living privately at Halki to restore his health, had returned to Angora and was in daily and hourly consultation with the Ghazi and the Cabinet; the air was thick with rumour of Cabinet crisis and martial law. Really, the Kurdish revolt was in full swing, and martial law was in fact, proclaimed for a month in all the south-eastern vilayets of Asia Minor.

4. Up to the time of writing the present report, little has transpired as to the course of the Kurdish revolt of 1925, and it is not possible to do more than indicate the general lines which events followed. A more or less fortuitous circumstance precipitated it, namely, an attempt by the local authorities to arrest Sheikh Said, and in the course of a very few days the whole valley of the Murad Su was in the flames of rebellion. The movement spread over the southern escarpment and towards the west, where El Aziz was taken by the insurgents on the 24th February. Here, however, as soon as the disorderly nature of the movement became evident, the inhabitants organised themselves somehow and expelled the tribesmen on the 27th February. The storm turned hence southwards; Argana fell on the 4th March, and on the 7th March a determined attack was made on Diarbekir. The rebels succeeded in entering the town, but, though few Government reinforcements had as yet come up, they were ejected. This was the true turning point of the movement. Rebel successes in the west had, indeed their repercussion further east, and about the 20th March Melasgird was taken by insurgents and Mush was certainly in trouble, but the back of the rising was broken, and as the forces of repression began to reach the affected area the tide turned decisively. Argana was retaken about the 29th March, Hani and Palu in the first days of April, and Melasgird was cleared on the 6th. The Genj-Chabakchour area was the last rebel stronghold. The latter was reoccupied on the 10th April, and the former on the 16th. At the same time, Sheikh Said himself with about thirty friends and followers, was captured, attempting to escape eastwards on horseback. His movements were probably betrayed to the Government forces by an adherent (the half-pay major, Kassim Bey), who was tempted by the blood-money, and anxious to save his own life by turning King's evidence. After this the Turkish Government announced that the rebellion had been crushed, and no more official communiqués were issued, but the last embers of revolt in the far east were still glowing in the late autumn, fanned, no doubt, by the drastic methods of repression which, throughout the remainder of the year, were adopted in all the vilayets of South-Eastern Anatolia.

5. On the 23rd - 24th February, Angora was thrown into a true panic by these events, but quickly recovered itself. The real crisis was on the 7th - 8th March, when Diarbekir was being attacked. Had the rebels met with any real success here the results might have been most serious to the republic, and revolt might have spread to the regions round Trebizond on the north, and to equally important districts to the west. As it was, Malatia and Chemisgezek were threatened to the west and Mardin on the south. To the north, the important Dersim region hung in the wind, but the valley of the Upper Euphrates remained unaffected. It is not possible to define the limits of the movement towards the east.

6. Sheikh Said himself was a wealthy, ignorant Nakhshibandi sheikh, but only of secondary influence in the region, and his utterances during his trial showed that he was mainly actuated by religious motives. The Turkish Government was at pains during the rest of the year to explain that religious reaction, and not nationalism, had been at the base of the insurrection. Probably this is in the main true. Doubtless, politically-minded men (e.g., Halid Jeranli, of Erzeroum, who was subsequently hanged) had been plotting, but they were surprised by the sheikh's rising, and only joined in half-heartedly. In early days local gendarmerie in considerable numbers and some regulars joined the forces of revolt, as well as many half-pay officers, but important heads of tribes stood aloof, the rebels remained throughout quite unorganised, and once disciplined forces came up there was nothing to prevent them from proceeding wherever they were directed. The army as a body performed its repressive and punitive duties with loyalty to the republic and with ruthless severity.

7. The most important results in 1925 of the Kurdish rising were its reactions on the policy of the Republican Government. In the first days of panic Fethi Bey's moderate policy was not departed from, and he received a vote of confidence in the People's party. Besides the proclamation of martial law in the south-eastern vilayets for a month, the law of treason was amended, and administrative measures adopted to muzzle the press and preachers in mosques. Then, as confidence returned, extremist pressure on the Prime Minister increased; he asked the Progressive party to close its provincial branches, but was met with a refusal, and he was strongly urged to widen the application of martial law. On the 2nd March the People's party, after a stormy meeting which lasted all day long, passed a motion which Fethi interpreted as a vote of censure, the voting being 90 to 60. This result was only brought about by the personal influence of the Ghazi himself, who took an active part in the proceedings. Fethi immediately resigned and Ismet Pasha took office, facing an Assembly in which, with hardly any doubt at all, the majority favoured the more moderate policy of his predecessor. The President, however, had rightly gauged his strength and influence, and henceforward Deputies came to heel and obediently followed the dictates of the heads of the State. The parliamentary Opposition put in an appearance three or four times in the spring.

and once or twice in the autumn sessions of the Assembly, but it counted for nothing henceforward.

8. İsmet Pasha's Government set to work at once, and the Assembly passed a Law for the Stabilisation of Tranquillity, to remain in force for two years, in virtue of which the Government, subject only to the President's approval, received the widest and vaguest powers conceivable for dealing with any event likely to disturb the tranquillity of the State. The press had already become completely silent on all political issues, and on the 6th March the *Tevhidi-Efkâr*, the leading journal of Constantinople, of a conservative and Islamic character, suddenly and silently disappeared, as did also several other papers in Constantinople and the provinces. Two independence tribunals were also created, the one to operate in the east in the area of the rebellion, the other to sit at Angora, but with the power of transferring itself to other towns, too, as might prove necessary. These tribunals seem to have no limits on them as to law, procedure or competency. They set to work early in April, and were still in full activity at the end of the year. Their main occupation was, at first, the punishment of various forms of disaffection and of attempts to stir up religious fanaticism, but they have also taken cognisance of common law crime, have hanged several mere brigands and at least one ordinary murderer. At Eski Shehr the tribunal dealt very thoroughly with some ill-mannered youths for calling out insults to a Turkish lady in the public streets, and at Trebizond with some Government telegraphists who struck on account of excessive work and inadequate pay. Later in the year infringement of the Hat Law gave the tribunals work to do and justified more than one death sentence in aggravated cases.

9. In the field of internal politics, then, the Kurdish revolt had as a result the disappearance of all genuine constitutionalism, suppression of liberty of the press and the establishment of a stark autocracy under exceptional laws. In foreign affairs, too, it had important consequences. Having mobilised large numbers of reservists, having concentrated great forces in the eastern and southern vilayets, the Turkish Government proved unable to resist the temptation of exploiting the strength of its local position and using its forces in the east as a menace to Mosul to be put into operation if the League were to render a verdict unfavourable to Turkish aspirations, or to seize Mosul town at any favourable moment by a *coup de main*. In any case the threat might impress the Council of the League, and perhaps His Majesty's Government, and exercise a healthy influence over them. As the League's decision was delayed till the very end of the year, this Turkish "menace" had to be maintained for longer than the Turkish Government had intended. It caused comparatively little perturbation to His Majesty's Government but a good deal to the Council of the League, as is detailed in the section of this report dealing with the Iraq frontier question. A kind of demobilisation did, indeed, take place at the end of May, but recruits from the west were sent to replace reservists

released in the east, so that numbers were maintained in the Kurdish vilayets, while a manifesto from the Ghazi, of a peculiarly menacing tone, made it clear that none of the advantage was to be foregone which could be drawn from the maintenance of the threat. A bye-product of this agitation was a marked advance in Turkish friendship for Russia and in Russian influence at Angora, which became very great in the course of the summer.

10. As concerns internal affairs, the summer passed quietly away, with the Government pursuing actively a policy of repression, the press effectively muzzled and the tribunals of independence cutting off the heads of the tall poppies all over Turkey. The offices of the Progressive party were raided by the police in the middle of April, and early in June a decree appeared in virtue of which it was abolished because the independence tribunals in the course of their investigations had discovered that various members of the party had indulged in reactionary intrigue. The trial of Hussein Jahid in May was something of a *cause célèbre*. He had been the only serious journalist in Turkey and bitterly opposed to the tendencies of Mustafa Kemal's Government; he was sentenced to banishment for life to the remote townlet of Chorum. Sheikh Said's condemnation and execution took place late in June and was the occasion of an outburst of indecent and savage glee from the whole of a servile press. There was a certain amount of talk of the measures of reform which were to be introduced in the eastern provinces. Really, the Government took no special measures of reform. The tithe was abolished over the whole country in the first months of the year by Fethi's Government, and Ismet Pasha counted, perhaps rightly, on this measure bringing great contentment to the Kurdish peasant. He could also confidently anticipate that it would break the semi-feudal tie between peasant and local notabilities which had gone far towards enabling the latter to raise several provinces in rebellion against the Government. But he also maintained throughout the year the policy of sternly repressing Kurdish agitation in any form in which it might show itself, and enormous numbers of Kurdish notables were exiled to Western Anatolia and deprived of all their property. Little information is available in Constantinople as to the effect of these measures, but at the end of the year the embers of revolt were still bursting spasmodically into flames.

11. On the 25th July Latife Hanem, the wife of the President, left Angora and proceeded to her home in Smyrna. Some days later a communiqué from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers informed the public that a divorce had been pronounced between her and her husband on the 5th August. It seems fairly clear that the lady had too often exasperated the Ghazi by her somewhat injudicious interventions into politics and by her efforts to stop him from drinking. That no moral blame attached to her is shown by the fact that Ismet Pasha sent his own wife to accompany her on the journey from Angora to Smyrna. Ismet, indeed, exerted all his influence to avert a breach between the couple, as such influence as she

exerted was of a healthy and restraining nature, and because he rightly feared the effect of the scandal. Whether the removal of Latife Hanem's restraining influence has increased the headstrong nature of the Ghazi's procedures will never be known, but it is certain that the divorce, coupled with the openly scandalous nature of his private life since its pronouncement, has done much to undermine the personal prestige of the Ghazi in public opinion. Latife Hanem later came to Constantinople and lived with her family in a flat just above Dolma Bagtche. She has led a life of complete seclusion, never seeing anyone, and she is probably under fairly strict police supervision.

12. Apart from such incidents as the above and perpetual trials of all and sundry by the Independence Tribunals, July, August and September were mainly taken up by two interesting movements, of which the first was the excitement worked up by the Turkish Government over the Mosul question. The press was brought to a perfect frenzy, notes were repeatedly presented to the Embassy, to His Majesty's Government in London, and to the League of Nations at Geneva about pretended frontier incidents which never stood the test of examination, and the proceedings of the Mediterranean fleet on its ordinary autumn cruise in the Aegean were exaggerated into the proportions of a naval demonstration. When all operations in foreign exchange on the bourse were stopped and foreigners forbidden to travel further east than Konia there was some apprehension in the European colonies in Turkey. This effervescence reached a well-marked crisis at the end of September.

13. The second interesting development of the autumn was what may shortly be called the hat movement. It started ostensibly as a silly season press discussion on dress in general and the foolishness of the Oriental fez. Really, the Ghazi had made up his mind that the moment had come when he could take another marked step in the direction of modernisation and secularisation, and he carried his ideas into execution with characteristic courage and craftiness. In August, while on tour in the region to the north of Angora, he made two strong speeches at Ineboli and at Castamuni on the subject of costume, and public opinion having now been familiarised with the idea, administrative action against fezzes began forthwith. It was pressed on with considerable vigour and met with success, so that at Constantinople the last fez vanished on the 29th October, the national fête day, and legislation by the Assembly which followed shortly after, did little more than consecrate a *fait accompli*. The Ghazi really intended more than to change one form of head-gear for another; he aimed at bringing it home by an outward and visible sign to unthinking people that they were being left behind in the advance towards civilisation, and so driving them along the path of true progress. Fezzes seem to have been thrown to the waste heap everywhere in Turkey, except, perhaps in some remote villages and townlets, but there is not much sign of true social progress having been achieved, except that to a marked degree Turkish

ladies appeared in society and take part in dances and other functions more freely than they did last year.

14. More important were the decrees issued by the Council of Ministers on the 2nd September, in virtue of which monasteries and convents were closed, dervish orders abolished and tombs and tekkes shut down, while the properties of such institutions were confiscated by the State to be devoted to educational purposes. The reason alleged in the decrees for this action was that it had been found by the independent tribunals that these institutions were used by unscrupulous persons as covers for reactionary and anti-republican activities. Possibly, to a certain extent, they may have served as rallying points to the conservative and disaffected, but the decrees were only part and parcel of the secular policy followed by the Turkish Republic from the moment when it began to feel its feet, and their enactment merely showed that the governors of the republic now felt themselves strong enough to take another step in advance. At the end of the year there was nothing to show that they had materially miscalculated their strength. The hat laws, which compelled even poor persons to spend a few piastres on purchasing a hideous quasi-European cloth cap, seemed to have had a more irritating effect than dispositions affecting their religion and habits of worship.

15. In November the Assembly met as usual and listened to the usual speeches by the President of the Republic and İsmet Pasha. It was an interesting moment for Turkey. The Locarno treaties had been signed, and their effects on Russia were already evident; no less clear was it that Turkey's interests in the Mosul question before the League were compromised. The opposition party did not fail to avail itself of the situation, and though its speaker Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, used language of the utmost caution, it counted twenty-one votes in the division - the number it had been wont to poll in February before the last vestiges of parliamentary government had been swept away. After this the Opposition relapsed again into silence, and the Assembly addressed itself to the work of the session. The most important items of its programme were taxation and the codes. With regard to the former, a gap had been left in the national finances by the abolition of the tithe, and it was necessary to fill it up by the enactment of new taxes. In the spring there had been talk of a 100 million lira programme, and the Minister of Finance prepared to present his recommendations for realising this increase in the nation's receipts. In the matter of codes, it became known that the commissions set up in 1924 after the expulsion of the Caliph, had at last decided to adopt as the national law of Turkey the three most modern criminal, civil and commercial codes of Western Europe. The realisation of this immense fiscal and juridical programme was achieved in 1926 with an ease which only a Turkish Parliament could have shown.

16. In November the superficial tranquillity of the country was disturbed by a series of disorderly outbreaks in various provincial centres, provoked by the first

enforcement of the laws abolishing fezzes and closing tekkes. At Erzeroum, Rize, Sivas, Samsun and Marash disturbances were reported and they probably occurred in many other places as well. They were very sporadic, obviously spontaneous, and in no case very serious, and local forces were always able to master them.

17. In December there began, in Constantinople and Smyrna especially, an economic anti-foreign campaign, which was due to reach its full proportions in 1926 only, causing much concern to all Europeans living or having interests in Turkey. Another curious little phenomenon also took place this month in the shape of a small Bulgarian panic. The Bulgarian Government, elated at its success at Geneva over its frontier affair with the Greek Government, at Petrich, thought well to improve the occasion by requesting the removal of military control. This somewhat childish proposal caused instant alarm at Angora, involving even military dispositions, but the excitement dies down as soon as the true character of the Bulgarian *démarche* became clear, and the incident merely served to show the real weakness of Turkey.

General Observations.

18. There is really very little difference to be detected between the broad tendencies of Turkey in 1925 and those of 1924, except perhaps in degree. It is no exaggeration to say that by the end of 1925 the Independence Tribunals had become the principal weapon of the Government, which, after all, only means that every independent expression of opinion in the press, Parliament, and even between individuals, had been completely silenced. In the silence so produced the Ghazi pursued unrelentingly his course of modernisation, and it is impossible not to marvel at a courage which in the course of a very few months, and immediately after the suppression of a reactionary rebellion, dared to disturb all the most time-honoured prejudices of the people (costume, religion and the personal status of women), and at the same time impose heavy new taxes. Discontent certainly resulted from these measures, but by the end of the year the Ghazi, though he may have lost some personal prestige, still enjoyed an unshaken position in the country; and there were no signs at all of any military disaffection.

19. Apart from mere legislation, it cannot be said that much progress has been marked out in the Turkey of 1925. Public order is still well maintained in the western provinces, but in the eastern there was increasing chaos, caused perhaps not so much by the Kurdish revolt as by the violent methods adopted for its suppression. Agriculture made some advance, but not more than would be expected to result from the natural increase in production which would follow on a cessation of military operations. It is difficult to see that Government help or guidance has done anything to advance its progress; and, indeed, the marketing of the crops of 1925 was conspicuously ill-judged, largely owing to erroneous information and advice broadcasted from Angora. The general standard of

administration remains low; departmental co-operation is almost unknown; corruption has certainly increased, and signs of incompetence and muddle are to be seen on every hand. No progress has been made towards re-establishing the credit of the country, the current finances of the State are at a low ebb, and all administrative services are necessarily starved. The great adventure of a Turkey administered purely by and for Turks, is still in the experimental stage, but the lapse of another year makes the observer more than ever dubious whether, under these new conditions, Turkey can maintain her place in the race in competition with other nations. She is handicapped by three great weights: first, the approach of bankruptcy; second, the menace of reaction against too precipitated reform; third, the minorities question. These three perils, all familiar in past history, if under slightly different aspects, now advanced and stared the republic in the face.

II. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Relations with Great Britain.

20. The question of the Iraq frontier dominated almost entirely Anglo-Turkish relations throughout 1925 and, as things turned out, the existence of this question made any approach to real cordiality of relations impossible. At the same time, though at moments there was considerable tension, the Turkish Government took care never to allow matters to come to a breach.

21. The first days of 1925 found the League of Nations Sub-Commission, appointed to enquire into the frontier question, at Angora on the way to the scene of its enquiry. While at Angora the Sub-Commission had a violent quarrel with Chukri Kaya, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, but nothing of this was allowed to transpire, and the sub-commission proceeded in due course to Iraq, where it arrived at the end of January. From the moment of its arrival it found itself confronted with difficulties equally bewildering and unexpected. Of these the first was the affair of the Turkish assessors attached to it by the Angora Government, Jevad Pasha was the head of them, and though one might look askance at the appointment of the man who had commanded the Turkish corps posted along the northern frontier of Iraq, formal exception could not be taken. It was however, otherwise with the two subordinates, Nazim and Fettah Beys, attached as assistants or interpreters. These two had acted in Iraq as violent pro-Turkish propagandists in the past, and one of them at least had an unsavoury reputation. Their appointment was regarded rightly as an act of *mala fides* on the part of the Turkish Government, and every effort was made, though without success, to induce the sub-commission to shake off these disreputable hangers on.

22. The second main difficulty of the sub-commission arose from its own preconceived misconceptions of the conditions under which it would carry out its

enquiry in Iraq, misconceptions due to the complete ignorance of the east of all three members of the sub-commission. They imagined that, like 20th century Harun-al-Rashids, they would be able to walk incognito in the streets of Baghdad and feel the pulse of the people. Unfortunately, they discovered that the moment they put a finger to the patient's wrist, the patient would fall into violent hysterics, and they were completely disconcerted by the various manifestations which they had to witness. Nothing but the tact of the local officials, British and Iraqi, enabled the sub-commission to complete its task at all. As it was, a great effervescence was created through the northern part of Mosul and Amadia divisions, and it was some weeks before it could be quieted down again. Some of the incidents to which this effervescence gave rise, with the necessary distortions, gave the Turkish Government ammunition for the anti-British campaign it carried on in Turkey throughout the summer.

23. The sub-commission left Iraq in March to prepare its report to the Council of the League, and it was hoped that this report would be ready for the June session. This hope, however, was deceived, and the report was only issued in July, so that consideration could only be given to it at the September session of the Council.

24. Meanwhile, the centre of interest was transferred to Turkey itself, where by the end of March the Government had crushed the Kurdish rising of Sheikh Said and had large bodies of troops concentrated in the eastern vilayets for the suppression and punishment of rebels. In March and April a campaign was launched in Turkey, unquestionably under the guidance of the Turkish Government in the press and in the public, intended to rouse feeling on the subject of Mosul and to encourage the impression that the retention of the old vilayet was an essential interest for the republic and one for which Turkey would, if necessary, fight. By May it was being stated freely that the troops were being retained in the east not on account of any Kurdish danger but as a menace to Irak, and in May His Majesty's Ambassador, on a visit to Angora, called the Minister for Foreign Affairs's attention officially to the condition of affairs which was being allowed to arise. He pointed out that the incitements then being encouraged would have no effect on the League of Nations or on His Majesty's Government, but that in Turkey they were likely to raise hopes very high, and in case those hopes were disappointed, they would create for the Turkish Government an extremely difficult situation before its own public opinion. The warning fell on deaf ears. The Minister for Foreign Affairs replied that there were no incitements of Turkish opinion in progress, and that nothing but calm prevailed. Later on, in writing, he expressly disclaimed any intention to menace Great Britain by the accumulation of troops in the south-eastern regions of Anatolia. As a matter of fact, the Turkish Government was already committed to the smooth and sloping path of bluff, from which recovery at a later date was only to be effected painfully. In giving his written

assurances in May he undoubtedly meditated that they would have no reassuring effect so long as a series of menacing gestures was maintained, and that in the meanwhile, either the League or His Majesty's Government or both might be frightened at the prospect of a Turkey prepared to fight rather than accept an adverse verdict, and willing and able at any moment to seize Mosul by a *coup de main*. The summer therefore passed away with tension increasing everyday. The press was filled with violent and scurrilous attacks on His Majesty's Government and on the League of Nations. Frontier incidents were magnified and multiplied and formed the subject of official notes; the air was filled with rumours of the vast numbers of troops concentrated in readiness for an attack on Mosul; foreigners of every nationality were forbidden to travel over the Anatolian Railway east of Konia; and the Turkish corps of officers talked of nothing but the forthcoming war. Simultaneously, a marked rapprochement was effected with Russia, and there is no doubt that by September the Soviet Ambassador at Angora was enjoying a position of great influence with the Turkish Government. His Majesty's Government found it advisable to keep in Iraq two battalions which normally would have been relieved in the autumn, but evinced no other sign of interest in all these chauvinistic manifestations. It is, however worth mentioning that the Turks must have derived much encouragement in their course of bluff from the factious and cowardly campaign in favour of scuttling from Iraq conducted by some low-class organs of the British press.

25. In July the sub-commission of the League had issued its report and recommendations, which were substantially in favour of the British contention and of the Brussels line. Viewed from Constantinople there had never been any reason for doubting the essential impartiality of the sub-commission, but (*pace* its conclusions) its report was a peculiarly inept document. The commissioners seem to have tried to prove their impartiality by stating all the reasons in favour of the Turkish thesis and giving a conclusion in favour of the British; even then they qualified their conclusion in favour of the Brussels line by quasi-admissions that any other line down to that of the Lesser Zab would be feasible. They delivered themselves of a recommendation on Kurdish autonomy calculated to bring not peace but a sword between Turkey and Iraq. Forgetting that they were geographers, soldiers, or diplomatists, they indulged in an *obiter dictum* on the legal question of the passing of sovereignty which in less favourable circumstances might have caused endless trouble. Finally, they filled their report from end to end with masses of food for Turkish irredentism.

26. It was a moment of considerable tension in Turkey when the Council, in September began the consideration of its sub-commission's report, appointing for the purpose a sub-committee of three of its members. It seems likely that the Turkish excursions and alarms of the three preceding months had had the desired effect of terrifying at least one member of the sub-committee, M. Unden, the

Swede, who was possessed of a passion for yielding to the Turkish demand. The task of the British representative became one of the utmost difficulty and delicacy, and at moments it seemed likely that in spite of his efforts unanimity would not be reached and no decision would be forthcoming at all. This catastrophe was averted, in part at any rate, by the foolish action of Turks themselves. In the first place, while the Council was actually sitting it transpired that the Turkish authorities on the frontier had carried out considerable deportation of Assyrian Christians in the most traditional manner, and though this action may in fact have been due to the unprompted energy and ferocity of one single general (Mursel Pasha) it had a marked and dramatic effect on League circles at Geneva. In the second place, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, when he embarked on a course of bluff, had forgotten that to carry it out to the end he would have to repudiate the very definite pledge given a year before by the Turkish Government to abide by the decision of the League whatever it might eventually be. Before the end of the Council's session he put himself in the position of having to say categorically whether or not the Turkish Government would adhere to its solemn undertaking, and he failed miserably to meet the test. All he succeeded in achieving was to draw a red herring across the trail by raising the purely legal question whether the Council in this matter was to act in the capacity of an arbitrator or only in that of a mediator. Tewfik Rushdi returned from Geneva knowing that he was beaten; but he managed to defer the final decision till December.

27. By the end of September one thing had become abundantly clear, namely, that the Iraq frontier question was no self-contained problem, but rather an incident in a far wider and more important diplomatic struggle then in progress, that between Russia and the Russian system on the one side, and Western Europe on the other; in that struggle the great prize was the future direction of German political tendencies, and the future of Turkey, an infinitely smaller affair, was equally at stake. Tewfik Rushdi Bey had been foolish enough to fancy that in the midst of such great forces he could win a success for his Government by making childish grimaces. Before his eyes at Geneva the foundations of Locarno were laid, and in the conversations he had with the statesmen of other countries he began to realise how isolated Turkey was and how little Russia could do to stem the rising tide. He said later on to a foreign diplomatist in Angora that he had learned at Geneva for the first time that Turkey was only a small Power. The lesson was a wholesome one, and it is to his credit that he duly took it to heart, realising that he must now try to save what he could from the wreckage of his hopes. The instant he returned to Constantinople, in the first days of October, and before he had taken contact with the Turkish Government at Angora, he had an interview with His Majesty's Ambassador, in which he practically invited a settlement of the frontier question by direct negotiation. Simultaneously, direct negotiation became the watchword of the press, and as if by magic, and within a space of twenty-four hours,

all the violences of the past six months were discontinued. But it was too late; the advances of the Turkish Government met with no response from London, and by the middle of October an official communiqué of the Agence d'Anatolie showed that hope of a response had been abandoned.

28. Tewfik Rushdi had been responsible for applying the procedure of the poker table to the foreign policy of his country, and it is almost certain that from the first the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, had disapproved of this rash procedure and opposed it. He was statesman enough, and possessed of a broad enough outlook on national affairs, to realise that for Turkey the most important objective was a speedy return to quiet foreign relations in which his country could devote itself to internal reconstruction without the constant distraction of external complications. To Ismet's mind the problematic advantage of a success to be achieved by Tewfik's methods was less than the certain disadvantages of delay in bringing about stability, and the likely consequences of failure in the end. He would probably have been in favour of a quiet acceptance of the League's verdict whatever it might be, but he was overruled in council, and throughout 1925 and even later he seemed to dissociate himself so far as he could from the conduct of Mosul affairs, and it was always difficult to get him to talk about them at all. Certainly the President of the Republic must have sided with Tewfik against his Prime Minister; not that his outlook differed in the main from that of Ismet Pasha, but probably because in the first place, as a *de facto* autocrat, he was more desirous of a marked success in foreign policy, and therefore more ready to take a risk, and because, in the second place, with the self-confidence characteristic of him he felt sure he could stop the dangerous game whenever he chose to. The real support to Tewfik Rushdi in Council came from the General Staff, always in Turkey an element of the highest importance in all political questions. Tewfik Rushdi had therefore had his way for six months; he had called spirits from the vasty deep and now in October he was unable to lay them. The corps of officers had been worked up to a high state of exultation, and influenced by the press campaign in England, felt confident that they only had to march into Mosul and nothing would ever turn the out again. When therefore it became clear that Turkish suggestions of a direct settlement were to meet with no echo in London, the anti-British campaign in Turkey was resumed with redoubled violence, differing also in this respect from that of previous months, in that now the mainspring of action was not bluff, but the determination of men who preferred war to any other solution then visible. The tension in November became more serious than ever before, and something more than nervousness was to be detected in the European colonies of Turkey.

29. In October and November events in Europe followed their preordained course. At Locarno, Western Europe came together with Germany, and the pact was signed later in London. The Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague delivered an admirable judgement on the question submitted to it, deciding that

the Council of the League was competent to arbitrate on the Iraq frontier. M. Chicherin undertook frantic visits to Warsaw and Berlin, and finally decided to go to Paris and endeavour to negotiate a settlement of Russian indebtedness. And just before leaving London to attend the League Council meeting at Geneva in December, the Secretary of State sent for the Turkish Ambassador and made an important pronouncement to him. Speaking officially on behalf of the Government, he warned the Ambassador of the dangerous results that must ensue from any Turkish aggression against Mosul, and at the same time, anticipating a verdict by the League substantially in favour of the British contentions, he informed Ferid Bey that he would willingly seek some "accommodement" of a nature to facilitate the acceptance by Turkey of an unpalatable decision. He refused to tie himself down to any definition of what he meant by "accommodement"; indeed, he said he had formed no definite ideas on the subject at the time.

30. The fact that this communication had been made never transpired in Turkey, but its effect was very marked. Tension was greatly relieved, and when on the 16th December the League Council pronounced unanimously in favour of the Brussels line, the verdict was received with bitter indignation indeed, but with nothing to show that danger was to be apprehended. The decision was formally accepted by His Majesty's Government, and this acceptance was ratified a few days later by the House of Commons. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs absented himself from the final sitting of the Council and left the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the decision entirely undefined. He had, indeed, throughout the session treated the League with a discourtesy little calculated to recommend his cause, and when all was over he travelled to Paris to meet M. Chicherin. In the course of forty-eight hours these two embittered men botched up the Russo-Turkish Neutrality Treaty of the 17th December, which was immediately published and hailed with screams of delight in Turkey, and Tewfik Rushdi was able to return to Angora with a crown of tinsel laurels on his head, declaring that the East was now reunited and a counterbalance had been created to check the aggressiveness of Western Europe. These were fair words, and deceived nobody.

31. On the 21st December the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that he was sending for the Turkish Ambassador in order to discuss with him ways and means of reaching with Turkey a mutually acceptable agreement for ensuring good Turco-Iraq relations, and the Mosul question, after many months of storm and tribulation, suddenly floated into smooth waters.

The Angora Question.

32. By the Turkish Constitution, Angora had been declared to be the capital of Turkey, and the question arose as to when and how the Powers would formally recognise this fact. It formed the subject of numerous communications between

the Powers in the latter part of 1924, and was made acute when the Lausanne Treaty was ratified in August of that year, though an immediate solution was not necessary, as the various diplomatic representatives could well carry on for some time in their then somewhat anomalous characters. It was felt by His Majesty's Government that some recognition of Angora as the capital was unavoidable, but that it was no fit place for the residence of an Ambassador, and they were decidedly in favour of reducing the status of missions in Turkey to that of Legations. The equivocal replies of other Powers to suggestions in this sense made it clear that no permanent unity of front on the point would be attained among them. The Turks, it was clear, would bitterly resent any degradation of their diplomatic status, and began to show impatience at the cold-shouldering of Angora as the capital by the Diplomatic Body. Finally, after long delay, caused mainly by the inability of the French Government to find an Ambassador for the post, the three Powers adopted a compromise. In simultaneous communications to the Turkish Government they announced that their representatives to Turkey would have Ambassadorial rank, and that liaison officers would be established at Angora to keep in contact with the Turkish Government. This provoked a sharp rejoinder from the latter in the form of a note delivered on the 19th March to the British and Italian Ambassadors actually while they were at Angora for the presentation of their credentials. The note definitely protested against the principle, implied in the Allies' note, that the official residence of foreign representatives could be elsewhere than at the official capital. A compromise formula was finally discovered which enabled both parties to carry on without further bickering. Things were greatly facilitated by the offer of the Turkish Government to present sites to foreign Governments for the construction at Angora of their new Embassy house, and by the patent fact that, even when the sites were available, much time must elapse before Embassy houses could be built on them. As a matter of fact, by the end of 1925 the Turkish Government had not succeeded in making over any sites to any foreign Government, but in the first days of 1926 a definite proposal was made to His Majesty's Government which seemed certain to materialise, when tedious formalities were completed, in the definite acquisition by them of four or five acres of land with a small ramshackle villa on it situated in a very good part of Chan Kaya, the fashionable suburb of the capital.

33. The political position of Angora as the capital of Turkey grew in strength throughout the year, as the Government of Mustafa Kemal established itself more firmly in the country. In many respects it is typical of the republic, secular and modern in character, and the republic could not at present survive transplantation to any other soil. As things now are, a transfer of the capital to Constantinople is almost unthinkable. It could hardly take place till a complete reversal of policy had been brought about and till Turkey began once more to dream of recovering the Islamic Caliphate.

34. In the course of the year large sums were found by the Turkish Government for the embellishment and improvement of Angora, and what has been accomplished represents a great effort by a poor and incompetent Administration, but the town is still far from being the fit capital of any State. It is almost entirely Anatolian in character; there is still no tolerable hotel in it, the railway journey from Constantinople throughout the year took twenty-six hours to perform, and communication by telegraph is slow and precarious. There is no water service and no drainage, electric light is very partial, and amenities in general entirely non-existent.

France.

35. In May 1925, M. Albert Sarraut, with a distinguished career behind him in politics and higher administration, arrived as Ambassador to Turkey, and the long charg  ship of M. Jess   Cur  ly came to an end. General Mougin, who had acted as French agent at Angora in a very undefined position, was removed soon after and thenceforward French policy, no longer the plaything of intrigues at Paris, became more reliable. At the same time, it suffered from the prolonged financial and political crisis in France, and from the Syrian rebellion which broke out in July; both these weakened the hand of the French Government and precluded the possibility of any firm stand against Turkish recalcitrance or misbehaviour. Accordingly, at the end of the year, M. Sarraut, though he industriously courted the Turks and took up his residence for long periods at Angora, failed to achieve settlements of any of the major questions affecting his country. The question of the Ottoman Debt was discussed in a desultory manner till the end of the year. French schools carried on as best they could, and the Syrian frontier remained undemarcated, providing the scene for periodical outbursts of "cheteh" activities.

36. In general the French Government conducted a policy, in harmony with that of His Majesty's Government, and during the moments of the most severe tension over the Mosul question M. Sarraut made it clear to the Turkish Government that in the event of serious complications they would receive no sympathy at Paris. In the detail, especially in the matter of the transport of excessive Turkish reinforcements eastwards through the Aleppo triangle, the French attitude was governed by weakness and was somewhat equivocal. They were reminded more than once of the promises made previously in regard to this matter, but fulfilled them only in a fitful manner; for, while there was never any doubt as to where their sympathies lay, they were always very conscious of the local difficulties the Turks could cause them at any moment, and at the same time, the wording of the Franklin-Bouillon Angora Treaty of 1921 was, in fact, entirely irreconcilable with the promises made after its conclusion to His Majesty's Government.

Italy.

37. Relations with Italy remained on a reasonably good footing throughout 1925, and were perhaps improved by the transfer of Signor Montagna to a post where high strung nervousness is less detrimental to public affairs. A latent feeling of distrust, however, persisted in Turkey throughout the year, due to the consciousness that the problem of over-population in Italy was acute and that their own almost uninhabited territories in Anatolia would afford an ideal outlet for Italian emigration. No real difficulties, however, arose between the two Governments in the course of the year, and the Italian Ambassador even succeeded in negotiating an agreement with the Turkish Government settling the countless nationality questions at issue between them. Negotiations for consular and professional conventions dragged on interminably at Rome and led to no result whatever.

United States.

38. No progress whatever was made in the only important question with America, viz., that of the ratification by the Senate of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923; the affair was received a distinct set-back when the Orthodox Patriarch was expelled from Turkey, and matters were not improved by a visit to Angora in the summer of Senator King, the leading opponent of ratification. The Turkish Government, however, do not show any desire to quarrel with the United States and seem to realise that mysterious American politics have much to do with the delay, so that relations between the two countries have been carried on from hand to mouth without any serious difficulties being allowed to disturb them.

Russia.

39. The advent of a new Turkish Government to power in March 1925 prepared foreign diplomatists for increased cordiality in Russo-Turkish relations, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who had spent some time in Russia and openly admitted to strong personal predilections in favour of that country. These anticipations were justified in the event. When once the Kurdish rebellion of Sheikh Said had been crushed, and when the Turkish Government decided to use its forces in the east as a menace to Mosul and as a means of terrifying the League of Nations and His Majesty's Government, it became necessary for Angora to ensure the support of her northern neighbour, partly for material reasons, partly to increase the impressiveness of her demonstrations towards the south. The result was a considerable rapprochement between Turkey and Russia, and Soviet influence became very powerful at Angora in the course of the year, reaching its climax in the middle of the autumn. All the time, however, İsmet Pasha, the Prime Minister, who is constitutionally anti-Russian, was opposed to this rapprochement, while the President of the Republic only suffered it with the object of achieving the one definite aim; the result was that, with all the cordiality

of relations that was established on the surface, the Turkish Government never allowed themselves to compromise the future, and no commitments towards Russia of any definite character were entered upon. It is probable that, throughout the summer, the Russian Government were actively inciting the Turkish Government in the direction of resistance to the British frontier requirements for Iraq; by the end of the autumn, however, affairs in Europe had radically altered the situation. The success of the Locarno policy could be foreseen in September at Geneva, and there Tewfik Rushdi must have realised that he could no longer hope for material Russian support in an emergency and more than he could hope for it from any other source. These impressions were confirmed by the Conference at Locarno and by the political tour undertaken by Chicherin to Warsaw and Berlin. If, at this time, the Turkish Government appealed for the support of Moscow, the reply must have been a discouraging one, and of a nature to damage seriously Turkey's reliance on any Russian promises or suggestions made in the summer. Indeed, the Russian Ambassador at Paris in December was assuring Lord Crewe that his Government had no intention of concluding any arrangement with Turkey directed against Great Britain. All that Russia could do in the end, when the Turkish case was finally lost at Geneva, was to conclude with the Turkish Government the Mutual Neutrality Agreement of the 17th December, 1925, which was hailed in Turkey, indeed, with delight because it purported to draw the East together against the West, but the true nature of which as a mere face-saving device was never misunderstood at Ankara. At the end of the year, therefore, relations between Russia and Turkey were ostensibly very cordial, but in fact, very much the reverse, for a house of cards had been built and had collapsed, and each could blame the other for the catastrophe. It was not surprising that within a very short period, for ostensibly economic reasons, the Russian frontier was closed to all but a small category of Turkish imports. Of course, the Russo-Turkish Commercial Convention, the principal outstanding question between the two countries, made no progress in the course of 1925.

40. In considering the relations between Russia and Turkey it must always be remembered that the latter, unlike Russia's other neighbours in Europe, is immune against, and has absolutely no fear of, Communist ideas. This is fully recognised by the Russians themselves, who therefore make no effort in Turkey towards economic propaganda but confine themselves to encouraging only the manifestations of nationalism, which they consider serve their general purpose of creating trouble nearly as well. This immunity against Communism gives to Turks an open-mindedness towards relations with Russia and towards the acceptance of Russian ideas which is hardly encountered in the more prejudiced centres in Europe, where the dangers of the propagation of Communistic ideas may be more real. Cordiality of superficial relations with the Soviets and the adoption pure and simple of Sovietic methods is therefore possible in Turkey without its being in the

slightest degree necessary to infer that Turkey is being irretrievably involved in the mesh of Russian influence. To counteract any such danger there is always the traditional distrust and fear of Moscow still engrained in the Turkish mentality.

Greece.

41. While the year witnessed a distinct improvement in Turkey's relations with Greece, it opened with an incident which at one moment almost threatened to bring the two countries to the verge of war. In the person of Constantine VI an Oecumenical Patriarch had just been elected to whom the Turkish Government took grave exception on the ground that he was liable to exchange under the terms of the Turco-Greek Convention of 1923. The issue was, however, under consideration by the Mixed Commission, and the Turkish Government held their hand until the commission's decision was known. The latter was briefly to the effect that, though the Patriarch was as an individual "exchangeable," the commission was incompetent to express an opinion on his status as a Metropolitan. This, however, was enough for the Turkish Government, who forestalled any possibility of foreign intervention by forcibly expelling the Patriarch from Turkey in the early morning of the 30th January.

42. This high-handed action of the Turkish Government not unnaturally gave birth to a storm of indignation in Greece and elsewhere, more especially as the Turkish Government announced their intention of also expelling such of the other Metropolitans as were "exchangeable", a step which would have meant the disappearance from Turkey of almost the entire Holy Synod. Fortunately, however, this did not eventuate, and it quickly became apparent that the Greek Government, partly no doubt as a result of moderating influences which had been brought to bear, were not prepared to push matters to extremities nor, in their own interest, to bring about the transfer of the seat of the patriarchate to some place outside Turkey, a proposal which was receiving considerable support at this time. Moreover, the Turkish Government, having accomplished their primary object, and though firmly refusing to refer the question, which they contended was entirely of an internal nature, to an outside court, began to show signs of a more accommodating spirit and proposed as a solution that a new Patriarch should be chosen from among the "non-exchangeable" prelates still in Turkey, it being understood that if this were done, the technically "exchangeable" Metropolitans should be allowed to remain. The great barrier in the way of this solution was the reluctance of Constantine to tender his resignation, but this was ultimately forthcoming, and the way was then clear for the election on the 13th July of the aged "non-exchangeable" Metropolitan of Nicaea under the title of Besil III.

43. In the meantime, the International Court of Justice had on the 21st February delivered its advisory opinion on the interpretation of article 2 of the Exchange of Populations Convention, and this opinion was accepted by both

parties. As a result the labours of the Mixed Commission proceeded with greater smoothness, and thanks to this its proceedings thereafter attracted little attention. Difficulties over the treatment of the Greek (? Muslim) minority in Western Thrace were, however, of such a nature as to cause both parties to appeal to the League of Nations, which in its turn requested the neutral members of the Mixed Commission to undertake a detailed enquiry into both questions.

44. Before this enquiry could be concluded, events took a marked turn for the better. For over a year direct negotiations had been proceeding in desultory fashion between the Greek and Turkish Governments for a settlement of differences arising out of the exchange of populations. The easing of the patriarchate difficulty, as also the International Court's interpretation of *établissements* facilitated these negotiations, and at length on the 21st and 22nd June two agreements were signed at Angora, the first providing for the liquidation of the properties of Greek nationals in Turkey, and of Turkish nationals in Greece, while the second dealt specifically with the exchangeability of Greeks in Constantinople and of Moslems in Western Thrace, and so went far to dispose finally of the vexed question of *établissements*. After the event neither party was entirely satisfied with its bargain; amendments were proposed, and the year closed without the ratification of the agreements by either side but with many of the outstanding difficulties out of the way, with the establishment of full diplomatic relations and with a nearer approach to cordiality between the two countries than had at one time seemed probable.

Relations with Balkan States other than Greece.

Bulgaria.

45. With Bulgaria after prolonged negotiations conducted at Angora by M. Radeff, a treaty was at last signed which should serve to liquidate relations between the two countries. Unfortunately it met with opposition in the Sobranje, with the result that by the end of the year ratifications had not yet been exchanged.

46. The Greco-Bulgarian frontier incident at Demir Kapu caused some nervousness at Angora, and gave the Turkish Government occasion to inform Balkan Governments that any change in the Balkan situation was a matter of deep concern to Turkey. In this affair Turkish sympathies were with Bulgaria.

Jugoslavia.

47. A treaty of Friendship with Jugoslavia was concluded in the autumn, following the lines of previous similar treaties with many other States, and omitting all mention of commercial, consular and establishment questions. It had not been ratified at the end of the year, but its conclusion constituted a small step towards the resumption of normal relations by Turkey with other Powers.

48. On returning from Geneva in December 1925, after having signed at Paris the Neutrality Treaty with Russia, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs stopped for two or three days at Belgrade on an official visit to the Yugoslav Government. The visit was much commented on in the Turkish press, and was hailed as a sign that in the new balance that was being created by Turkey and Russia against Western predominance, the Yugoslav Government would eventually be found favouring the Eastern Group. This was really nothing more than mere manoeuvring, and no particular Turco-Yugoslav rapprochement took place at all.

Roumania.

49. Roumania maintained with Turkey throughout 1925 correct and cordial relations, which call for no particular comment.

III- NAVAL AFFAIRS

50. The state of the navy has not materially improved since the last report was forwarded, but the new Minister of Marine has displayed a certain amount of energy in diagnosing the various infirmities which render the Turkish fleet such an impotent weapon for either offensive or defensive purposes.

51. The Under-Secretary of Marine, Captain Housameddine Bey, is a young officer who owes his advancement to the fact that he commanded the "Hamidieh" when the President embarked in that ship for a short cruise. The Ghazi was favourably impressed with his abilities, and selected him as his naval adviser, with the result that he took over his present post as soon as a separate Ministry of Marine was formed.

52. The higher posts in the Administration have been all recently filled with comparatively young and junior officers, and the older officers have been shelved or given unimportant appointments on shore.

53. Some progress has been made in instituting instructional courses for both officers and men and various gunnery practices have been carried out during the year.

54. The budget provided for the employment of a number of foreign specialist officers to serve as advisers and instructors to the fleet. Both the British and French Governments were approached with a view to lending naval officers for this purpose, but the rates of pay offered did not prove to be sufficiently attractive to induce officers on the active list to volunteer their services.

55. A small mission of Turkish naval officers proceeded in the early spring to visit various countries for the purpose of studying different types of submarines and the facilities for their construction. As a result an order was placed with the Fijenoord Works, Rotterdam, for the construction of three submarines of about

750 tons each. No other orders for new construction have been placed, but it is contemplated to order in the near future two or three destroyers.

56. The negotiations for obtaining a floating dock capable of accommodating the ex-"Goeben" fell through, and it was eventually decided to build a dock of this description at Ismid. The contract for this undertaking was placed with the Flandre Company. Considerable progress has been made, and it is anticipated that the dock will be completed in September 1926. Meanwhile, no repairs have yet been carried out to the ex-"Goeben", and an examination of her hull when she is docked may decide the authorities not to embark on any lavish expenditure.

57. A wise move has been taken in putting a number of the smaller units, such as destroyers and torpedo-boats, which encumber the Golden Horn, on the sale list. These vessels are obsolete and of no military value.

58. Some activity was displayed in the fleet when the crisis in the Mosul negotiations occurred towards the end of the year. Reserves were called up, all leave was stopped, preparations made for minelaying on a fairly extensive scale, and much attention paid to the defences of the Gulf of Ismid.

(Note.- German naval officers, now serving as instructors in the fleet, did not arrive in Turkey till February 1926.)

IV- MILITARY AFFAIRS

59. Although the military attachés of the foreign Powers were able to establish formal contact with the General Staff in March, their relations have not yet become normal, for the attachés are not given the official information which they are usually accorded in European capitals. Although, during the year, they have been shown on parade an infantry battalion, a cavalry regiment and a battery of artillery, and have also been conducted over the various educational establishments in Constantinople, the General Staff continue to regard the military attachés with the most intense suspicion. Anything like friendship, or even ordinary social amenities between officers of the army and military attachés is discouraged. And it has been found almost impossible to persuade an officer of the army to enter the house or flat of a military attaché except for purely business purposes. The restrictions, however, on travel have to a good extent been relaxed and, by dint of visiting various garrison towns and by taking every opportunity of conversation with all classes of Turks, both civil, military and gendarmerie, a certain amount of information has been obtained.

Strength of the Army.

60. During the year under review no material change has taken place. The classes now serving with the colours are those of 1903 and 1904, and apparently

there are still 2000 or 3000 men of previous classes who, for one reason or another have not done their military service. The recruiting regulations have to a great extent been tightened up, and it is estimated that the actual strength of the army is close on 90,000 of all ranks.

Organisation.

61. No change has been made in the organisation of the army as a whole, although several new units have been reported from time to time, definite information regarding their existence has not yet been obtained, and it may be taken that the army still consists of eighteen infantry and five cavalry divisions, organised in nine army corps, grouped under three inspectorates. A change that is foreshadowed, and has not yet come into force, is that the three inspectorates shall take the form of three skeleton army headquarters, which, in case of a general mobilisation, would take command of the troops in their circumscription.

Infantry.

62. It is now fairly well established that in each infantry regiment, besides the two battalions of three companies and a machine gun company, a cadre of a third battalion is kept in being, and when a regiment is sent on service this cadre is expanded by means of recruits and reservists, and is so maintained as a training battalion.

Cavalry.

63. No changes have been made during the year. The 7th Tribal Cavalry Division is reported to have been disbanded during the Kurdish rebellion and, to take its place, a 54th Cavalry Division is reported to have been raised. The 2nd Cavalry Division has been increased by an addition of a new 39th Cavalry Regiment, which was raised in Thrace towards the latter half of the year. The 2nd Cavalry Division is therefore now organised into two brigades, in each of which there are two regiments.

Artillery.

64. The Divisional Artillery Regiment, in addition to the two battalions, each of three 4-guns batteries, has got an independent battery, chiefly howitzers, and other arms.

Other Arms.

65. No further information has been obtained during the year regarding other arms and services.

Army council.

66. In November an Army Council or, as it is sometimes called, Supreme Army Council, was brought into being by an Act of the Grand National Assembly. This council consists of the Minister of National Defence, the Chief of the General Staff,

the Minister of Marine, and four general officers, the whole under the presidency of the President of the Republic. Its terms of reference are very wide, and include all subjects pertaining to National Defence, but so far it has not, as far as can be ascertained, brought in any very striking reforms. Indeed, the introduction of a peaked headdress, which, in the case of officers, is an almost exact copy of our field service cap, is the only visible reform. It is reported at the present moment to be studying the question of transport, but so far no organisation has been evolved.

Equipment.

67. The standardisation of army equipment is proceeding methodically, if slowly. Some 40.000 Mauser rifles, 7.9mm. calibre, have been bought and delivered from Czechoslovakia, and others are believed to be on order. A certain number of German heavy machine guns have also been obtained, and large quantities of s.a.a., totalling probably 49 million rounds, have been delivered, and further quantities are on order.

68. A factory at Angora has been completed. This establishment is reported to be able to turn out 10.000 rounds of s.a.a. per day. It also has plant which can carry out repairs to gun-carriages and also can recondition guns.

69. The Government is pushing forward the construction of an arsenal on modern lines at Yakshi Khan. It is hoped that when this is completed Turkey will be able to make for herself all her requirements in munitions.

Training.

70. There are three sets of manoeuvres during the year. In May, manoeuvres during which experiments were carried out in the evacuation of wounded with the transport at their disposal. This took place in the Ismidt Peninsula. In the autumn the 1st Corps had divisional exercises in their area, and the IX.th Corps carried out inter-divisional exercises lasting about a fortnight in the region about Erzerum. As none of the military attachés were allowed to attend any of these manoeuvres, definite information regarding training has not been obtained.

Operations.

71. The greater part of the Turkish Army during the last three months of the year was engaged in suppressing a rebellion which broke out in the eastern vilayets. This rebellion was due primarily to the opposition of the local sheikhs to reforms which the Central Government proposed to carry out in this region. These reforms, which aimed at bringing the Administration of the district into line with the rest of Turkey, struck at the roots of the privileges enjoyed by the local sheikhs. The revolt, which was well organised, broke out simultaneously at various centres in the region west and south-west of lake Van, and rapidly spread as far north as Erzerum and south as Jezireh. The local authorities were caught napping; for a

period some of the garrison towns were in the hands of the rebels, and several units of the VIIth Corps were practically wiped out. Partial mobilisation of five classes was decreed, and by dint of drafting complete companies from the units of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Corps to reinforce the corps in that area, approximately 60.000 men were concentrated; the disaffected area was surrounded and punitive operations, which lasted about four months, succeeded in stifling the rebellion. So far the Turkish General Staff have not vouchsafed any information which could be of interest from a military point of view.

72. It is interesting to note that, in order to concentrate and keep this force up to its strength of approximately 60.000 men, the units in the western area of Turkey had to be drawn on very heavily. Regiments in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Corps have now a strength of not more than 500.

V- AVIATION

73. Although during the year under review no great improvements have been made in the air forces of Turkey, the General Staff and the Ministry of National Defence are known to be particularly desirous of developing this arm. The lack of funds is the principal cause militating against the organisation of a suitable air force. To raise the necessary funds an aviation committee was formed in April, and thanks to a vigorous propaganda conducted through the newspapers a considerable amount of money was raised by subscription. The civil authorities vied with each other in raising money from their divisions, and even European firms with interests in Turkey were induced to subscribe, not altogether willingly, if reports are to be believed. In addition, the army, gendarmerie and police have contributed a portion of their pay to the purchase of aeroplanes. The net result of these efforts has been that about £300.000 was raised (1 million was promised), and the Aviation Committee announced for 1926 a grandiose lottery by which they hoped to raise another £270.000.

Organisation.

74. The Turkish air force is under the orders of Colonel Muzaffer Bey, an officer of the General Staff, who has the title of Inspector-General of the Aviation. He is responsible to the Ministry of National Defence for all matters connected with aviation in Turkey. He has his headquarters at Smyrna and a staff of some forty officers.

75. The actual organisation of the air force is obscure; it is believed that it will be eventually organised into nine commands, corresponding to the nine army corps areas; each command to consist of three squadrons, with an additional squadron of seaplanes at each naval base. So far, however, each command has only one squadron, excepting Diarbekir, which has two; and with the exception of Eskişehir and Smyrna these squadrons are without machines.

Material.

76. The air force disposes of about seventy machines. These include: Old war stock consisting of Spad and Brequet aeroplanes and Gotha seaplanes. New stock-

- 16 Brequet bombers.
- 30 Caudrons for instructional purposes.
- 8 Junker reconnaissance machines.
- 12 Savoia seaplanes.

77. During the year experiments were carried out at the school at Sevdikeui to test the comparative merits of the Caudron, Brequet and Junker planes. It was decided that foreign planes should be standardised, Junkers for reconnaissance and fighting and Brequets for bombers. A certain number of Caudron would, however, be necessary for school purposes. Orders for these planes have been placed, and deliveries may be expected during the early part of 1926.

Personnel.

78. The officer personnel of the air forces has been drawn both from the Military Cadet School at Constantinople and also from military and naval officers who volunteered for flying duties. These attended a course of instruction at the school at Sevdikeui, and some forthly qualified as pilots.

79. Other ranks are drawn from the conscripted classes and serve for two years. Most of the mechanics are civilians, a few of them being French and Germans who have been taken on with the aircraft supplied from these countries.

Operations.

80. Although the Turkish General Staff have not furnished any information regarding the operations carried out by aeroplane during the Kurdish rebellion, it is known that three aeroplane companies took part. From what came out in the papers these companies did excellent service, both reconnaissance and in bombing.

Civil Aviation.

81. No purely Turkish air line was inaugurated during the year, although efforts were made to do so in conjunction with the Franco-Roumaine Company. This latter maintained a regular service between Constantinople and Angora during the summer months. Several firms endeavoured to arrange for an aeroplane service between Constantinople and Italy, but negotiations fell through. The Franco-Roumaine Company up to October maintained a service between Bucharest and Constantinople.

VI- ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

82. The slight improvement recorded in 1924 in economic and commercial conditions was maintained practically throughout the year, the Government continuing to concentrate on the economic development of the country. Towards the close of the year however, there were indications that the Turk, imbued with the idea that he could make good without the co-operation of the foreigner and Christian minority, was endeavouring by means of legislative measures to eliminate foreign enterprise.

83. Nationalism as acute as in the early days of the new régime began to be apparent. A series of ill-conceived legislative measures to be applied early in 1926 were submitted to the Assembly for ratification, and a campaign waged with some vigour to force the employment of Moslem Turks upon all foreign institutions at the expense of foreigners, and the national minorities remains a serious threat to future trade and commerce.

84. The short-sighted economic policy, evolved by the Ministries of Finance and Commerce, seems to be aimed at the foreign intermediary, the channel between Turkey and foreign markets, whilst the application of new taxes involving still more official control of business operations, a marked inclination towards the institution of monopolies, and the remodelling of the temettu tax, to be known as a tax on profits, are all further obstacles to the advance of foreign enterprise in this country.

85. As already stated, some progress has been made during 1925 at considerable sacrifice on the part of the Government, but it is feared that this advance will be checked in the near future.

Agriculture.

86. The abolition of the tithe, the granting of agricultural loans, the gratuitous distribution of seed, of agricultural implements and of cattle to the peasant, and the growing demand for modern agricultural machinery are all evidence of the Government's realisation of the importance of agriculture. These measures would seem to have borne some fruit, for according to information from reliable sources, larger areas were put under cultivation, notably at Angora, Eskişehir, Sivas, Aaalia (? Adalia), Karahissar and Adana regions.

Industry.

87. In order to develop industry a Bill was promulgated granting customs immunity for the introduction of material for the installation of factories. Other immunities were also provided in favour of the factories themselves.

88. The energy of the Prefect of Angora has led to considerable activity in the capital itself. A number of Germans are employed as engineers and overseers, and

machinery has been imported for various industrial schemes, including the erection of a cement, brick and tile factory and of a flour mill. Plant for the installation of the electric light has also been introduced.

89. In the Constantinople district industries have continued to develop, particularly tanning and the manufacture of footwear. In the town and district of Smyrna an attempt at reconstruction has been made, a certain amount of machinery having been imported to replace worn-out plant or machinery destroyed during the events of 1922. Smyrna's industrial power only represents, however, approximately 40 per cent. of what it was in 1921. Conditions in Adana and Mersina have improved. There are a number of ginning factories, plant for pressed baling having been established in the more important ones. A British group has recently set up machinery for extracting cotton-seed oil. A great deal remains to be achieved, however, before Turkey's pre-war industrial capacity can be revived.

Public Works.

90. The efforts of the Government have been concentrated on the development of communications, and in this connection the Ministry of Public Works continued throughout the period under review to push on the work for the construction of the Angora-Sivas and Samsoun-Sivas Railways, following decisions taken during the war. During 1924 a tract of 9 kilom. was laid on the Samsoun-Sivas line. Work over a distance of 160 kilom. is reported to have been maintained during 1925 and rails have been laid up to kilometre 28 from Samsoun.

The Angora-Sivas line (Angora-Caesarea-Sivas).

91. The construction of this line was taken in hand during the war. At that time a narrow-gauge line had been decided upon, but was abandoned later in favour of a normal gauge. Kilometre 204 has been reached from Angora and trains are running as far as Birkeuy. Work continued over a distance of another 168 kilom. but this has been slow in the region lying between kilometres 204 and 235 owing to the nature of the country. A credit of £T. 8 million was voted in the 1925 budget for work on both lines.

92. Other lines which the Government has undertaken to construct are the following:-

Kutahia-Tavchanli (220 kilom.)

Work has been carried out over a distance of 14 kilom. from Kutahia; 9 kilom. are reported to have been laid during the year. A credit of £T. 1.500.000 was voted for this purpose in the 1925-26 budget.

Angora-Héraclée.

It was the original intention of the Government to construct a Décauville line between Eregli and Karadéré, but by virtue of a law dated the 12th December last the construction of a broad-gauge railway between Héraclée (Eregli) on the Black Sea coast and Angora has been provided for. In altering the original scheme for a far more important undertaking, the Government provides for the future establishment of direct communications between the capital and the republic's coal-fields and rich forest lands. At a later date the Government decided to construct a metre-gauge instead of the broad-gauge provided by virtue of the law referred to above.

The Diarbekir-Arada Line.

It was originally the intention of the Government to connect the Arghana mines with the Bagdad Railway at a point in the vicinity of Arada by a narrow-gauge line. The Council of Ministers decided at a later date to modify the track previously decided upon by the Ministry of Finance. Under the new scheme it is said that Arghana will be connected by a narrow-gauge line through Malatia with Keller, a point on the Baghdad Railway in the vicinity of Islahyé. The length of the line under the new scheme is approximately 520 kilom. As the result of these changes the group interested in the scheme, consisting of the Banque de Crédit National and the Deutsche Bank, has completely ceased its activity.

93. Concessions have been granted for the construction of the following lines:-

From Kotch-Hissar to Ak Serai.

Work on this projected line has not been taken in hand.

Samsoun-Tcharchamba.

Nemli Zadé Fils, the concessionnaires, find that this coastal railway has proved anything but a promising concern, and so far very few shares have been taken up by the general public. Progress has been very slow. At the present time the track (narrow-gauge) has been prepared in very slipshod fashion over a distance of about 30 kilom. from Samsoun. It is intended to extend the line to Termeh on the east and Alacham on the west.

94. Reports received during the course of the current year all go to show that there has been a marked depression in railway construction, and that unless the Government can succeed in obtaining help from abroad it will be many years before the proposed programme can be carried out.

Ports.

95. Credits were voted in the 1925-26 budget for port construction, but with the exception of a small port at Amassra, the construction of which is said to have been taken in hand, nothing has been done under the above heading.

Roads.

96. There were several calls for tenders for the construction of roads throughout the year, there being adjudications for the construction of no less than forty new roads in different localities.

Reconstruction of Devastated Regions.

97. Work in this connection has been exceedingly slow. In order to encourage reconstruction a law was voted providing for the exemption from the tax on real property in respect to all buildings erected during the period 1922-28.

Trade.

98. According to statistical returns, upon which, however, too great reliance cannot be placed, the trade balance of Turkey has shown some improvement. This is encouraging, if one takes into account the several factors which have hindered the development of trade and commerce since the restoration of peace. Amongst these factors should be mentioned the exodus of the non-Moslem population consisting of artisans, merchants, workmen, &c. the increase of customs duties and maritime charges, exchange fluctuations and lack of capital.

99. Imports into Turkey during the year 1924 amounted in value to £T.193.611.048 as compared to £T.144.788.671 in 1923, an increase of £T.48.822.377, or 34 per cent., whilst the value of exports rose from £T.84.651.190 in 1923 to £T.158.867.957 in 1924, an increase of 87 per cent. Cotton and cotton goods as in 1923, constituted Turkey's principal import, amounting to £T.63.571.483, or 33 per cent. of the total imports in 1924 against £T.53.939.768, or 37 per cent. of the total, in 1923. The following table gives a list of the principal countries exporting to Turkey in 1923 and 1924:-

	1924	Percentage of total	1923	Percentage of total
	£T.		£T.	
Italy	40.983.960	21.2	28.352.941	19.6
United Kingdom	34.275.190	17.7	25.063.477	17.3
Germany	19.213.515	10.0	9.222.073	6.4
France	18.297.973	9.4	13.229.353	9.1
U.S.A.	11.377.884	5.9	11.059.352	7.6

100. Turkey's principal exports during the two years under review were:-

	1924	1923
	£T.	£T.
Tobacco and tobac	38.784.180	20.482.517
Fruit, vegetables	33.315.680	20.833.387
Wool and manufactures	13.150.270	8.214.554
Cotton and cotton goods	10.464.999	6.701.193
Colours, dyes, chemicals	9.286.228	7.155.745

From the above table it will be seen that the value of exports of Turkish tobacco in 1924 was nearly doubled as compared with 1923. There was also large increase in the value of almost every other article of Turkish produce exported.

101. As the monthly customs returns for the first six months of 1925 have now been published, it is possible to establish some comparison of these returns with those for the corresponding period in 1924. A comparison of the years 1923 and 1924 is bound to be largely in favour of the latter period, as in 1923 Turkey was still feeling the direct effect of military operations, and it is only in 1924 and 1925 that it is possible, for the first time since the war, to make any useful comparison of trade returns. Even this comparison requires some qualification, inasmuch as the export figures for the first six months of 1924 largely represent the result of the 1923 crops when agriculture had not yet been fully re-established.

102. Imports during the first six months of 1925 amounted in value to £T.117,852,674 as against £T.84,668,548 during the corresponding period in 1924, whilst exports for the same period in 1925 amounted in value to £T.84,266,612 as compared with £T.56,613,995 for the first months of 1924.

103. The following table shows the principal countries exporting to Turkey during the period under review:-

	1925 First six months £T.	1924 First six months £T.
Italy	19,752,640	17,736,405
United Kingdom	18,784,817	14,919,432
United States of America	13,810,718	5,047,978
Germany	13,191,272	7,201,385
France	11,942,667	8,899,734

104. The chief exports from Turkey were:-

	First six months of 1925 £T.	First six months of 1924 £T.
Tobacco	25,046,664	17,264,961
Fruit, vegetables	11,159,244	9,438,827
Colours, chemicals, opium, &c.	5,358,355	3,287,871
Wool	4,924,610	5,243,234

It will be seen from these returns that exports of tobacco continued to increase, and were, in fact, considerably greater for the first six months of 1925 than for the whole of 1923.

Government Finance.

105. The first budget drawn up since the armistice was that of 1924:-

The credits voted amounted to	170.834.243
As against a revenue estimate of	129.214.610
Or a deficit of	41.619.633
The credits voted for the year 1925 amounted to	188.478.364
As against estimates of revenue amounting to	153.046.854
Or a deficit of	35.431.510
And the credits voted for the current year amount to	190.091.784
As against an estimate of revenue established at	190.158.854

106. From the above *exposé* it would seem that the successive deficits were covered partly by a reduction of expenditure and by surplus revenue, partly by new impositions and the increase in the rates of existing taxes.

107. During 1924 the postal and telegraphic rates were increased, as well as the sheep tax, the *temettu*, the spirit tax and certain maritime taxes. Further a transport tax was instituted.

108. In 1925 postal rates were again increased, as well as the sheep tax. Stamp duties and certain additional articles were subjected to the consumption tax.

109. The increase in revenue in 1926, compared with the preceding year, amounted to £T.37.112.000, is mainly derived from the imposition of new or revised taxes, such as the tax on profits (replacing the *temettu* tax), a state entertainment tax, succession duties and a tax on sales operations.

110. The credits voted by the Assembly, amounting to £T.190.091.784 as against £T.188.478.364 voted during the preceding financial year, show an increase of only £T.1.613.420, the estimates submitted by the Ministry of Finance having been considerably reduced. Practically every department has been obliged to effect economies. The most important reductions affect the Ministries of Public Works, National Defence, Commerce and Agriculture.

111. The interesting feature of the budget for the current year lies in the fact that it has been balanced and a check has, therefore, been put on the practice of presenting a deficitary budget, but no provision has been made to cover the preceding year.

112. Summarising the situation in 1925, there appeared to be every prospect of a gradual economic revival, but the forecast for 1926 seems less favourable. The Government is reported to be exceedingly short of funds, salaries are in arrears, there is a marked economic depression, and any activity that may exist as regards trade and commerce is particularly hampered by Government legislation, which

will, it is feared, have a paralysing effect generally, leading to a partial obstruction of the main channels of Turkey's trade with foreign countries.

F.O. 371/11556/E.4798

Not: Bu raporun altına İngiltere Dışleri Bakanlığında aşağıdaki not eklenmiştir:

Minutes

An interesting report which shows that during the period with which it deals, Turkey's relations with her neighbours tended if anything slightly in the direction of a return to normality.

It also shows that the Turks, while profuse in their outward professions of cordiality, never had any real confidence in the disinterestedness of the advances made to them by the Russians who proved singularly unsuccessful in their efforts to influence Turkish policy.

In the field of internal politics the Kurdish revolt caused important reactions, resulting as it did in the disappearance of all genuine constitutionalism and the definite establishment of Mustafa Kemal's autocracy.

The fact that large forces were concentrated in the east, with the object of suppressing the revolt, also encouraged the Turks in the adoption of the menacing attitude which they maintained when the Mosul dispute was at its height.

No. 18

The Marquess of Crewe to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 355

PARIS, September 14, 1926

Secret

(Received September 15, 8.30 A.M.)

My immediately preceding telegram.

M. Berthelot told Mr. Phipps in the strictest confidence that the Italian Ambassador, in the course of this conversation, enquired of him whether, in the event of Italy finding it necessary some day to use forcible measures against the Turks in Anatolia, owing to some unjustifiable act of aggression on the part of the latter, she could count on the benevolent neutrality of the French Government. Is such an assurance could be given all difficulties with Italy over Tunis, Tangier, &c., would cease. M. Berthelot's reply was to the effect that he could not even put such a question to M. Briand.

M. Berthelot said that Baron Avezana had then remarked to him how foolish it was to suppose that Italy had in any way stirred up the Spaniards to make their recent demands in connection with Tangier. Italy had no intention of pursuing a joint policy with the Spaniards, who really counted for nothing. Italy was bent upon pursuing a world policy in collaboration with France and with Great Britain, "and now", Baron Avezana had added with a sigh, "with Germany too."

F.O. 371/11533

No. 19

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir Graham, British Ambassador in Rome

No. 1365

FOREIGN OFFICE, 8 October 1926

Very Secret & Confidential

Sir,

Your Excellency will recollect that H. M. Ambassador at Paris in his telegram No. 355 of the 14th September reported a conversation between the Secretary-General at the Quai d'Orsay and Mr. Phipps when M. Barthelot stated that the Italian Ambassador had alluded to the possible necessity of using some day forcible measures against the Turks in Anatolia, and had enquired whether in the event of some unjustifiable act on the part of the Turks, Italy could count on the benevolent neutrality of the French Government.

2. I think it well to inform Your Excellency, for your personal information, that when I was discussing Italian policy with M. Briand on the 2nd of October he told me that the Italian Ambassador had sounded him as to the probable attitude of France towards Italian ambitions in Asia Minor in the event of a break up of the Turkish Government.

3. To my surprise M. Briand said that, whilst using some language to imply that this was a contingency which need not be considered now, he had replied that France had no interests in that quarter and that Italy need not therefore expect French opposition.

4. A copy of this despatch is being sent to H. M. Ambassador in Paris for his personal information. This record of my conversation is not being circulated in any other quarter.

F.O.371/11333/E.5711

No. 20

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 544

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 13, 1926

*Confidential**(Received October 18, 1926)*

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.531 of the 6th October on the subject of Italian-Turkish relations, I have the honour to report that a sensational article in the "Daily Express" to the effect that Italy is preparing to occupy her old "sphere of influence" has set the whole public here talking. Any reference abroad to Italian

designs on Turkey immediately leads to a new crop of rumours of local manufacture, and the last few days have kept the manufacturers pretty busy.*

2. There are one or two events which coincide with this latest sensation of sufficient importance to keep the gossip alive. For example, the Ghazi has just left Angora to take part in what the "Hakimieti Millié" of Angora describes as the ordinary exercises of the garrisons stationed near the capital. That these manoeuvres should have anything to do with the rumours about Italy seems to me far-fetched, but there is no doubt that they have been connected in the public mind.

3. Then again, it is announced from Angora that at the opening of the Assembly at the beginning of November an important speech by the Ghazi on foreign affairs is expected. It is whispered that in his speech the Ghazi is going to make a bid for British friendship, and is going to tell his public in his usual blunt fashion that foreigners must be better treated in this country. If this is true, it may well be the result of the recent interview which you yourself, Sir, had with M. Mussolini, for any Anglo-Italian conversations are followed here with the greatest interest and suspicion. The Turks, like the Bolsheviki in this respect, imagine that they occupy the European stage much more prominently than is actually the case, and when it is reported that European problems have been discussed, they immediately jump to the conclusion that they themselves have provided the most interesting subject for discussion.

4. I am reporting these fresh rumours for what they are worth, not because they really throw any fresh light on the facts I reported in my previous despatch on this subject, but because they help to explain the atmosphere of suspicion and uneasiness which the Ghazi by all his activities has not been able to eradicate. The prevalence of these suspicions gives a more or less correct measure of the confidence or lack of confidence in the new Turkey which has been so widely advertised.

5. Though it is true that the Turkish public is uneasy, it does not follow that the Government is equally so, and it may well be that the latter is purposely keeping alive a certain amount of excitement to divert discontent from home affairs. After all, both the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha are soldiers and are more in their element in military than civil garb. They have not succeeded in endearing themselves to their compatriots as civilians, and may well feel that an occasional reminder that their military capacities may be required will do no harm in stilling other sources of discontent.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/265, p.30-31, No. 27

* *Daily Express* gazetesinin sansasyonel haberi üzerine, Ankara'daki İtalyan iğüderi 17 Ekim 1926 tarihli *Echo de Turquie* gazetesinde bir yalanlama yayınlamış ve İtalya'nın Türkiye'ye karpı aldığını emelleri olmadığını açıklamıştır.-B.N.Ş.

No. 21

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Mr. Hoare, Constantinople

No. 860

FOREIGN OFFICE, October 15, 1926

Confidential

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador has just been with me. As I expected, he had sought the interview in order to gather information as to what part Turkey had played in the conversation which I held with Signor Mussolini at Leghorn. He observed that certain papers, to whose opinions he did not attach too much importance, had suggested that Italy had made overtures to other Powers on the subject of her ambitions in Asia Minor, and he enquired whether I had any confirmation of these rumours or whether I could indicate to him what had been Signor Mussolini's attitude towards Turkey. I informed him that in the course of my long conversation with Signor Mussolini there had been only the briefest reference to his country. Signor Mussolini had observed that the policy of Turkey was obscure, and that he was unable to form a clear opinion as to its objectives. I had replied that I also could form no very clear impression of its tendencies. This was practically all that had passed between us on the subject.

The Ambassador said that he was not surprised that Signor Mussolini should think Turkish policy obscure, for the intentions of Italy towards Turkey were themselves doubtful and Turkish policy towards Italy could not but be influenced by this fact, but he was surprised and pained that I should feel any doubt about his Government's intentions.

I said that I would explain my meaning to him more fully. If for this purpose I recalled the history of the past few years, it was not now to criticise or blame the Turkish attitude but merely to paint the historic background of my present feelings. In the years following the armistice the Turkish Government had withdrawn into Asia. It had not ratified the treaty signed at Sèvres, and even when a new and much more favourable treaty was signed at Lausanne, Turkey had still maintained her isolation. I must confess that I had never understood her attitude in the Mosul dispute, and particularly her attitude towards the League of Nations. The effect had been to exaggerate her isolation, so that we had as it were Turkey on the one hand and all Europe, united in the League of Nations, on the other. Finally, this outstanding question of Mosul had been settled by friendly negotiations, but still Turkey maintained her isolation, and by her treatment of foreign institutions established in Turkey seemed only to have transferred the struggle to another field. I could understand the desire of the Turkish Government that Turkey should not remain as completely dependent on foreigners for many of her essential services as she had previously been. I could understand the desire of

the Government to encourage and promote Turkish commerce, industry and finance. This was a natural ambition for a patriotic Government, but in the policy actually pursued patriotism seemed to have turned to xenophobia, and though Turkey was at peace with us all her policy in these matters placed great obstacles in the way of any really cordial relations.

You will observe that I had not mentioned Soviet Russia although it was precisely the character and extent of Turkey's relations with the Soviet Government which Signor Mussolini found obscure. The Ambassador was almost equally guarded in his reply, but he evidently suspected that I had more in mind than I chose to express. He admitted to some extent my criticisms whilst offering the best excuses that he could for the conduct of his Government, he assured me that the policy of Turkey was without *arrière-pensée*, that the acts of which I complained must not be taken as justifying any suspicion of her good faith, but he added that Turkey was a small and weak nation, that she could not forget that she had an inconvenient and restless neighbour, that she must have some *point d'appui* and, though it was only with Great Britain that she would care to seek an alliance, she could not remain without support from any side.

His Excellency had once before said something of the same kind to me. I repeated that, as I had then told him, it was not within the bounds of practical politics that Great Britain should take any fresh engagements. We had gone to the utmost limit that public opinion would tolerate when we signed the Treaty of Locarno, and indeed British opinion had only been reconciled to that treaty because of the greatness of the interest which it served, which was nothing less than the peace of the world. But though we could take no further engagements of a like nature, we were members of the League of Nations and we had signed the Covenant. That was the protection which the weaker European Powers enjoyed. I offered no counsel to the Turkish Government, but I knew what I would do if I were there in their place. I should join the League; I should undertake the obligations of the Covenant and receive in return the protection which it gives. Returning to the subject of the treatment of foreigners, I observed that what the Ambassador had said of the desire of Turkey for good relations with ourselves and others only strengthened my argument. The friction which their treatment of foreigners created interfered with the good relations which it would seem it was their desire to cultivate and was an obstacle to their policy as declared to me by him. I hoped that the Turkish Government would reconsider this matter and that they would see that it was to their interest, and indeed necessary to their peaceful policy, that they should faithfully execute the engagements they had undertaken by the Treaty of Lausanne and should cease to harry the foreigner within their gates. I had indeed on many occasions had to consider for myself or been asked to consider by others whether I should not make or join in representations to the Turkish Government on the subject. I had refrained as far as possible, but it had

been necessary for Sir Ronald Lindsay more than once to call the attention of the Turkish Government to particular cases. I hoped that the Turkish Government would feel the necessity for adopting a more civilised and considerate policy in future.

Leaving this subject, his Excellency recurred to Italy. Was it true, he asked, that Italy had signed a treaty with the Yemen, and what view did I take of it? I replied that Signor Mussolini had communicated this treaty to us, that it appeared to be a treaty of amity and commerce, and I was in communication with Signor Mussolini on the subject as we had very considerable interests in that part of the world, but the treaty itself gave me no anxiety, and the question would not, I felt sure, give rise to any difficulties between the British and Italian Governments.

Finally, the Ambassador asked whether, if the Italian Government did ever approach the British Government with a proposal directed against Turkey, the British Government would refuse to entertain it. I told his Excellency that this was a question which he ought not to have put to me, and to which I could not reply, for it assumed that Italy, without provocation or legitimate grievance, would suddenly attack another State with which it was in peaceful relations. I could not answer a hypothetical question based upon an assumption. His Excellency smiled broadly and declared that my reply satisfied him.

He added that in reporting what I had said to his Government he would separate my comments on Turkish policy from that part which related to the attitude of Signor Mussolini and the Italian Government, so that there should be no confusion between that which was said by me and that which was said by Signor Mussolini, and that the representations which I had asked him to make might not be prejudiced by being connected with a totally different matter.

I am, &c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

F.O. 424/265, p.28-29, No.25

F.O. 371/115337E. 5856

No. 22

R.H. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 584

CONSTANTINOPLE, 5th November, 1926

Sir,

It was hardly to be expected that the articles on Turkey which appeared in "Le Journal" (the Paris paper) recently and of which I have the honour to enclose copies, would pass without comment by the Turkish Press. Monsieur Edouard Helaye lays it down that being now grown up Turkey will profit by hearing the

truth, and though his criticisms are on the whole fair, they are indeed such as to touch Angora on the raw, for the Turk resents irony and the writer uses terms which will rankle and spares neither Mustafa Kemal's person, nor his policy nor the modern Turk in general.

2. Edouard Helsey is I think, wrong in representing Mustafa Kemal as having become little more than a puppet who cannot shake himself free from his immediate clique. Doubtless he is largely dependent on them for his information, but I do not for a moment believe that he does not retain control in essentials nor that in general they are not devoted to him. When he says that Mustafa Kemal suspects the army, Edouard Helsey is perhaps nearer the mark. There has been no sign of military disaffection, but the hasty acquittal of Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha and other generals last summer indicates that the Ghazi does not want to try conclusions with them. Nor is there any need to divide the Ghazi's clique up into fanatics, debauchees, self-seekers, profiteers and genuine reformers. Most of them have something of each of these qualities in their composition.

3. When Edouard Helsey denounces the terrorism of Mustafa Kemal as being on the increase and pointing to the precariousness of his régime, he forgets that an Asiatic population can be more satisfactorily cowed than a European one and that the terrorism is for the moment at a standstill, except perhaps in the Eastern Vilayets whence little news reaches the outer world.

4. It has been refreshing at last to find a French publicist talking straight to the Turks and one may hope that his comments on the treatment of foreign interests in this country will have some effect, though I can understand that the French Embassy are not best pleased that they should have coincided with Monsieur Daeschner's arrival. Edouard Helsey is fair enough to criticise his own Government for its unjustifiable blustering about the "Lotus" after having for a long time unduly flattered the Turks, but he points out rightly enough that even in these regenerate days the Turkish view is still very much that whatever country we belong to we are all "dogs of foreigners". Reforms cannot come without foreign capital and foreign technical skill, and such collaboration is barred by the present nationalism.

5. The rejoinders of the Turkish Press by their very feebleness admit that the criticisms have gone home. Yunus Nadi of the "République" loses himself in two columns of vilification of this "international brigand" whose manners are worse than those of an apache. Falih Rifki contributes three articles of more dignity to the "Echo de Turquie". After premising that Edouard Helsey has come to Turkey full of prejudice and has fallen under Levantine influences in Constantinople, he singles out the charge of terrorism and declares that no Turk who had fought the war of Independence against the Greeks could be terrorised, that Angora has set up no repressive organisation as have Italy and Russia, and that in any case far more people were killed in the French revolution. The truth is, he says, that

foreigners cannot bear to feel that their old privileges have been swept away by the Lausanne Treaty. In his second article Falih Rifki Bey recalls the venality of "Le Journal" and then rides off an attempt to meet the charge of ambition levelled at the Ghazi. He justly points out that the Ghazi has forgone the palaces on the Bosphorus and the throne and lives as a citizen in a small villa in the mud and dust of Angora. When, he says, Edouard Helsey speaks of the ephemeral nature of Mustafa Kemal's power it is the wish which is father to the thought. It is again the foreigner wanting his old privileges back, and Mustafa Kemal is the great obstacle. In his last article Falih Rifki develops the thesis that Edouard Helsey is in the pay of European financiers and others who wish to see the capitulatory régime reestablished and who therefore cry out that Mustafa Kemal is tottering and can only be kept up by foreign aid which will mean foreign control. All the other criticisms Falih Rifki passes discreetly by. Too many of them are true, and once a show of defence has been made, the less said of them the better.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 371/11528/E.6194

No. 23

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 586

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 3, 1926

(Received November 8, 1926)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the 4th session of the Grand National Assembly was opened by the President of the Republic on the 1st instant.

2. In a speech which was punctuated by applause, especially when he referred to the plot against his own life, Mustafa Kemal Pasha reviewed the events of the past year with its record of legislative achievement and sketched the future activities of the Government and of the Assembly.

3. He recorded great progress in every field of the national activity. The outstanding reforms in the civil, commercial, penal codes were bearing fruit; he bore testimony to the intelligence and zeal with which the magistrates were applying them. "It was evident that they were in conformity with the real needs and aspirations of the nation".

4. As regards commerce and industry, it was particularly gratifying to record that cabotage was now reserved to the Turkish flag. Commissions had been sitting to examine the possibility of developing the production of coal and iron. Their reports were encouraging, and legislation would be introduced to ensure an

increased production. Other laws would be enacted to increase manufactures in general.

5. Agriculture was the corner-stone of the national prosperity, and the Ministry of Agriculture was doing all that was possible for its welfare.

6. As regards means of communication, various administrative reforms were intended to accelerate the building of roads. The railways were progressing, and it was satisfactory to record that the Samsun-Tcharchamba line had been opened to traffic. But more rapid progress was necessary, and when the budget was being prepared an effort must be made to assign larger credits to the railways and to enlist the assistance of private enterprise.

7. A new law on public instruction would be introduced during the present session; meanwhile, every effort was being made to increase the number of teachers in primary schools.

8. The army, the Ghazi declared categorically, was morally and materially powerful enough to guarantee the integrity of the nation and its internal security.

9. The efforts of the Aviation League deserved a special word of praise.

10. The finances of the country had been embarrassed by a series of budgetary deficits. The economies effected during the year and the additional taxes which had been voted would, it was hoped, establish an equilibrium. As regards these taxes, especially the "consummation" and profits tax, experience had shown that they required some modification, as at present they pressed hardly on the individual and also hampered commerce. (This pronouncement was greeted with applause; there is, indeed, no doubt that the "consummation" tax, which has not brought in the revenue that was anticipated, has provoked great discontent.)

11. Turning to the future, which he viewed with confidence, the Ghazi expressed the conviction that in this, the last session before its mandate expired, the Assembly would achieve further successes in its task of assuring the welfare and happiness of the great Turkish nation.

12. The tone of the speech appears to have been studiously moderate throughout. "Western progress" and confidence that it is being achieved is the central thought. The only indications of uneasiness are a reference to the revolt in the eastern vilayets and to desirability of maintaining the law on public security (in virtue of which the independence tribunals function).

13. I am reporting that part of the speech which deals with foreign relations in a separate despatch.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

No. 24

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 588

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 3, 1926

(Received November 8, 1926)

Sir,

I have summarised in my despatch No.586 of to-day's date the speech delivered by the President of the Republic in opening the Forth Session of the grand National Assembly. The following is a translation from the local press of that part of the speech which dealt with foreign relations:-

2. "Honourable Deputies!

"Our foreign policy, which has always kept as its guiding principal the maintenance of peace, is now having concrete results. (Cheers.)

"Our relations with Russia are friendly, sincere and based upon the principles enunciated in the treaty of security and neutrality which you ratified. The work of delimitation of the frontiers is being pursued in the same spirit. The negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty have made considerable progress.

"Our friendly relations with Persia have been strengthened by your ratification of the Turco-Persian Treaty. We are glad to see that the efforts of Persian patriots for ensuring order, progress, national unity and a stable and strong Government throughout the provinces of our neighbour are meeting with success.

"Our relations with Afghanistan continue to be marked by the mutual sincerity known to you.

"The formalities connected with the delimitation of the frontiers between us and Iraq and Syria are about to commence.

"The treaties concluded with these countries have been conceived in a spirit of mutual desire to ensure security and good neighbourly relations. I am hopeful that these aims will be accomplished with the sincerity that characterised the preparation of the documents themselves. It is obvious that such a state of affairs cannot but react happily upon our relations with France and Great Britain.

"You will notice that the guiding principle of our policy towards our Oriental neighbours was an absence of any spirit of adventure. This line of conduct is both frank and sincere and ensures security and tranquillity.

"We have done all we could to settle the outstanding questions between ourselves and the Greek Government. Negotiations are proceeding, and I hope that during the coming session it will be possible to lay the results of the negotiations before you.

"Treaty of friendship and the residence convention which were ratified by you are in force between us and Bulgaria. A commercial treaty is being negotiated.

"While I am speaking of our amicable relations with our Balkan neighbours, I feel it necessary to add that we are keenly interested in the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the Balkan Peninsula.

"Our relations with Western and Far Eastern Powers continue to be animated by the spirit of sincerity of existing treaties. We have signed with Italy a treaty for the extradition of criminals and a convention for judicial co-operation.

"Negotiations are proceeding for the conclusion of consular conventions with France and Italy.

"A commercial treaty and a residence convention have been concluded with Germany.

"We have signed a provisional commercial convention with the United States of America. This measure will, during the coming session, be submitted to the approval of your honourable Assembly. The Treaty of Friendship concluded with the Argentine Government will also be presented to you for ratification.

"In matters affecting international relations we are among the most fervent advocates of a sincere and frank policy leading to mutual respect and reciprocal security. We desire only to know whether the combinations and proposals made to this end are capable of ensuring for us a real and effective security."

3. It will be noticed that relations with Russia, Persia and Afghanistan are the first to be discussed. This fact naturally causes some surprise, seeing that, as stated in my despatch under reference, "Westernisation" is the key-note of the speech. In this connection I should mention that on the occasion of the National Day, telegrams of congratulations were received by the Ghazi from the Soviet and Afghan Governments. Further, Timour Tash has at last arrived at Angora and Mr. Alfred Sze, the Chinese Minister in Washington, has also made his way there. This latter gentleman had previously some weeks in Constantinople conducting a mild campaign against "unequal treaties." There is therefore a tendency to believe that an Asiatic pact under the patronage of Soviet Russia is under discussion. It may suit both Turkey and Russia to create the impression that such a pact is taking shape, but it is difficult to see how it could constitute anything more tangible than, for instance, the Russo-Turkish pact.

4. To return to the Ghazi's speech, it will be noticed that Great Britain is bracketed with France and that the conviction is expressed that the conclusion of the Treaty of Angora "cannot but react happily upon our relations with Great Britain."

5. This reference is friendly enough, and had it been made before the "Lotus" case caused a shadow over Franco-Turkish relations, it might have been regarded as a definite advance.

6. Italy, which is in everybody's thoughts, receives the barest mention.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/265, p.34, No.31

No. 25

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 605

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 14, 1926

(Received November 22, 1926)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.531 of the 6th October, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report drawn up by Mr. Leeper on a fortnight's tour which he recently made to Mersina, Smyrna and Rhodes with Mr. Helm and Mr. Buchan-Hepburn.

2. Before starting on their journey, they had been at some pains to work out the principal points on which they would endeavour to obtain information, with the result that the report adds materially to our knowledge of local conditions generally and of Italian activities.

3. As regards the latter, the conclusion which may be reached is that, were it not for the deliberate manner in which the Turks had chosen to apply to themselves some of Signor Mussolini's more flamboyant utterances, there is no basis whatsoever for Turkish suspicions. The Italians are doing nothing, whether in Cilicia or Rhodes, which goes beyond a legitimate effort to develop their economic interests. It may be said that this report strengthens my conviction that the intense suspicion of the foreigner, and especially of the Italian, is due to an uneasy realisation of the vastness of the empty spaces in Anatolia.

4. We have at present less evidence that the same suspicion governs Turco-Russian relations, but the failure to bring the commercial negotiations to a conclusion indicates that all is not well, and Tewfik Rushdi's melodramatic journey to meet M. Chicherin at Odessa, which is regarded by responsible Turks as an "antic", is not an indication that any close political understanding exists or is about to come into being.

5. Tewfik Rushdi's language and demeanour when Sir G. Clerk is at Angora for the presentation of his letters may throw more light on the intentions of the Turkish Government.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/265, p.40, No.41

ENCLOSURE IN No. 25

Report on a Visit to Southern Anatolia, Rhodes and Smyrna

The following report is based on a visit which I paid, together with Mr. Helm and Mr. Buchan-Hepburn, to Southern Anatolia, Rhodes and Smyrna. The views expressed in it are the result of our own discussions, and there is no difference of opinion to record. The situation seemed to be sufficiently clear to justify the somewhat definite conclusions at the end of the report.

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 1926

1. Travelling in Turkey requires a good temper and good health. If either of these essentials is lacking, one is apt to be biased in one's judgement. Even if one possesses both in full measure, there is a danger of unduly harsh criticism, which refuses to believe that anything good can come out of Turkey under the Turks. Yet in moments of sober judgement, when officialdom and general ineptitude are less apparent and allow a certain objectivity, it must be admitted that great efforts are being made to advance the country on modern lines. Though these efforts are time and again being woefully misdirected, there is clearly a driving force at work and a holy awe of Government which in more competent hands might work wonders. One would have to travel throughout the length and breadth of the country to register success or failure in different districts, but it would, perhaps, be a fair generalisation to say that as one gets further from Angora or the central plateau — the real homeland of the Turks — the grip of Government grows less. On the fringes of Anatolia, the really vulnerable parts, it is at times lamentably weak.

2. To judge of the immensity of the task which the Ghazi has set himself, it is well to cover in one journey a large extent of Anatolia, to see the many types of which the population is composed, the many problems calling for settlement, and all requiring both patience and money, of which the Turk by himself is equally devoid. In each district that one passes through one hears the same story — plans for developing the country and lack of money with which to do it. In one district

one will find a vilayet with sufficient means to make roads and open schools; elsewhere there is almost complete stagnation. But the general impression is far from encouraging, and the more one sees the country, with its lack of population and under-development, the more forcibly is one reminded that almost at a stone's-throw from the mainland of Anatolia there lies in wait another country —Italy —which has just what Turkey lacks, viz., an excess of population and a concentrated energy. If the Turks are themselves as conscious of their deficiencies as a foreign observer cannot fail to be, it is not surprising that they are so mortally frightened of Italian aggression.

3. The present journey was undertaken with three main ends in view:-

(a) To see what amount of attention the Turks were paying to those provinces of Anatolia most likely to tempt the Italians.

(b) To try to estimate the nature of Italian activities in these provinces, and to form some judgement as to what end they had in view.

(c) To attempt to estimate the possibilities of the future.

4. For this purpose the route chosen was from Constantinople by train to Konia, and from thence across the Taurus to Adana and Mersina, the two principal cities of Cilicia. From there the coast was followed to Adalia and to Rhodes, and from Rhodes via Leros to Smyrna. As each of the main centres visited presented distinct features, it will be as well to treat them under separate headings, keeping in view the three main ends already referred to.

Konia.

5. The Vilayet of Konia lies outside the sphere to which the Italians have ever laid claim, or to which they look to-day even with the eyes of fevered ambition. It belongs to the plateau and is essentially Turkish. In the town of Konia itself one feels the grip of the Central Government. There is real activity here. Money is being spent, and there seemed to be real keenness. The Greeks have completely disappeared, and with their departure the carpet industry has declined, but the Vali seemed genuinely proud of the success already being achieved by his own countrymen, and was anxious, if time had permitted, to display specimens of their work. All that is left of Christian Konia is a handful of Armenians. There is but one church left in what as ancient Iconium was one of the early centres of Christianity, and with the gradual dispersal of the Armenians that, too, will go. A link with the Christian past was furnished by the discovery last summer by Mr. Calder, the archeologist, in a village hard by Konia of an inscription telling how St. Paul and St. Barnabas were here worshipped as gods by the local population. To-day, the gods are the Ghazi and Nationalism. The day we left Konia a statue of the Ghazi in military uniform was unveiled. The former tekké of the Mevlevi Dervishes, the members of the order having been quietly, though forcibly, dispersed, is being

converted into Seljuk and Ottoman museum. Nationalism means something to Konia, and I have no reason to doubt that the manager of the Ottoman Bank was correct in saying that the new reforms had been accepted not only without discontent, but with surprise that these things had not been done before.

Cilicia.

6. It is a great change to pass from Konia to Cilicia, a change of environment and a change of mentality. The population has certainly not imbibed modern Turkish nationalism. It would be more correct to say that it is sullenly in revolt. For example, on the occasion of the Turkish National Day, the 29th October, at the public ball organised by the local Ojak, the only Turks present were the officials from elsewhere with their wives. The local Turks boycotted the ball to a man. This is not surprising. A glance at the population of Adana and Mersina shows that the type is largely Arab. It is more sprightly and more excitable than the heavy, slow-going Turkish type. The women go about heavily veiled, and religious conservatism is still strong. Angora is no doubt displeased, and seems to show its displeasure by a lack of interest. The manager of the Ottoman Bank at Adana told me that nothing was being done in the way of improvements, and that discontent was general on the part of all classes. The Valis, both at Adana and Mersina, are closely controlled by the agents of the People's Party, and it is considered a sufficient merit in a Vali not to be active in ill-doing. Such is the standard of administration, and with this system of party dictatorship the Ghazi hopes to modernise Turkey...

7. Set beside the apathy and inefficiency of the Turkish administration is the remarkable activity of the Italians in Cilicia. Mr. Chafy, His Majesty's consul at Mersina, has from time to time reported on the activities of the Italians. But even to somebody already prepared for it, Italian activity is arresting. The Italian consul-general, M. Mochi, is the most active representative of his colony, and, if the latter take their tone from him, they must cherish big ambitions. One can only guess at the real intentions of the Italian Government, but I do not think that I am misjudging M. Mochi in saying that he looks upon his work as of real importance for the future, that his 350 compatriots in Cilicia are to him but the pioneers in the eventual absorption of the province by Italy. At the same time, there is nothing sensational in all this activity. The Italians are obviously prepared to bide their time, make themselves agreeable to the local population, by whom apparently their presence is far from being resented, and built up their interests on a solid foundation. About a year ago a serious Italian enterprise, named Sicmat (*Società Italiana di Commercio di Materiali Tessili*), was formed at Mersina with a branch at Alexandretta. Its interests are not confined to cotton, and it is already looked upon as the main base upon which the peaceful penetration of the country will be founded. In a short conversation with the director of the company, I was particularly struck by his enthusiasm in a country where such a quality is rare and

difficult to sustain and by his far-reaching plans. Publicity is certainly part of his programme, and I have a shrewd suspicion that the Italians in general are anxious to impress both foreigners and Turks by their activity. This became still more apparent at Rhodes, but the atmosphere was already there at Mersina. It is, perhaps significant that the Sicmat is established in North Syria as well as in Cilicia.

8. Talkative as M. Mochi is, one cannot expect him to unburden his innermost soul to a foreigner, and any attempt to judge the lines upon which he is working must be largely guesswork. However, being a thoroughly good Italian, he enjoys criticising the French, and, thinking this might be useful, I encouraged him to develop his theme. His main argument was that the French had not gone far enough in their occupation of Cilicia. Ulu Kishlar, at the head of the pass, and not Bozanti, near the Cilician Gates, should have been their frontier. If any other Power, he added with enthusiasm, were forced to occupy this country in the future, the failure of the French should be a good object-lesson. A further point on which he insisted was that Cilicia and North Syria, including Alexandretta, Aleppo and Antioch, should form one unit, that the economic conditions were similar, and that the political conditions should follow suit. Taking this in conjunction with the work of the Sicmat, it seemed to me significant, though the evidence is sufficient to go further.

9. Cilicia is a tempting province, tempting both for its fertility and for its good natural frontiers. The Taurus shuts it off completely from the plateau, and the one gap in the mountains could be held without great difficulty. To the south of the Taurus the fertile Cilician plain extends from some 20 miles west of Mersina to the borders of Syria. West of Mersina the plain is uncultivated and almost uninhabited, to the east there is a large population, but that too, could be increased enormously, even supposing that the figure of 2 million is a correct estimate of the population. One cannot feel that in these days of keen competition so rich a territory can be left in its present condition. What is difficult to explain is the neglect of the Turks. If they continue as they are they are simply asking for trouble.

Adalia.

10. Between Cilicia and Adalia the coastline is forbidding. The mountains come down to the water's edge, and there is nothing to tempt the foreigner. At Adalia the mountains draw apart sufficiently far to admit of a wide and fertile plain. Adalia has always been looked upon as the port most coveted by Italy, and it underwent an Italian occupation for four years. Why this should have been so it is difficult to understand. There are no immediate prospects for development there. Adalia is not compact and easily defended like Cilicia. Its prosperity depends mainly on the hinterland and on the construction of a railway connecting it with Konia. It would appear that the Italians now recognise this and that they have transferred the greater part of their energies to Cilicia. At Adalia they have a

consular agent who has been there since the days of the occupation. He told me that the number of Italian subjects was no more than twenty and that no further development was in prospect. The town was dead and large capital which could only be found abroad was required for any enterprise. His main object, so far as I could judge, was to keep the Italian flag flying. His policy was one of defence rather than offence. For example, the Italians think it worth while keeping open their school with four pupils in the face of Turkish opposition. To supplement the number they are prepared to import pupils from Smyrna. This can only be explained on the theory that there must be no retreat from an already established position until it is clear what the future has in store.

Rhodes.

11. Rhodes is clearly visible from the Anatolian mainland. From the port of Makri to Rhodes it is only four hours by steamer, but at the end of those four hours one has passed from Asia into Europe, from apathy and decay into enthusiasm and almost feverish activity. In Anatolia, all along the coast one saw houses neglected or abandoned; in Rhodes, they are springing up like mushrooms on every side. A good road in Turkey is hard to find, and when found will suddenly melt away to reappear for no apparent reason some miles further on. Rhodes, on the other hand, is already covered with a network of first-class roads. This is a joy to the tourist and is partly intended for him, but he is expected to pay for his entertainment, and I have no doubt that the payment the Italians desire is that he should spread the story of their achievements far afield, or, if he has the misfortune to be returning to Anatolia, still better to tell the story there. For money is being poured out in Rhodes on a scale that one is not used to since the war, nor is Italy the richest of nations. Rhodes herself can never bring in a sufficient return for this expenditure. There must be a method in the madness, and the Italian authorities seem to be eminently sane. The Turks in Rhodes are treated justly and even generously, far more so than in their own country a few miles away, and even the Turkish consul admits that they are not returning to Turkey. In Rhodes they still wear the fez and baggy trousers. They are not hustled into ways which are strange to them and need not feel that their womenfolk are being led astray by strange doctrines and given rights which upset the tranquillity of their homes. The Turks cannot stop all traffic between the island and the mainland. Caiques ply frequently from shore to shore, and no doubt they carry stories to the mainland which would not be welcome to Angora. This is wise propaganda and the Italians are clearly interested in it. They are also clearly interested in impressing the foreigner with their capacity for good administration in the Levant. For who, after visiting Rhodes, can fail to ask himself whether this work of civilisation could not also be followed up on the other side of the water? Who, even maybe a Turk, on drawing up nice clean sheets on a clean bed in a hotel at Rhodes, can fail to say to

himself before falling into an undisturbed sleep: "How pleasant this would be in Anatolia!" And that is no doubt what the Italians desire.

12. The Governor of Rhodes, M. Lago, is a diplomat, and the affairs of the Dodecanese come under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Rome. This is not surprising. Rhodes, as a colony, can never be expected to bring Italy much return. Italian colonists are to be brought to Rhodes, Leros and one or two other of the least barren islands; but even supposing that they succeed in planting 4.000 Italian peasants on the land, this provides no solution for emigration nor does it justify the attention that the islands are receiving. I was told that the Italian officers openly boast that one day they will occupy the coast of Anatolia. This perhaps, is merely the exuberance of the Italian officers, and may lie quite outside the plans of M. Mussolini. Local opinion, however, is inclined to take them at their word, and it would be difficult to stay long in this atmosphere without sharing the suspicions of the inhabitants.

13. The only other island we visited was Leros, ten hours by steamer from Rhodes, and also within sight of the Anatolian coast. In Porto Lago, it contains the best harbour in the Dodecanese, and the Italians have chosen it as a hydroplane base. They are also busily fortifying the hills which surround it. As we steamed out of the harbour the Turkish consul in Rhodes, a former colonel (his assistant is a former captain), who happened to be a fellow passenger, joined me on the deck, and showed himself obviously anxious to talk. The first day on board he had been very discreet, but the day in Leros had helped to loosen his tongue. As we leant over the side he pointed to various places on the mountain side, which he told me that, as an expert in these matters, he knew concealed cannon. He could not or would not hide his bitterness, and when I asked him why he thought all these preparations were being made he merely shrugged his shoulders. I have little doubt that he was making the voyage for this particular purpose, and I have little doubt also that he thought it useful to call my attention to these matters, for at a later period he as much as said that Turkey would need British assistance.

Smyrna.

14. At Smyrna one is transported into a different atmosphere. Here we are out of reach of Italian guns, and the Italian obsession is much less apparent. It is at the back of people's minds, but the place of honour is reserved for more pressing woes. As the chief export centre of Turkey Smyrna realises to the full the stupidities of the present Administration and longs for a change. The foreign element is still of complaints, but Turks too, who are interested in commerce, are discontented. I would not say that the professional classes — the Turkish *intelligentsia*, such as it is — are yet tired of the present state of things. They still rather like the idea that Turkey is for the Turks, and that the foreigner is no longer top dog and can even be kicked with impunity. The Jew, however, who acts as the middleman between

the peasant and the foreign exporter, is certainly dissatisfied. The Turkish peasant is a good producer, but with the present system of red tape his produce has ceased to have a marketable value by the time it reaches the quay. He is beginning to realise the cause, and he is getting restive. This is still a far cry to welcoming foreign control. He would have to travel still farther on the downward path before that could be regarded as the way of salvation. Still, it is not safe for the Government to let him travel as fast as he does.

CONCLUSIONS

15. Certain definite impressions stood out from the visit, and for the sake of the clearness I would sum them up as follows:-

Italian Policy.

16. (a) There was no evidence that the Italians were meditating any act of violence against Turkey. Rumours to this effect which emanate from Turkey are either due to nerves or else are calculated exaggeration in order to keep the Turks up to the mark. There is only one regiment of infantry at Rhodes, and the Turkish consul there admitted that no special preparations were being made. The hydroplane base at Leros is more serious, but this too, is quite a normal development.

(b) Italian aims seem to be directed purely towards economic penetration, especially of Cilicia. Their activities there are quite legitimate and they are doing nothing to cause offence. On the contrary, their presence seems to be rather welcomed by the local population.

(c) The activity at Rhodes probably has two ends in view: a) Propaganda, to impress both the Turks and foreigners generally; b) the establishment of a strong outpost in case of disorder in Turkey, of which the Italians might feel forced to take advantage.

Turkish Policy.

17. The Turks are obviously frightened of the Italians, but so far have shown little sign of wisdom in meeting the danger. They are paying attention to the defence of their coast, but are paying little attention to the removal of grievances in the vulnerable parts. On the contrary, they show apathy and neglect — usual characteristics of the Turks in all matters not connected with war. Things are getting worse rather than better. The administrative machine functions badly, and discontent is becoming more general. The policy of "Turkey for the Turks", with which the Ghazi is associated, is already proving a failure, and is exasperating many classes of Turks as well as classes of foreigners.

Future Possibilities.

18. The contrast between Italian efficiency and Turkish inefficiency is the most striking feature in Southern Anatolia and the Dodecanese. Turkish nationalism, in its present crude form, can only justify itself by success. To browbeat the foreigner and to fail oneself is only courting disaster. How can Turkey pull herself out of the rut into which she has fallen and safeguard herself against foreign intervention? Is the present régime capable of doing it? Would the Opposition prove itself more capable?

19. While in Smyrna I learnt from a very reliable source something of the plans of the Opposition. These are being reported separately in despatch No.602 of the 15th November. Whether they succeed or not, it is clear that the Opposition mean to try to oust the Ghazi.

20. There are thus two possibilities for Turkey if she is to continue to exist as an independent nation without foreign intervention:-

1. The Ghazi himself may change his attitude towards the foreigner, drop a good deal of the nationalism which he has taught and got the foreigner to help and to teach his own helpless and ignorant compatriots.
2. The Opposition may oust the Ghazi, bring the capital back to Constantinople, open the country to foreigners, and by giving different Powers stake in Turkey secure her political independence for an indefinite period.

21. This policy ought to reduce, if not remove altogether, all danger of Italian aggression. For the peace of Europe it would be the best course, and if Italy were given a fair field for economic enterprise, it ought to satisfy her. In any case, it is clear that Turkey cannot develop the immense possibilities of Anatolia unaided. If she is content to swallow her excessive pride and ask for help in the proper spirit she ought to secure herself against interference; if not, the whole future of Turkey may again be in the melting pot some years hence with all the international complications which that would involve.

F.O. 424/265, p.40-45, No. 41/1

No. 26

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

*Unnumbered
Telegraphic*

ANGORA, November 24, 1926
(Received November 25, 1926)

Everything connected with presentation of credentials has passed off satisfactorily, and I am told that Turkish cordiality on this occasion has been very marked. They have certainly been surprisingly helpful and energetic in making

arrangements for journey and in hustling through reception and official dinner without any waste of time.

Visit of High Commissioner of Baghdad was undoubtedly much appreciated, and President of the Republic kept him talking for two hours, an unprecedented event.

Both Minister for Foreign Affairs and President laid much stress on their desire for friendship with Great Britain. Minister for Foreign Affairs explained Odessa visit as one of courteous reaffirmation of friendship and general survey of mutual points of interest, but emphatically not aimed at other Powers nor creation of new agreements. General view here seems to be that purpose was to show the West, especially Italy, that Turkey has its friends too, and I think possibly there was also desire to hearten Turkish public opinion and to explain to Russia Turkish policy in regard to League of Nations.

F.O. 424/265, p.45, No.42

No. 27

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 620

Confidential

ANGORA, November 24, 1926

(Received December 6, 1926)

Sir,

With reference to my telegram of to-day's date, I have the honour to report that everything connected with the presentation of my letters of credence passed off satisfactorily.

2. On my arrival at Constantinople on the 15th instant I found there was a certain vagueness on the part of the Turkish authorities as to when the President could receive me, and an apparent assumption that I would proceed to Angora forthwith and kick my heels there until it pleased the Ghazi to give me an audience. However, a visit to Nusret Bey, followed by a letter, which used the shortness of time at Sir Henry Dobbs's disposal as a lever, resulted in an unwonted display of energy, and all arrangements were made to suit my wishes.

3. I arrived at Angora, accompanied by Sir Henry Dobbs and six senior members of my staff, on the 21st instant, and was received by the Minister for Foreign Affairs the same afternoon, and although our conversation was confined to the generalities usual on such occasions, I was struck by the evident desire of Tewfik Rushdi Bey to show friendliness. The Minister for Foreign Affairs subsequently received Sir Henry Dobbs and accompanied him to an interview with the President of the Republic, which lasted nearly two hours. I am reporting on this interview in a separate despatch.

4. On the 22nd I was received in audience by the President of the Republic for the purpose of presenting my predecessor's letters of recall and my own credentials. The ceremony was carried out with all due formality. The "chef du protocole" called for me at my house and took me in the official motor-car (the chauffeur of which was in very democratic undress) to the President's residence at Çankaya, the Embassy staff following in other cars. On arrival in the presidential grounds, the military band played the British National Anthem, the guard of honour presented arms, and various dignitaries of the presidential household escorted me over the dusty paths to the residence. Fortunately the weather was fine.

5. I was received at once by the President, to whom I made the speech usual on these occasions, which was translated into Turkish by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I delivered the letters of recall and credence to his Excellency. The President replied in Turkish, his speech being translated into French by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Copies of the two speeches are enclosed herein.

6. The President then stepped forward to greet me, and after a short but cordial conversation I presented those members of my staff who had accompanied me, and then withdrew, to partake of coffee, and to leave with same ceremony — National Anthem, guard of honour — as on arriving.

7. The Ghazi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and other civilians were in evening dress, the military members of the household in uniform. The President on this occasion showed no outward signs of the life of debauch which he is universally believed to lead, though members of the staff who saw him a year ago had the impression that he had greatly deteriorated. He is a determined, rather brutal-looking man, clean-shaved, with a carefully-trained Napoleonic frown, and a singularly charming smile. While his short talk with me was quite friendly, the emphasis with which he expressed his great pleasure at seeing the members of the British Embassy before him was clearly meant as a little dig at a Constantinople-keeping Embassy.

8. Later in the afternoon I paid the due official calls on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the President of the Council, and the President of the Grand National Assembly. I took the opportunity to draw the Minister for Foreign Affairs' attention to various current questions which needed stirring up, and his Excellency took notes and professed all readiness to do what was necessary.

9. Yesterday was spent in making and receiving calls on my colleagues who are in Angora, including the doyen, M. Souritz, the Soviet representative, who was particularly amiable. In the evening Tewfik Rushdi gave a dinner to me and my staff, at which a number of Deputies and high officials were present, and those who

have experience of such things tell me that the occasion was surprisingly festive and agreeable.

10. I return to Constantinople to-day.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/11555/E. 6676

F.O. 424/265, p.48-49, No.45

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 27

Speech by Sir G. Clerk

M. le Président,

J'ai l'honneur de remettre entre les mains de votre Excellence la lettre par laquelle Sa Majesté le Roi m'a accrédité comme son Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire auprès de votre Excellence, ainsi que les lettres de rappel de mon prédécesseur, Sir Ronald Lindsay.

Déjà, en observateur détaché, j'ai suivi avec un grand intérêt les efforts de votre Excellence et du Gouvernement turc de guider le pays dans la voie progressive et scientifique de la vie moderne. Le résultat que votre Excellence cherche ne peut que contribuer au progrès sain et pacifique du monde et, sachant votre Excellence inspirée par de tels sentiments, j'estime très hautement le privilège et l'honneur d'entreprendre la tâche de cultiver les meilleures relations entre nos deux pays et entre nos deux Gouvernements, surtout à un moment rendu si propice par la conclusion du traité qui a réglé d'une façon définitive les frontières entre la République turque et l'Etat d'Irak. Je m'adresserai alors avec énergie et avec plaisir au développement de ces bonnes relations. Je suis convaincu que je pourrai toujours compter sur les bonnes dispositions et sur l'appui favorable de votre Excellence et du Gouvernement de la République dans cette tâche et que mes efforts serviront au resserrement des relations entre nos deux pays, qui ont une si longue tradition d'amitié et de bon accord.

F.O. 424/265, p.49, No.45

F.O. 371/11555/E. 6676

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 27.

Speech by Turkish President of the Republic

Traduction

M. l'Ambassadeur,

C'est avec un grand plaisir que je reçois des mains de votre Excellence, en même temps que les lettres de rappel de son éminent prédécesseur, les lettres par

lesquelles Sa Majesté le Roi de Grande-Bretagne l'accrédite auprès de moi en qualité d'Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire.

Je suis heureux de constater que les progrès réalisés par la nation turque dans son effort décidé, pour couvrir les étapes de la vie moderne, aient été l'objet d'un intérêt tout particulier de la part de votre Excellence, et qu'elle pense justement que le résultat de cet effort ne fera que contribuer au progrès sain et pacifique du monde —seul but que nous cherchons, d'ailleurs à atteindre.

Les assurances que votre Excellence veut bien formuler, qu'elle cherche à cultiver les meilleures relations entre nos deux pays et entre nos deux Gouvernements, surtout dans une période rendue si propice par la conclusion du traité qui a réglé d'une façon définitive les frontières entre la République turque et l'Etat de l'Irak, sont entièrement conformes à nos sentiments.

Votre Excellence peut être persuadée qu'elle peut toujours compter sur mon appui personnel, ainsi que sur le concours du Gouvernement de la République, dans ses efforts tendant au développement et au resserrement des relations d'amitié existant si heureusement entre nos deux pays.

F.O. 424/265, p.50, No.45

F.O. 371/1155/E. 6676

No. 28

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 621

Confidential

ANGORA, November 24, 1926

(Received December 6, 1926)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.620 of to-day, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum by Sir Henry Dobbs, High Commissioner for Iraq, on his interviews with the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the President of the Republic.

2. I fear that the prospects of *bon voisinage*, which these conversations might encourage, have been rather shaken by a statement of Tewfik Rushdi's to Sir Henry Dobbs after dinner last night, to the effect that the Turkish Government were determined to clear the Kurds out of their valleys.

3. It is unlikely that the Kurds would suffer this quietly, but if they are driven out of their country, they can hardly go anywhere save into Persia and Iraq. The problems which such a movement would raise for those two countries may be foreseen, though its effects are more difficult to measure. Tewfik Rushdi was seemingly speaking with all seriousness, but it is hard to believe that such a plan

could be carried out on a large scale. If occasion offers, I will try to sound the Minister for Foreign Affairs further on the point.

4. I should add that Sir Henry Dobbs's visit to Angora was most successful. The Turks were genuinely glad to get into personal relations with him, and showed their satisfaction to the best of their ability, while his tact and frankness not only made an excellent impression, but established a friendly basis on which the future relations of Iraq and Turkey, which by force of circumstances are bound to be complicated and occasionally difficult, may, it is to be hoped, be discussed with goodwill on both sides.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Bagdad.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERCK

F.O. 371/11557/E. 6677

F.O. 424/265, p.50-52, No.46

ENCLOSURE IN No. 28

Memorandum

Before seeing the President I had a short conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the afternoon of the 21st November.

Tewfik started by saying that he had been anxious to make my personal acquaintance, as there would always be a certain number of frontier incidents between Turkey and Iraq, and it was much easier to settle affairs of this kind when one knew the personality behind the correspondence. He hoped, however, that such incidents would rapidly diminish. The Turkish Government had issued the most stringent orders to their frontier officials to keep the tribes well in hand, and he knew from the information which reached him from Iraq that the Administration there had a very adequate control of the tribesmen. He wished me to realise, however, that the task of his Government was more difficult than that of the Iraq Administration, because the Turkish Government had adopted a policy of dealing direct with individuals and of breaking the power of the chiefs, while Iraq was able to deal with the chiefs and to use their authority over their tribesmen. Turkey had been forced to adopt her present policy, so as to prevent the effect of Russian propaganda in Turkey, not that the Russians deliberately made propaganda against the authority of the Turkish Government, but that the mere existence of the Soviet system on the Turkish frontiers would have operated as revolutionary propaganda had not Turkey forestalled its effect by a liberal and democratic policy.

The chief interest of Turkey was peace, and he was sure that this was also the chief interest of Great Britain, which, being now at her *apogée*, could only desire to consolidate her existing interests. He drew my attention to the excellent results of a good understanding between Turkey and France on frontier affairs. Since the arrangements made with M. Jouvelet, Turkey had loyally observed her undertakings on the Syrian frontier, and in consequence Aleppo and Northern Syria were now the only areas in which the French had no need for anxiety.

I replied that I was much gratified by this expression of friendly sentiments and hopes for the future which I entirely reciprocated. I knew that some uneasiness had at one time been felt in Turkish Government circles in regard to the Kurdish policy of the Iraq Administration, and I wished particularly to reassure him on this point. His Excellency was of course aware of the recommendations made by the Council of the League of Nations in regard to the Kurds, who had been assigned to the Iraq Administration. Iraq was bound to carry out these recommendations to the best of her ability, and was therefore pursuing a cautious policy of appointing Kurdish officials as far as possible to predominantly Kurdish tracts and of allowing the use of the Kurdish language. But the Iraq Administration was as completely opposed to all forms of autonomy, recognising that it would only result in brigandage on the borders and the plundering of the districts adjoining the frontiers.

Tewfik said that he was very glad to receive this assurance and that the Turkish Government now felt no uneasiness about the Kurds of Iraq; but they feared that there was still considerable danger from the Persian Kurds on the borders of Shemsdinan, where Persian control was very slack. He then dilated at some length on the inferiority of the Persian army, which he thought quite incapable of maintaining internal security and still less of external defence. Nations like Persia failed, he said, to realise the terrific sacrifices entailed by the upkeep of a modern army, which, in the case of Turkey, devoured a third of her revenues.

I then asked him whether he was satisfied with the conversations of the Permanent Frontier Commission sitting at Zakho. He said yes, that excellent results had been obtained, and that the Turkish representatives had reported that they had found the Iraq representatives most friendly. They had only been unable to settle one point, which I understood (though on this he was not very clear) was the question of transit trade between Turkey and Persia through Iraq. This, he said, would have to await the making of an agreement on the subject between Iraq and Persia.

I said that the disposal of the Goyan (Kurdish) refugees was a question of considerable importance for Iraq. It was impossible for Iraq to remove forcibly from the frontier so large a body of men, and their presence there was a menace to frontier tranquillity. We had been disappointed that Turkey had not been willing

to receive them back. Tewfik said that unfortunately they could not meet our wishes in this matter (he gave no reasons); but he was sure that economic conditions would gradually force the Goyan refugees away from the Turkish frontier to gain their livelihood in the plains of Iraq, and the difficulty would probably disappear. I replied that he might be right, but it must be a slow process, and, in the meanwhile, I feared they might be a source of great embarrassment to the two Governments. I did not press the point further, as I understand that they are already beginning to leak back into Turkey without the official cognisance of the Turkish authorities.

I asked Tewfik whether there was any prospect of the facilitating of trade between Nisibin and Constantinople, since as soon as the Iraq Railway reached Mosul, this would become an important question. He replied that railway developments between Nisibin and Aleppo seemed to be hanging fire badly owing to the financial difficulties of the French company which manages that part of the line. If these difficulties could be got over, Turkey would welcome commercial development.

Tewfik then spoke with great contempt of contemporary Arab tendencies. He said they still chanted songs of the times of Omar and believed that they could revive glories of Herun-al-Rashid and sweep over Asia. They were centuries behind the times. The only Arab ruler with any grip of reality was Ibn Saud, with whom he maintained close relations. Ibn Saud knew that his forces were useless against modern troops, and that he must confine his energies to the Arabian Peninsula. His policy was to keep on good terms with Great Britain owing to the geographical situation, and with Turkey owing to the spiritual and moral influence which Turkey was still able to exercise in those quarters.

After this Tewfik drove me in his car to the house of the President, to whom he introduced me. The President spoke in Turkish and I spoke in French, Tewfik acting as interpreter. The audience lasted nearly two hours and resolved itself into a virtual monologue on the part of the President, stimulated by occasional brief interpolations on my part.

The President seemed to be on a most friendly mood, and frequently smiled in a very attractive way. He started by saying much the same as Tewfik about the benefits of personal acquaintance. Tewfik then repeated to him the substance of what I had said on Kurdish policy. The President replied that he was very glad to hear it. He then expressed the same fears as Tewfik about the Persian Kurds on the Shemsdinan border. From this he passed to an exposition of his whole policy. The fault of the East, he said, was its belief in theory and its divorcement from fact. The Turkish Empire had been ruined by its fantastic belief that it could combine all Moslem peoples in one great pan-Islamic union. This had aroused the suspicion of other Powers. In order to avoid a repetition of this absurdity he had abolished the

Khalifate. He had always said long before the war that Turkey must get rid of the Albanians, Bulgarians and Arabs, and must become more homogeneous; therefore, recent developments had been entirely in accordance with his policy. But it was a long and uphill task. An English historian had said that the Turkish Empire was behind the Western nations in development by a period equal to that dividing Christ and Mahomet, and all this lost time must now be made up. It was not a question of railways, factories and telegraphs, but a question of fundamentally changing the whole mentality of the people. He trusted that Turkey might receive the benevolent co-operation of Great Britain in the colossal task which lay before her.

I replied that his Excellency would learn the attitude of Great Britain from the lips of the British Ambassador, but so far as my personal sentiments were concerned, I had always been deeply distressed at the interruption of the ancient friendship between Turkey and Great Britain, and had rejoiced at the recent signs of its re-establishment. I should seize every opportunity in my capacity as High Commissioner for Iraq of consolidating that friendship.

After some further complimentary phrases, I took my leave.

ANGORA, November 22, 1926

H. DOBBS

High Commissioner for Iraq

F.O. 424/265, p.50-52, No.46

F.O. 371/11557/E. 6677

No. 29

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir G. Clerk, Constantinople

No. 966

FOREIGN OFFICE, November 26, 1926

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador called this morning to bid me farewell before proceeding on leave to Angora.

His Excellency suggested that there might perhaps be some matters which I should wish him to bring specially to the notice of his Government. I accordingly recalled our last conversation and the reference I had then made to the treatment of foreign institutions and foreign commercial houses in Turkey. I said that I would not enter into details of any particular case with the Ambassador as your Excellency was fully instructed upon the subject and I had asked you when a suitable opportunity offered to bring them to the attention of the Turkish Government, but

I should be glad if the Ambassador would himself draw the attention of the Turkish Government to the difficulties which were created for British institutions and trade, largely, I suspected, by the action of inferior officials and without the knowledge of the President of the Republic or of the Government, but which nevertheless created a disagreeable impression here and were an obstacle to the cordial relations which His Majesty's Government desired to see established between our two countries. If his Excellency would be good enough to draw the special attention of the President of the Council and the President of the Republic to my friendly observations, they would perhaps invite you to explain in greater detail the kind of case to which I was referring. I again repeated that I could understand and sympathise with the desire of the republic to develop Turkish enterprise and to see Turkish nationals taking their share in the banking and commercial life of Turkey, but the policy of harassing foreign interests already established there, whilst irritating to the Powers concerned, contributed nothing to such a development and was as injurious to Turkey as to the foreign interests directly concerned.

The Ambassador in reply said that he had already telegraphed my observations to his Government and he abounded in the sense in which I had spoken. He then in a manner which is now familiar to me said that he would put me a question to which he did not expect an answer. Turkish policy had to take account of two possible dangers, the one nearer, the other more remote. The nearer danger lay in the possible developments of Italian policy; the more remote danger came from the side of Soviet Russia. The Ambassador then returned in a discourse of considerable length and no less complexity to the question of Great Britain's attitude towards Turkey. He had understood my suggestion that, if Turkey felt the need of guarantees, she should obtain the protection of the Covenant by joining the League of Nations, but he argued in much detail that the Covenant was not precise or particular in stating in what circumstances assistance would be rendered or what the character or amount of the assistance would be; he propounded the possibility that in case of a quarrel Turkey might find that the guarantees set out in the Covenant were in fact ineffective because some minor Power which happened to hold a seat on the Council at the moment when a dispute arose was induced or suborned to give a partial vote in favour of Turkey's opponent, thus destroying the unanimity without which there could be no decision of the Council. The value of the Covenant to a country in the position of Turkey depended, therefore upon the degrees to which she could count upon the support of some highly influential member of the Council, which member he added, in the case of Turkey could be only Great Britain. Having thus reached the point at which from the beginning of his discourse he was obviously aiming, his Excellency ceased speaking and looked expectantly at me.

I replied that he had put me a question and though he had not asked me for an answer I was quite prepared to reply. I admitted that the covenanted obligations had the character which he ascribed to them. I said that this was in my opinion inevitable since the League was not a super-State but an association of sovereign States. Nevertheless Great Britain had thought it worth while to enter the League and to take the Council as arbitrator in cases of vital importance to us. There was no logical answer to the doubts and hesitations which he had expressed, but personally I doubted whether in fact they were very likely to occur or whether they would present the difficulties which he foresaw. The mere procedure of the League, the obligation not to resort to war against a fellow-member of the League until processes of conciliation had been exhausted and the delay which was imposed by the Covenant were themselves, if not an absolute guarantee against aggressive war, yet a valuable protection against it, and though it was conceivable that some small Power might in a crisis act in the way which he had suggested and technically prevent a decision being taken, the moral judgement of the world would still be made plain and must in my opinion exercise an immense restraint on any Power. Certainly, speaking as representative of Great Britain, it would afford me little comfort to know that in such a contingency as he had contemplated we might technically avoid a decision against us by purchasing or suborning the vote of some insignificant State. In any case we had faced this risk when we signed the Treaty of Locarno.

I then turned to his suggestion that as an inducement to Turkey to enter the League and as security for the protection which the League would afford her, Great Britain should give her some assurance that in case of need our support would be forthcoming on the Council. This, I said, was a suggestion to which I could make the one answer from whatever quarter it came. We desired to cultivate cordial relations with Turkey. I would not conceal from him that our relations with Italy were excellent and that we desired to keep them so, but whether it were Turkey or Italy or France (with whom we stood by reason of our alliance during the war and of our engagements in the Treaty of Locarno in the closest relations of all) I should always refuse and I believed every British Government would refuse to give an assurance in advance as to the attitude which their representative on the Council would assume towards any particular case which at some future time might come before that body. No doubt the Council exercised high political functions, but in such cases as he contemplated they must be exercised in a judicial spirit. The decision must be taken upon the facts of the particular case, and His Majesty's Government would never so pledge themselves in advance as to preclude them from discharging their duties in a spirit of high impartiality guided only by their desire to maintain peace and to see justice done.

The Ambassador professed to feel great satisfaction at my reply. If this was his real feeling, it could only be because he correctly inferred that we were under no

obligation to any other country to support it regardless of the circumstances or the facts of the case, but what he had in fact indicated as the Turkish desideratum was that we should come under such an obligation to Turkey. This, as I said to him, no British Government would do, and I repeated to him quite definitely *à propos* of an interjection by him when I mentioned Locarno that we were not prepared to extend the obligations which we had undertaken in respect of the frontier between Germany on the one side and France and Belgium on the other to any other frontier within or without Europe, and to illustrate this statement I observed that, for instance, we would not make such a treaty in regard to the frontiers of Austria, which was another indirect way of conveying to him that we had no treaty obligations with Italy which bound us to support the Italian cause irrespective of its merits or of its effect upon the general peace of the world.

I am, &c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

F.O. 424/266, p.45-47, No.43

No. 30

Editorial of "The Times" (London) of Saturday, November 27, 1926

ANGLO-TURKISH RELATIONS

In an interesting article which we published yesterday our Mosul Correspondent described the results of the first meeting of the Permanent Mixed Commission formed in accordance with the Treaty between the United Kingdom and Iraq and Turkey for the maintenance of neighbourly relations on the Iraqi frontier. The representatives of Iraq and Turkey who met at Zakho on October 18 arrived at several valuable decisions, more especially concerning the extradition of brigands who had indulged in depredations on either side of the frontier, the control of political refugees, and the avoidance of misunderstandings with regard to certain villages the political dependence of which must remain doubtful until the boundary has been definitely fixed by the Delimitation Commission. The meetings appear to have been held in a very cordial atmosphere. The friendly nature of the speeches exchanged by the Ghazi Pasha and the new British Ambassador to Angora, who presented his credentials to the Turkish President last Tuesday, certainly indicates that the confidence of those who foresaw an improvement in Anglo-Turkish relations as soon as the Iraqi boundary question had been definitely settled has been justified. The attitude of the Angora Press towards the country has been distinctly more appreciative of late, and there are signs that the Turks are beginning to realize that their fears of British encouragement of Kurdish separatism were groundless and that there is no British

hostility to the Turkish State. If certain feature of the new Turkish *régime* have been criticized in this country, such criticisms are animated, not by any hostility to a system of government which concerns the Turks and the Turks only, but by the fear that undue haste or an excess of nationalism might jeopardize the success of the Ghazi Pasha's hold and comprehensive attempt to modernize an Oriental nation. It would be idle to deny that the economic policy of Angora has at time seemed to be inspired by a narrow and unreflecting hostility to the foreign trader. But allowance must be made both for the economic inexperience of the "new Turks", for the rather natural annoyance of a people which had long evinced an aristocratic contempt for trade at the tardy discovery that the attitude had proved extremely advantageous to generations of foreign merchants. In such cases the victim always blames not his own past negligence but the astuteness of foreigners, and the Turks are no exception to this rule.

But, if British relations with Turkey have shown a distinct and gratifying improvement since the signature of the Iraq Boundary Treaty, it would be unwise to expect the Turkish Government to make any sudden change in the general direction of its foreign policy such as would be involved, for example, in entering the League of Nations. Till now the Government of Angora has made no serious attempt at entry; and the unofficial suggestion which was put forward at Geneva last summer that Turkey, if she joined the League, should simultaneously be granted a seat on the Council, scarcely indicated that the Ghazi's Government, had definitely made up its mind on the subject. While a section of Turkish opinion is clearly far more favourably disposed to entering the League than was the case till lately, the Turkish Government is obviously unwilling to take any such step without a thorough study of its possible advantages and disadvantages. That its eventual decision to join the League of Nations would be regarded with the utmost disfavour by the Government of Soviet Russia is certain, and there can now be little doubt that the meeting of the Turkish Foreign Minister with Tchitcherin at Odessa was mainly inspired by the desire of the Soviets to dissuade the Turks from associating themselves with the Western Powers and by the natural inclination of the Angora Government to ascertain what their neighbour proposed to offer in exchange for their abstention. From the tenor of the speeches delivered by the Soviet Commissar it would seem that he offered the Turks the support of the scarcely existent Red Fleet in the Black Sea and of the less nebulous Red Army in certain distinctly hypothetical eventualities, but that the replies of the Turkish Minister were distinctly guarded and that the Government of Angora has not yet decided the future orientation of its foreign policy. No serious concern need be felt in the country if the Turks made up their minds to mark time for a while. Their political chief is a realist and a soldier; he and his advisers undoubtedly understand the importance and the financial value of good relations with the West, but they know, too, that their eastern frontier is exposed; that their resources in man-power

are vastly inferior to those of their neighbour, and that an unfriendly Russia, without proceeding to extremities, could stir up disaffection among the turbulent Kurds. If, therefore, the Turkish Government decides to postpone any reversal of the policy of isolation which it has followed since the Treaty of Lausanne, such a decision should not, in itself, be regarded as a proof that it had definitely resolved to turn its back upon the Occident.

No. 31

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 22

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 12, 1927

(Received January 17, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Angora Independence Tribunal has recently issued a brief statistical report of its labours, which is not uninteresting. It is rather grim reading and it may be supposed that the political offenders are many more than is admitted.

2. Since the beginning of March 1925, when the tribunal started, over 1,000 persons, it is stated, have been accused of political offences, while no less than 800 have been had up for brigandage. The ordinary citizen may therefore balance against his dread of the political investigations of the tribunal the consoling thought that something has been done by this summary court in the way of keeping down brigandage, which was the scourge of old Turkey, for security in the west of Turkey has probably never been so good as it is now. But, though the members of the Independence Tribunal are met with every form of obsequiousness wherever they go, they are not popular. Most peoples, even if so passive as the Turkish, probably prefer to be modernised in their own way. The Angora Independence Tribunal exists to see that the Turks modernise themselves in the Ghazi's way, a process which has entailed this year the execution of 125 persons and the condemnation of well over 500 to prison.

3. The Ghazi's private opinion is that the country needs a despotism, benevolent but resolute, underneath the republican form of government, and the above figures, which are probably considerably understated, are one outcome of this view. Not that there is not something to be said for his policy. Were the country not run with a firm hand, internecine strife—even if it did not let the foreigner into the country—might still cause as much actual human suffering as the Independence Tribunals.

4. Distance makes it still harder to learn anything about the doings of the Independence Tribunal at El Aziz, near Kharput, which is in the main occupied with Kurds. It is admitted that the work of pacification is still far from finished and that, until the disloyal Kurds are extirpated, the tribunal will be needed. The policy of breaking up the Kurdish tribes, disarming everyone and deporting at any rate the leaders, is still being followed. Military law in the eastern vilayets has been extended till the 23rd November next, and nearly half the entire army is occupied in putting this policy into effect with varying success. The press last month published tributes to the army for chastising the Kotch-Ushaghi tribe in the Dersim, which had evidently resisted the efforts of the military authorities to bring it to book.

5. For the settlement in Western Anatolia of the Kurdish families deported from Bayazid and elsewhere — or such of them as do not perish in the process of deportation — a Bill is to be presented to the Assembly. But, as it deals only with some 2.000 persons, it may be inferred either that the troops have not been able to hunt down many of the Kurdish mischief-makers or, more probably, that of those in any way connected with the rebels, not many who have been caught have survived.

6. For the filling of the void made in the Kurdish district by the removal of Kurds, the settlement of immigrants is contemplated. It is hoped that Moslem immigrants may be obtained from Jugoslavia, from the Dobruja, from Bulgaria, from Cyprus and from the Caucasus. But unless pressure is applied by the Governments of those countries, these hopes are likely to prove over-sanguine. The experiences of the Moslems who were transplanted into Turkey from Greece are far from encouraging. Peasantry who in the land of the *giaour* are fairly prosperous and may wear their *fezzes* and say their prayers without loss of esteem are not likely to be anxious to be dumped in the inhospitable regions of Kurdistan in order that they may make a new start in life in cloth caps. Turkey can now hardly make the appeal which once it did as *Dar-ul-Islam*.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch direct to His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq at Bagdad.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERCK

No. 32

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 28

CONSTANTINOPLE, 18th January 1927(Received 24th January 1927)

Sir,

Nejati Bey, the Minister of Public Instruction, is about to leave on a European tour during which he hopes to enquire into the educational systems of France, Germany, and perhaps other countries. As it is possible —although not very likely—that he will visit England, I sent him a message to say that I should be happy, in case of need, to arrange any facilities which he might desire. He expressed his thanks and said he would bear my offer in mind. As Turkish officials are often reluctant to believe in the friendliness of our intentions and dislike risking a rebuff, I have the honour to suggest that it would be desirable to confirm my offer by intimating to the Turkish Ambassador the readiness of His Majesty's Government to make enquiries easy for him if he should find time to visit England.

2. It will be within your recollection that last year Nejati Bey took high-handed action against the English High School for Girls here. He is a man of energy and very rough. He speaks little French and I am not sure that he has ever been abroad before. He is an intimate associate of the Ghazi, and I think it would not be amiss if he were impressed both with the friendliness of our disposition and with the greatness of our institutions.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/12322/E.414

No. 33

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 37

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 21, 1927

Confidential

(Received January 31, 1927)

Sir,

With reference to Sir Ronald Lindsay's despatch No. 1, Confidential, of the 1st January last year, I have the honour to forward to you herewith the annual report for 1926 on the heads of missions in Turkey.

2. I have been here too short a time and have seen too little of my colleagues at present —visits of heads of missions to Angora undoubtedly militate against corporate intimacy— to feel justified in expressing more than a first impression

based on the appreciations so vividly made by my predecessor. The parts of the notices repeated from the reports of previous years are enclosed in brackets and dated.

3. The report is also, as in preceding years, divided into two parts — Constantinople and Angora — at which latter place the following changes and developments, which have occurred in the course of 1926 may be recorded:-

4. *Germany* - M. Nadolny has returned from Berlin with credits for the construction of a stone Embassy building, but I gather that he proposes to take his time about to work.

5. *Italy* - The transfer of the land still awaits completion, and meanwhile the Italian Government has taken a small house in the town, where one of the secretaries is permanently in residence.

6. *Poland* - Building has not yet started on the site of Chankaya, but the Polish Minister has given up the house in the country and rented a house just outside the town, where there is a secretary permanently in residence.

7. *Russia* - The Embassy building has been finished in the course of the past year, and corresponds to my predecessor's description. But M. Suritz, or possibly still more Mme. Suritz, finds the obligation of daily meals in common with the twenty-five comrades who compose his staff somewhat trying, and he intends to build a separate house for his own residence.

8. *United States* have now hired a big house in the town, next door to the one they had last year.

9. *Belgium* has now rented a small house in the town where under instructions, as I understand, from the Belgian Government, the Minister and his secretary are to take turns of two months' residence.

10. *Czechoslovakia* is now established in a good house in the Chankaya district, about a mile below our property.

11. *Egypt* is also permanently established at Angora, but as at present both Minister and staff are being changed, I do not know precisely where the Legation is situated.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/12322/E.495

No. 34

Sir Austen Chamberlain to Sir G. Clerk, Constantinople

No. 71

FOREIGN OFFICE, January 28, 1927

Sir,

The Turkish Ambassador paid me his first visit to-day since his return from Angora.

He spoke warmly of the pleasure which your Excellency's appointment had given to the Turkish Government and of the relations which you had established with them and, observing that I knew how keenly he desired to promote Anglo-Turkish friendship, he expressed himself as well satisfied with all the indications of Turkish feeling towards us which he had derived from his conversations with the President of the Republic, the President of the Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He then appealed to me to have the Turkish proposals for the settlement of the debt examined with a view to seeing whether their acceptance would not in fact be greatly in the interest of the English bondholders. He understood from conversations which he had had in Paris that the difficulties now came not from the French who held the larger interest, but from Sir Adam Block. He fully recognised that Sir Adam Block was not an official of the British Government and could not be controlled by us, but he pressed that the Turkish Government had gone so far to meet the demand of the bondholders that it would be a thousand pities if agreement were not now reached. I told his Excellency that you had written to me upon the subject and that I was having the matter examined in consultation with the Treasury in order to ascertain the exact position and see whether we could usefully offer any advice.

The Ambassador next asked for information about the differences which have arisen between the Yugoslav and Italian Governments on the subject of the Tirana Treaty, and then passed to Mr. Churchill's visit to Rome and his conversations with Signor Mussolini. All conversations with Signor Mussolini excited great attention in Turkey and gave rise to considerable apprehensions, which were fomented by the language held from time to time by Signor Mussolini in which he spoke of the need of room for the expansion of the Italian population and indicated "Africa or Asia" as possible outlets. These utterances not unnaturally alarmed the Turkish Government, which were obliged to keep on foot considerable military preparations and were forced to spend large sums of money on this purpose which they would have preferred to devote to more profitable objects. I told the Ambassador that Mr. Churchill's journey was a holiday trip undertaken on the invitation of an old friend now commanding the British fleet in the Mediterranean;

that Mr. Churchill had carried out no political mission and that, though he would doubtless speak to me on the subject when he returned, his conversations in Athens and Rome had not been of such a character as to cause him to send any report of them to me. All that I had seen of his utterances in Rome was the interview which he had given to the press and which had been fully reported in the Italian papers.

The Ambassador then said that, without making any formal request, he would be glad to know whether we should be prepared to agree to the appointment of a Turkish consul-general at Bagdad. The Ambassador emphasised the fact that he did not contemplate a consul-general in Mosul. He recognised that for the present such an appointment might give rise to suspicion and have unfortunate political consequences. Turkey had considerable business interests in Bagdad; questions were constantly arising which there was no convenient machinery for treating and he hoped that I should be able to tell him that, if the proposal were formally made, it would be acceptable. I promised on this point to consult the Colonial Office, who would no doubt communicate with the Government of Iraq, and to give him a reply at a later date.

The Ambassador said that there were two or three other matters which he would like to mention to me quite unofficially and in a friendly spirit, as he had found that they created an unfortunate impression in the mind of his Government. He did not ask for any declaration on the subject at the moment: he wished merely to draw my attention to these small causes of friction. The first was that, whilst the French Government admitted Turkish subjects on an equality with the subjects of European Powers in Syria, the same treatment was not accorded to them in Egypt and Iraq, where the British Government had influence. I said that I had no knowledge of this, but that I would make enquiries about it.

The second point to which his Excellency referred was the great desire of the Turkish Government to have our Embassy at Angora. I replied that there were material difficulties in the way of a change. Angora was not a very agreeable residence and the accommodation for the Ambassador was of the most restricted kind. Your Excellency had expressed to me the intention to be more frequently at Angora than had been customary in the past and I had hoped that, in the coming year, we might begin to make some improvements in the accommodation available for you, but our finances had been very much upset by the industrial disputes of the last twelve months and all estimates were necessarily being reduced by the Treasury to the lowest possible figure.

The Ambassador then enquired whether, besides these material difficulties, there had not been an agreement between the French Government and ourselves upon the subject. I said that that was certainly so, but it was not an agreement which was intended to bind the parties for all time, though it would of course necessitate my consulting the French Government before any change was made. I

did not think it necessary to speak of the reasons which had prompted this agreement in the first instance. I thought it wiser merely to stress the material difficulties in the way of any change at the present time.

Finally, the Ambassador said that he found an impression prevailing that our consular officers in western Persia were encouraging anti-Turkish feeling amongst the Kurds. I told him that there was no foundation for this suspicion; that on the contrary I realised clearly how any action of the kind would endanger the friendly relations which had been re-established between us by the Treaty of Mosul; and that, so far from desiring to foment trouble among the Turkish Kurds, it was our desire to see them peaceful and contented under Turkish rule, for we well knew how sensitive the Turkish Government were upon this subject, how prone they would be to suspect us if there were any trouble, and how injurious these suspicions must be to the good relations which we desired to maintain. I told the Ambassador that he might repeat this assurance formally to his Government as the expression of the policy of His Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

F.O. 424/266, p. 22-24, No. 7

F.O. 371/12322/E. 486

No. 35

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 52

Confidential

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 31, 1927

(Received February 7, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the general report on Turkey for 1926.

2. The report has been prepared by Mr. R.H. Hoare, counsellor of His Majesty's Embassy, with the assistance of the Embassy staff, and I have not added any observations of my own, as I feel that my arrival in this country has been too recent for them to have any special value.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/12325/E.633

ENCLOSURE IN No. 35
TURKEY.
ANNUAL REPORT, 1926
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I- GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Superficially, at any rate, Turkey —if the present régime is indeed Turkey —has had a good year. In foreign relations she has reached a settlement over the difficult Mosul issue without any loss of prestige. In the domain of internal politics the position of Mustafa Kemal has been strengthened by the timely discovery (some say "invention") of a plot to murder him, and the opportunity was seized to eliminate some of the more important, though not the most important, members of the Opposition. As compared with 1925, Eastern Turkey has been quiescent. Heavy increases in taxation have considerably improved the national finances and have not produced any serious opposition. If we look below the surface, it is questionable whether there are grounds for real optimism. The Administration remains as corrupt as ever and discontent is widespread. With a people as docile as the Turks, discontent can last for years without coming to a head, and were it not for the problem of the Kurds, which the Government apparently intend to solve as

the problem of the Greeks and Armenians has been solved, there would be no internal reason to anticipate serious developments. The impending attempt to finish with the Kurds may prove too heavy a task, and an upheaval may result, but only if the loyalty and discipline of the army break down.

II- FOREIGN RELATIONS

General.

2. If Tewfik Rushdi Bey is to be believed, the Turks are convinced, and are profoundly and painfully impressed by that conviction, that they lie between the hammer and the anvil, between the devil and the deep sea, of British and Russian pressure and expansion. The events of the year rather suggest, however that subconsciously and under the impulse of the Ghazi's fanatical attachment to "Westernisation" and of other causes, the problem is beginning to present itself in a somewhat different light, and that they are beginning to think that the choice lies between "Westernisation", with the support of His Majesty's Government, and in the absence of that support, the acceptance of a close understanding with Russia as the only means of staving off the danger, which they believe to be imminent, of Italian aggression.

3. Whether this estimate of the trend of Turkish policy be correct or not, it is certain that for the time being Turkey's aspirations are directed towards the West, and the event which brought about this state of affairs was the Mosul settlement.

4. The report for 1925 showed that a Government had seldom worked itself into a position of such supreme embarrassment. For months the whole Turkish press—a press subject to the strictest discipline— had filled column after column with the grossest abuse, first of Great Britain, and then of the Council of the League of Nations, and proclaimed to Heaven that never would Turkey accept a settlement which did not recognise Turkish sovereignty over the greater part of the area in dispute, including the town of Mosul. And suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, all had changed; the press forgot all about Mosul and the Turkish Government settled down in the spring to the ungrateful task of picking up such crumbs of comfort as His Majesty's Government were prepared to throw them. Not only did they accept their defeat, but before the end of the year the Turks, by the settlement of various outstanding cases, by the attitude of their representatives on the Turco-Iraq Permanent Frontier Commission, and by the marked cordiality with which they welcomed Sir G. Clerk, made it clear that one of the principal objectives of their foreign policy in the immediate future may well be to acquire the political support of His Majesty's Government.

5. There has seldom been so complete a *volte-face*. The change has two distinct aspects, and though an analysis of the motives which have guided the Turks is a perilous enterprise, the attempt should be made.

6. The first aspect was the decision to accept the decision of the League of Nations and to reach a definite settlement with His Majesty's Government. At the beginning of the year it still appeared possible that, though Turkey would not go to the length of actual war (and even this was not universally believed), she would act in the spirit of Trotsky's inscription on the walls of Brest-Litovsk and maintain "neither peace nor war" on the Iraq frontier. It may be that the Ghazi decided that it was time to stop a dangerous game, and it may be that the war party simply lost their nerve. This appears to have been Signor Mussolini's explanation of the phenomenon, as he claimed, more than half seriously, that his visit to Tripoli and his speeches in connection with that visit deserve our gratitude. But fear of Italy was no new thing, and the explanation seems hardly adequate. In looking for a better one, it seems obvious that Chicherin would hardly have exercised his influence in favour of peace. This does not at all necessarily imply that he urged open war, but failed to offer adequate or acceptable support. He would, however, almost inevitably have tried to influence the Turkish Government in the sense of maintaining strained relations with Great Britain. Whatever he may have said, the effect he produced was the precise contrary to the intention here imputed to him. Can he have so far misjudged his modern Turk as to appeal to the solidarity of Asia, and thus shocked Mustafa Kemal's passionate attachment to "Westernisation" and determined him to make cautious approaches to the leading Western Powers? In any case, that is the present situation, and time will show how far these approaches will be pushed and whether they will go to embarrassing lengths. Up to the present they are only shown by a comparative readiness to discuss business with British firms in a business-like fashion and to settle cases in regard to which the most convincing of arguments had hitherto proved unavailing.

7. The second event of importance is the conclusion of the Turco-Greek agreement after protracted and acrimonious negotiations. For a long time it seemed impossible that anything would come of them, not only because of the natural animosity between the two peoples, but because the questions at issue were almost insoluble. Fear of Italy, on the one hand, and strained relations with Serbia, on the other, have no doubt done much to influence the negotiations.

8. With France, relations have declined in cordiality, although a Turco-Syrian frontier agreement was negotiated at lightning speed by M. de Jouvenel, then High Commissioner in Syria, and M. Sarraut, the French Ambassador here. It proved on examination at the Quai d'Orsay to require some remodelling, and until that had been done the French Government refused to communicate a copy to His Majesty's Government, as "it would make you very angry," to quote M. Berthelot. In the summer the "Lotus" incident produced a storm, which was with difficulty calmed, and showed that the cordiality for which M. Sarraut and his predecessors had worked with much expenditure of energy and some loss of personal dignity was not of a texture to stand any severe strain.

9. The general trend of Turkish policy is further illustrated by the fact that, after eight months of hard work, the German Ambassador brought his negotiations for a commercial treaty to a successful conclusion; in conversation, he illustrated the change of the Turkish outlook by saying that when he began to negotiate it was hardly safe to mention "most favoured-nation treatment," whereas in the end he obtained without difficulty the insertion of a clause granting it. On the other hand, the yet more protracted Russo-Turkish negotiations for a similar treaty are constantly concluded in principle, but nothing more emerges. Russian influence, which was reported on all sides to be greatly in the ascendant when the Mosul crisis was at its height, has waned, and a crop of rumours that he was about to resign was the only visible result of a rather melodramatic journey by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has a genuine affection for Russia and for Soviet institutions, in order to meet M. Chicherin at Odessa. But Tewfik Rushdy, who believes himself to have a charmed political life, survived without difficulty.

10. The obscure factor in Turkish foreign relations is Italy, and the Turks have in the course of the year had two or three bad attacks of nerves, so much so that the hard-worked Prime Minister spent a summer holiday visiting every possible landing place south of Smyrna and inspecting coast defences. Italy has taken the place of Great Britain as the bogeyman, and Soviet diplomacy will have to readapt itself. Until Turkey decides to join the League of Nations, which she is now considering, the Soviet Government cannot be said to have lost the game.

11. In general, the year has been a busy one and the Turkish Government have concluded a large number of commercial and other treaties.

Great Britain.

12. Relations with Great Britain have been governed by two factors—the dispute about the Mosul Vilayet and the extremely nationalist internal policy of the Turkish Government. In the former case the dispute was purely between His Majesty's Government and the Turkish Government; in the latter British subjects suffered in no greater degree than any other foreigners resident in the country.

(a) Iraq Frontier Question.

13. For the first half of the year the Mosul negotiations dominated the stage. The decision of the League of Nations awarding the Mosul Vilayet to Great Britain had been given in December 1925. His Majesty's Government had not been called upon by the League to make any frontier rectifications, and in the conversations which followed they acted purely on their own initiative.

14. His Majesty's Ambassador opened the ball in Angora as early as January. His first visit was simply intended to find out what the Turks had in mind. He was not as yet authorised to make them any offer. The Turks, for their part, were not to be caught committing themselves to anything. They wanted His Majesty's

Government to fix the price which they were willing to pay for peace and quietness, and after that they wanted a long time to think it over and get a good deal more than they had any chance of getting. There was nothing for it, therefore, but a visit to England on the part of His Majesty's Ambassador, during which the offer His Majesty's Government were prepared to make was definitely established. On Sir R. Lindsay's return to Angora early in April the real business began, and it proved to be a tedious affair. It was not until June that the treaty of Angora was finally signed. The main features of the treaty were that the Turkish Government recognised the frontier fixed by the League of Nations in return for which the Iraq Government agreed to pay to the Turkish Government, for a period of twenty-five years from the coming into force of the treaty, 10 per cent, on all royalties received from the Turkish Petroleum Company or other companies constituted in accordance with the concession granted to the former company.

15. A further provision was established of a boundary commission to trace on the spot the frontier which had been determined upon. The commission which was to consist of two nominees of the Turkish Government, two of His Majesty's Government and a Swiss President, was to meet within six months from the coming into force of the treaty.

16. A number of articles dealt with the establishment of neighbourly relations, and to facilitate their execution a Permanent frontier Commission, composed of Turkish and Iraqi officials in equal numbers, was appointed. This commission was to meet at least once every six months. The instruments of ratification were exchanged on the 18th July. After the treaty came into force the number of frontier incidents steadily diminished. Occasional raids into villages situated just over the Iraq frontier occurred, but nothing serious, and when the first meeting of the Permanent Frontier Commission took place at Zakho on the 20th October, there was a marked readiness on the Turkish side to co-operate.

(b) General Relations.

17. General relations were very much affected by the Iraq frontier dispute. So long as that continued there was nothing to be got out of the Turks. It was hoped, on the other hand, that after the settlement there would be a distinct change for the better. This hope was only slowly fulfilled, but by the end of the year there was no doubt that a distinct improvement could be noticed.

18. In speaking of better relations one must be careful not to use the word friendly. The Turks are not friendly to any foreigners. They are far too nationalist and too full of themselves to be capable of any sentiments upon which friendship could be established. And in the case of Great Britain there is a further factor which makes for unfriendliness. The most important foreign interests here in the days of the Capitulations were British, and hence their abolition by the Treaty of

Lausanne is really regarded by the Turks as a British defeat, with the result that the legitimate defence of British interests by His Majesty's Government generally arouses suspicion and opposition for fear lest some of the fruits of victory may be snatched away. This state of affairs cannot be remedied quickly; a long process of adjustment will be required, and meanwhile, a good deal of friction is likely to occur.

19. On the other hand political relations may improve. The signature of the Treaty of Angora on the 5th June was certainly facilitated by Turkish fear of Italy. As this fear is still a very lively one, the Turks can be counted upon to provoke us. They will certainly be anxious to keep us potential neutrals, if not allies, in any conflict which they may have with Italy, and will not, therefore commit themselves for the present, at any rate, to any hostile policy which the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics may suggest to them.

20. Specific issues occurring during the year between His Majesty's Government and the Turkish Government regarding British institutions and British subjects are dealt with separately under the next heading.

(c) British Interests.

21. The general effect on foreign interests in Turkey of the extreme nationalist attitude of the Turkish Government is illustrated by the following summary of typical cases in which British subjects and institutions have been involved.

22. Early in the year a notice appeared in the Constantinople press informing employers of foreign chauffeurs that, the profession of motor-driving having been reserved to Turkish subjects, no licence for driving a car would be granted to foreign chauffeurs after March 1926. This notice was part of a general "drive" to induce foreign employers, and particularly foreign business firms, to replace their foreign employees by Moslem Turks; for, although they absolutely refused to differentiate on paper between Moslems and other Turkish subjects, the local officials insisted that only Moslems should be taken on.

23. British firms, banks and trading concerns were naturally among the first to feel the weight of this attack, which they were forced to resist to the best of their ability on account of the fact that their businesses were already none too prosperous; they could, therefore, ill afford the extra cost of taking on at short notice a large percentage of untrained and often unsuitable Turkish apprentices. Those who resisted were however, threatened with closure of their offices if they did not comply within twenty-four hours, and such was the pressure exerted that, except in the case of the Ionian Bank, the firms mostly capitulated or compromised by promising gradually to dismiss their non-Moslem Turkish employees and replace them with Moslem Turks as these could be trained.

24. The "drive", it will be observed, was in the first place, directed towards securing places for Moslem Turks in such minor employments as barmen, boatmen, motor-drivers, door-keepers, shopmen, bank clerks and porters; but it was followed up by a law, dealt with in another paragraph of this report, reserving to the Turkish flag all cabotage, fishing and port services in Turkey.

25. Typical of the methods employed in this campaign was the threat made in February to the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, an important British institution, to the effect that if it did not forthwith dismiss a substantial number of the 8 per cent of foreign employees and technicians which it had previously, by its agreement with the Turkish Government, been allowed to employ, the line would be taken over by the Turkish Government. A compromise was finally arranged, but the railway was forced to dismiss a number of Maltese employees, who were consequently left almost destitute and without any prospect of employment in Turkey.

26. The Ionian Bank, already referred to, Messrs. Whittall, Messrs. Back and Manson and British owners of house property in Constantinople were at various times served with a similar ultimatum, being given in some cases only twenty-four hours to make up their mind. The "drive," however, gradually petered out, and bribery secured for non-Moslem and foreign chauffeurs the licences that nationalism had decreed should be withheld from them.

27. The English High School for Girls was given twenty-four hours in which to take on a Turkish teacher, who had been found by the head-mistress to be unsuitable for teaching small girls, with a threat of closure if it did not comply. The committee did not feel justified in complying with this threat, with the result that the school was closed by the local authorities. After highly acrimonious negotiations in the course of which the Turkish Government displayed both ill-will and bad faith, a compromise was finally reached, and the Turkish teacher was kept on the books during the school holidays and replaced thereafter.

28. All these and other similar cases of undue pressure, contrary to the Establishment Convention of the Lausanne, were brought to the notice of the Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sir R. Lindsay just before the Mosul negotiations were started. He pointed out that this anti-foreign policy was having a serious effect on commercial and public opinion in Great Britain, and was creating an atmosphere in which negotiations would be almost impossible. This protest had a marked effect. None the less, the stupidity or ill-will of local authorities produced other incidents calling for strong protests.

29. The Vali of Chanak refused to allow the members of the Saint Barnabas Pilgrimage to the War Cemeteries on the Gallipoli Peninsula to land at Anzac and Suvla, although prior permission had been obtained from the Turkish Government by this Embassy. As a result motor transport had to be hired at prohibitive rates to

enable the pilgrims to reach the cemeteries from Kelia. In this case, however, a satisfactory assurance governing similar future visits was eventually received from the Turkish Government, which expressed their regret, and stated that severe measures were being taken against the local officials responsible for the "misunderstanding."

30. Similar in tone was the apology for the zeal of a local official at Ayas in preventing the officers and men of the Mediterranean fleet from landing for shooting and recreation at Ayas at the entrance to the Gulf of Alexandretta, other places visited having in accordance with the assurances from the Turkish Government, afforded the landing-parties every facility.

31. The difference between the ending of these two incidents and that of the high school already quoted is not without interest, as less than six months elapsed between the one and the other.

32. No appreciable progress was made in the matter of the property of British subjects situated within the burnt area at Smyrna, which had been expropriated by the Smyrna Municipality under the plea of reconstruction of the town.

33. Working apparently for their own enrichment and brooking no interference from Angora, the municipal authorities have established a Valuation Commission, which has repeatedly and grossly underestimated the value of land belonging to British and other foreign residents by comparison with the amounts at which surrounding property belonging to Turkish subjects is changing hands. The injustice is increased by the fact that the commission is seeking to compel British subjects to accept in payment for their land municipal bonds which are valueless.

34. The only result of the protests of this Embassy and His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna has been to obtain an increase in the valuation of the properties in question; but even the enhanced value does not approach the actual value of the properties, and in the matter of payment in cash no redress has been secured. Very similar to the treatment meted out to British subjects has been that accorded to His Majesty's Government in the matter of the consulate property situated in the burnt area. The local authorities first refused to make any difference between British Government property and that of British subjects. After several ineffectual protests by this Embassy to the Turkish Government at Angora, the Mayor of Smyrna then offered to have the property valued in the usual manner and to allow His Majesty's Government to bid for a new plot of land at open auction, paying for the new plot in part with the municipal bonds received for the old property. Such an offer is obviously valueless, in that it allows the local authorities to undervalue the present property and "rig" the auction, thereby securing a double profit for the municipality. A satisfactory verbal offer was subsequently repudiated. Only towards the end of the year was the title-deed to the old property given to His Majesty's

consul-general, and from this unsatisfactory quagmire of local obstructiveness no effort has yet been able to dislodge the question.

35. The question of the liability of His Majesty's Government to pay taxes for certain British institutions of a quasi-charitable nature, such as the British Seamen's Hospitals at Smyrna and Constantinople, remains in somewhat delicate suspense. In neither of the cases mentioned is the hospital actually under British management, the Smyrna hospital having been leased, with certain reservations as to the treatment of British seamen, to the Italian Hôpital St. Antoine, and the Constantinople Hospital to a local Greek doctor, with similar stipulations.

36. The attitude of the Embassy is that real property tax is payable in the special circumstances, and that a demand for payment should be met by His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna and Constantinople. It is hoped that the adoption of this line will forestall any possible attempt by the Turkish Government to dispute the title of His Majesty's Government and also improve the chances of reviving the former right to immunity from taxation, when and if the two hospitals are once more principally maintained by British funds for British seamen.

France.

37. The Turkish Government have shown themselves impartial in their nationalistic activities, and the flattery sedulously practised by the late French Ambassador at Angora in no way lessened the difficulties of French business men in Turkey.

38. It is however, doubtful whether a stronger representative would have been able to obtain more satisfaction from the Turkish Government, in view of the serious influence which events in Syria have had upon French prestige in the Levant.

39. The settlement arrived at in 1924 for Catholic schools was maintained, but an incident arose in February when the ecclesiastical authorities in Constantinople failed to render liturgical honours to the French representative in Constantinople. It was explained that the whole incident was due to a misunderstanding, and although the general impression left was that liturgical honours would not again be rendered to the French representative in Turkey, the agreement arrived at between the French Government and the Holy See towards the end of the year laid down that the honours were still to be paid, but in a reduced form, which should be regarded rather as a recognition of the services rendered by France to the Church in the past than as implying any protectorate to the French Government.

40. In February M. de Jouvenel, the High Commissioner for Syria, visited Angora and concluded an agreement with the Turkish Government on the subject of the Turco-Syrian frontier. M. de Jouvenel was evidently anxious to remove, as far as possible, any danger of trouble on the northern frontier while French authority was being severely strained in the south. The Turkish Government hoped to draw

profit from the needs of the French and to obtain a frontier rectification which would place the whole of the railway from Islahié to Nissibin in their hands. In this they were disappointed as the agreement which was eventually signed on the 30th May stipulated only minor territorial changes in addition to agreements for mutual neutrality, for arbitration and for extradition. The Commission for the Delimitation of the frontier began its work towards the end of the year under the presidency of General Ernst, and a Customs Agreement between Turkey and Syria was signed on the 23rd December.

41. On the 2nd August an incident occurred which threatened seriously to retard the growth of better relations which had followed the signature of the Syrian Treaty. The steamship "Lotus" of the Messageries Maritimes collided with and sank a Turkish vessel on the high seas and caused the death of some of her crew. On the arrival of the "Lotus" at Constantinople the officer who had been on the bridge was arrested and thrown into prison, all bail being for some time refused. The French Embassy challenged the Turkish claim to jurisdiction over an officer of a French ship in an incident which occurred on the high seas, basing their argument on a principle of international law with which the new Turkish Penal Code was at variance. The press in both countries displayed utmost excitement, but it was eventually decided to refer the case to the Permanent Court of Justice at the Hague, and relations between the two countries returned to a state of calm which some exceedingly outspoken articles in the Paris "Journal" on the subject of modern Turkey hardly sufficed to disturb.

Italy.

42. In spite of periodical alarms, rising at one time to a regular panic on the Bourse, official relations with Italy had been studiously correct and polite. It is commonly said that of all foreigners Italians here have suffered least from Turkish nationalism, because the Turkish Government are really afraid that M. Mussolini might back up his protests with force. Whatever the reason, it is true that the Italians have had less to complain of than any other Power with equally important interests here.

43. There have been several scares during the year. The chief of them was in the spring at the height of the Mosul negotiations. This was a very widespread scare, and the news travelled with extraordinary rapidity. At the same moment when Constantinople was talking about Italian designs, His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reported that the rumour was current there that the Italians were on the point of landing at that remote spot. There is little doubt that on this occasion the Turkish Government were really frightened, and fear of Italy put an end to any further talk of invading the Mosul Vilayet.

44. One cannot altogether blame the Turks for being afraid. At the time of his visit to Tripoli, M. Mussolini made a vigorous speech, which the Turks took as intended for themselves. Several of his later utterances have breathed the same spirit, and have been read anxiously in Turkey. The Turks in their present mood are full of the great things that they are achieving, and they imagine that foreign Powers are equally interested in this spectacle. They think—or pretend to think—that any meeting between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and M. Mussolini must be mainly concerned with Turkey, and it is not easy to convince them to the contrary. M. Orsini Baroni, the Italian Ambassador, has remained admirably calm throughout these excitements. At the moment when rumour was most active he paid a visit to Angora to reassure the Turkish Government as to Italian intentions, and this seemed to have a calming effect.

45. Meanwhile apart from political excitements the Italians have been steadily developing their economic interests in South Anatolia. Their main centre of activity has been Cilicia, which seems to offer greater possibilities than Adalia. Italian firms are active there and work quietly without creating incidents. It is too soon to say whether this economic penetration is merely paving the way to political ambitions in that part of Anatolia, but the interest taken by the Italians in the Dodecanese makes it probable that they are biding their time and would, in case of disorder in Turkey, make use of the opportunity to annex Cilicia for themselves.

United States.

46. There was no progress in Turco-American relations during the year. The American Senate steadily refused to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne, and American interests in Turkey have been safeguarded by temporary agreements. The United States still enjoy the minimum tariff, but the Turkish Government have the right to apply the maximum tariff should the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne be delayed. As America continues to purchase practically all Turkey's crop of high-grade tobacco and large quantities of fruit and carpets, it is unlikely that the Turkish Government will resort to retaliatory methods.

Russia.

47. Relations have continued to be friendly but less demonstratively so than during the previous year. The Turks have realised that Russian help would not be the deciding factor in any quarrel which they might have with a Western European Power, and fear of Italy has drawn Turkey nearer to England and further from Russia. In spite of this, so long as Tewfik Rushdi remains Minister for Foreign Affairs, he will try to make Russo-Turkish friendship as demonstrative as possible, though he must by this time be gradually realising that other Powers are becoming less impressed. His visit to Odessa in November, for example, which he tried to make as sensational as possible, fell very flat. It is thought that the object of the visit

was to warn the Soviet Government of the possibility of Turkey entering the League unless M. Chicherin could suggest a more attractive alternative. Rumours that the Turkish and Soviet Governments were going to take the lead in forming a Pact of Oriental States were probably put about by the Turkish Government and were never treated very seriously.

48. The chief set-back to the influence of the Soviet Government at Angora was the conclusion of the Iraq Frontier Treaty. The Bolsheviks had certainly done their best to prevent any agreement, but, when they saw that it was inevitable, they put the best face on it and did not allow themselves to become ridiculous.

49. In commercial matters there was a dispute at the beginning of the year between the two Governments, which led to a certain amount of bad feeling. In January the Soviet Government prohibited the import into Russia of practically all articles previously exported by Turkey, such as oranges, lemons, nuts and dried fruits. In retaliation the Turkish Government applied the maximum tariff to goods of Soviet origin, but a compromise was eventually reached by which the Turkish Government granted the minimum tariff in return for the removal of import restrictions on the articles specified above.

50. No progress was made during the year in negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty, the chief difficulty is the unwillingness of the Turkish Government to grant diplomatic status and immunity to the representatives of the Vneshtorg.

Persia.

51. A Treaty of "Friendship and Security" was signed at Tehran on the 22nd April. It followed closely the lines of the Russo-Turkish Pact of the previous December. In concluding this treaty the contracting parties appear to have had their eyes on Persian Azerbaijan and Kurdistan respectively, and if its conclusion removes Turkish suspicions that Persia would view with sympathy the establishment of an autonomous Kurdistan, and conversely restrains Turkey from irredentist propaganda in Azerbaijan, nothing but good can result. In the autumn Taimurtash, Persian Minister of the Court, who had spent some weeks on a special and rather mysterious mission in Moscow, visited Angora. The fact that he was accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador at Tehran throughout most of his tour gave birth to gossip about a grandiose Asiatic Pact under Soviet leadership to the great indignation of the Persian Ambassador here.

Greece.

52. The leading feature of Turco-Greek relations during 1926 was the endeavour of the two Governments to reach a settlement of the difficulties which had arisen out of the Convention for the Exchange of Populations signed at

Lausanne in 1923. Such a settlement had in fact, been reached at Angora in June 1925 but the two agreements then signed remained unratified. The chief difficulty arose over the disposal of Greek property in Turkey and of Moslem property in Epirus and Southern Macedonia. The owners of the latter had been dispossessed of their properties in 1912, and the Greek Government were not in a position whether to return the properties or to afford them adequate compensation. Moreover, these properties much exceeded both in extent and value the Greek properties in Turkey, and the latter, with Greece unable to carry out the undertakings given at Lausanne, was not averse from exploiting the situations to her own advantage. Negotiations for a further settlement were, however continued spasmodically throughout the year, and from time to time, as fresh difficulties arose, the Turkish press engaged in anti-Greek propaganda and called upon the Angora Government to make reprisals by confiscating Hellenic properties in Turkey. A certain number of such properties were in fact seized, a step which moved the Greek Government from their inaction and with the moral assistance resulting from Turkish fear of Italian design on the other hand, prepared the way for the final conclusion at Athens on the 1st December of a fresh Turko-Greek Agreement under which all outstanding difficulties were again stated to have been regulated.

53. At the moment of writing, the full text of this agreement has not been published. Extracts from it have however, appeared in the press and from these it appears that the aggregate value of Turkish properties in Greece will be set against that of Greek properties in Turkey, Constantinople and Western Thrace being accepted. Hellenic properties in Turkey, which had been seized by way of reprisal, and Turkish properties in Western Thrace will be restored to their owners, while in view of the comparatively greater value of Turkish property in Greece, the latter has agreed to deposit the sum of half a million pounds sterling to cover the difference. Further, the agreement provides for the final settlement of the vexed *établis* issue for, subject to an exception which must not exceed 200 persons on either side, it interprets this term as persons ordinarily resident in Constantinople and Western Thrace on the 30th October 1918, and the 30th January 1923, respectively. The execution of the agreement is confided to the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations, which has functioned in a somewhat desultory fashion throughout the year.

54. Thus, the year closes with Turco-Greek relations in a satisfactory state, provided of course, that the recent agreement is quickly ratified by both parties. On the Turkish side at least, this seems probable, as the agreement was warmly welcomed by the entire Turkish press, which regarded it as having removed the only obstacle in the way of the development of really friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries.

55. As regards matters of minor interest, it may be mentioned that during the year the Commission for the Delimitation of the Demilitarised Zone in Thrace completed its labours, that a Turco-Greek Agreement was reached regarding the system of administration in Imbros and Tenedos, and that, though a difference of opinion arose regarding the exact Turco-Greek frontier line at the mouth of the Maritza as determined by the Treaty of Lausanne, both parties agreed to accept the decision of the Commissioner of the League of Nations, who in September attributed the disputed island, Chai Ada, to Greece.

Bulgaria.

56. The Boundary Commission set up in accordance with article 2 of the convention respecting the Thracian frontier, which formed part of the Lausanne settlement, finished its work in the spring of this year and sent in its final report on the 20th March. A recommendation put forward by the commission that a permanent body be established to guarantee the observance of the frontiers was rejected by the three Governments represented on the Boundary Commission on the ground that no such permanent control was envisaged by the Treaty of Lausanne, and that any attempt to establish it would meet with a refusal from the Turkish Government.

57. Turco-Bulgarian relations became completely normal with the exchange, on the 2nd August, of the ratifications of the Turco-Bulgarian Treaty which was signed in the autumn of 1925.

58. While direct relations between Turkey and Bulgaria have been few in number, Turkey is far from losing interest in politics of the Balkans, of which she still considers that she forms a part.

59. A visit by the Bulgarian Minister of War to Rome at the end of the year caused some small stir, and fears were expressed that Bulgaria was entering the Italian orbit.

Germany.

60. The outstanding event of the year has been the negotiations and conclusion of establishment and commercial conventions to replace the *modus vivendi* agreement which came into force on the 10th July 1925, and which since then has been renewed every six months.

61. The new agreements were initialled at Angora towards the end of the year, and the official German and Turkish texts are to be signed and ratified early in the new year. The two conventions are practically identical with those contained in the Lausanne Treaty.

62. German trade with Turkey has increased considerably during the year, and the number of Germans in Anatolia has been very marked. German activity in

Turkey has been commercial rather than political; politically, the Germans have kept very quiet. The Turkish Government however, have followed the changes which took place in German foreign policy with close attention. The signature of the Locarno pacts last year, followed by the entrance of Germany into the League of Nations in the course of the year under review, certainly produced a strong impression in Turkey, and must have made the efforts of the Soviet Government to keep Turkey away from the League more difficult.

63. Towards the end of the year the German Reichstag voted a large sum of money to construct an Embassy house at Angora. Work is to be begun at the end of the winter, and the intention is to remove the whole of the Embassy staff to Angora by the end of 1927.

Poland.

64. Poland has from the beginning attached great importance to her relations with Turkey, and was one of the first to establish a Legation at Angora. Apart from a tradition of friendship between the two countries based on a common fear of Russia, the Polish Government has shown itself anxious to cultivate the friendship of Turkey in order to weaken the predominant influence of the Soviet Government at Angora.

65. But Polish activities here are not only political. Polish industry has for some years past been seeking a market in the Near East. There is quite a flourishing trade between Poland and the Balkan States, and great efforts have been made to extend this to Turkey. In the autumn of 1924 a Polish exhibition was held in Constantinople. This led to a certain amount of business which has been actively followed up. The chief activities of the Poles, however, were concentrated on securing the concession for the spirit monopoly. After negotiations, which had dragged on for over a year, the concession was secured by a Polish group during the summer of 1926. A further concession for the establishment of depots at stations along the Anatolian Railway for the sale of agricultural machinery was also obtained. As a result of these successes a Polish colony with a Polish club has been formed in Constantinople, and cordial relations with the Turkish Government have been established.

III- INTERNAL AFFAIRS

General Political.

66. Throughout 1926 the chief internal preoccupation of the Turkish Government was the Kurdish question, but as to what was really happening in the east of Turkey little is known. The Government kept the eastern vilayets closed to travellers and admitted no more than that there was a disorganisation of administration. It may, at any rate, be taken for certain that the east of Turkey was seething with disorder. It remained under military rule, and the independence

tribunals were kept in being, that at El Aziz dealing particularly with the Kurds. The policy adopted by the Turkish Government was the familiar one which they had employed with the Greeks and Armenians —deportation— with the difference that the Kurds proved a great deal harder to get at. What numbers were dislodged, how many perished in the process and on the way elsewhere, and how many were finally dumped in Turkish districts is unknown. A few Kurdish families, apparently those of influential sheikhs, were sent for instance, to Smyrna and Kastamuni. What was more obvious was the reaction of the Kurds to the military measures taken against them. Early in the year there was the rebellion of Sheikh Hajjo at Midiat. At the end of May a revolt broke out in the Bayezid district, involving the loss of a battery of artillery, and until September at any rate, fighting was reported to be going on, no doubt in quite desultory fashion, all the way from the Russian to the Iraq frontier. So long as the Government try to solve the Kurdish problem by breaking up the Kurdish tribal system, the Turkish army is likely to find plenty of occupation wherever the snows have melted in Eastern Turkey. The plan of obtaining Moslem immigrants from Bosnia, the Dobruja, the Caucasus, &c., and planting them in the eastern provinces has not yet assumed any practical shape, partly perhaps, because Moslems abroad may have an inkling that it would mean exchanging fezzes for caps and semi-civilisation for semi-barbarism. By dint then, of keeping nearly half of their entire army in the Kurdish districts and at the cost occasionally of considerable military losses, the Government succeeded in maintaining general control there, in disposing of local outbreaks and in chastising the more important—or the more vulnerable—of the offending tribes.

67. While the Independence Tribunal at El Aziz dealt with Kurdish rebels in the east, the Independence Tribunal at Angora was maintained in order to repress all tendencies in the west of Anatolia towards opposition to the Kemalist policy. During the first months of the year all sorts of persons were arraigned before it for a variety of reasons — open insurrection, writing "reactionary" pamphlets, and personal animosity against the Ghazi. The offenders were selected from all over the west, and as a result, the Turkish population seemed to be properly subdued. But there was more to come. In June a plot against Mustafa Kemal Pasha's life was discovered at Smyrna. The Independence Tribunal hastened from Angora to the spot, hanged the immediate perpetrators, who were hired cut-throats, and a few members of the old Committee of Union and Progress known to be out of sympathy with the Ghazi. The authorities, hoping to make a clean sweep of all possible opposition in the country, had arrested Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha and three other generals, but the army began to murmur, and Mustafa Kemal was fain to let them go. Rauf Bey, the leader of the scattered Opposition, and Rahmi Bey, a former Committee of Union and Progress leader, were abroad, but were accused all the same. Javid Bey and Dr. Nazim were arrested, and the trial shifted to Angora. The evidence of complicity in the conspiracy was negligible. The court

had plainly made up its mind to secure the Ghazi's position by removing Javid, the best brain, and Nazim, the arch-conspirator, of the Committee of Union and Progress. In spite of efforts by Jews abroad to save Javid, he and Nazim were duly hanged — to the lasting shame of the Kemalist régime. Two other Committee of Union and Progress men were executed, and Rauf and others abroad were condemned *in absentia* to prison. The resulting feeling of horror was great, but entirely mute, except for the muttered nickname of "hanging village" for Angora. No disturbance occurred. On the contrary, the Government seemed to have attained their object completely. The country was thoroughly cowed and opposition was eliminated, or at any rate, driven further underground. At the end of the year there were two views held. One was that the Opposition, so-called, were working hard to remove the Ghazi by a *coup d'Etat*. The other view was that the Government, which released Hussein Jahid Bey from exile after the execution of his comrade Javid Bey, were seeking to make terms with each of the leading men in the Opposition. The two views were not mutually incompatible.

68. In any case, the process of modernisation went on steadily in 1926. Ismet Pasha, the Ghazi's right hand man in the execution of his policy, remained in office, and there were only one or two changes of portfolio. The Opposition in the Assembly never dared raise its voice. The people in the country took warning by the gibbets of the independence tribunals. Although, therefore, general discontent was considerable, it never took solid form. The belittlement of religion in the course of general secularisation, the subjection of Moslem family life and custom to a new Civil Code on European lines, the weight of taxation, the habitual maladministration and official corruption, and the increasingly notorious scandal of the Ghazi's private life, all conduced to dissatisfaction among the bulk of the population. But the Turk expect abuses rather than benefits from Governments; those who might have headed an Opposition movement were mostly dead or absent, and — most important of all — the army, in spite of rumours to the contrary, made no move against the Government. The Ghazi may therefore be considered to have succeeded in continuing his plan of modernising the country willy-nilly. No very great advance was noticeable, nor, indeed was it to be expected in so short a time. The system of hacking away at the roots of the tree may produce a better fruit in time, but hardly at once. But there are one or two positive achievements. Revenue improved, and for the first time the budget is likely to balance. Secondly, the area cultivated during the year was believed to be rather greater than hitherto, and in this was seen a justification of the bold policy of abolishing the tithe. Lastly, at the end of the year the Government (as is described in detail below), after protracted negotiations with various firms, concluded an agreement with a Belgian group, and practically came to terms with a Swedish group, for railway construction in accordance with Ismet Pasha's pet scheme. The Government's failure however, to reach any agreement with the British and French

holders of the Ottoman public debt virtually precluded the Government, unwilling though they are to recognise the fact, from obtaining outside financial help for schemes of development.

Minorities.

69. While certain provisions of the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne — in particular, those relating to freedom of movement and the free use of their own languages by the non-Moslem minorities — remained more or less in abeyance, the general position of the minorities was somewhat better than in 1925.

70. The Turkish Government have endeavoured to evade the provisions of article 42 of the Treaty of Lausanne concerning family law and personal status by obtaining declarations from representatives of the minorities that they renounced the rights secured to them under the treaty. Declarations were obtained after some trouble from bodies more or less representative of the Jewish community and of the various Armenian communities, accepting the new Civil Code and its provisions about marriage and divorce, but apparently not formally renouncing article 42. The Government experienced greater difficulty in obtaining a declaration in the sense desired from a packed committee which had no title to represent the Greek community, but by the exercise of much pressure finally succeeded in obtaining a formal renunciation of the first paragraph of article 42. It failed, however to intimidate the Patriarchate into adhering to this renunciation. The question was subsequently taken up by the Greek Government, who submitted it to the League of Nations in a letter dated the 28th September 1926, to the Secretary-General, pointing out that the Turkish Government had by their action violated articles 42 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne, and stating that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of article 44 of the treaty, they would bring the question before The Hague Tribunal. The Turkish contention that, with the application of the new Turkish Civil Code, which treats all creeds alike and is virtually a translation of the Swiss Civil Code, the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne lost their *raison d'être* is hard to justify. It is too soon to judge how this code and other "civilised" codes adopted during 1926 work in practice. There seems however, to be no doubt that the action of the Turkish Government in abrogating the minorities clauses of the Treaty of Lausanne without consulting, and obtaining the consent of, the other parties to that instrument is illegal.

Legislation.

71. Numerous laws were passed during 1926. They deal with public instruction, public hygiene, general administration, real property and fiscal matters which are dealt with more fully below. But the most important new laws are the Civil, Penal and Commercial Codes, and laws establishing sugar, petroleum and alcohol

monopolies. The professed object of the Civil, Penal and Commercial Codes is to bring Turkish legislation into harmony with modern conditions. The Civil Code is a slightly modified version of the Swiss Civil Code, the Penal Code is based on the Italian Penal Code, and the Commercial Code is inspired by Italian and Prussian legislation. The laws establishing sugar, petroleum and alcohol monopolies are no doubt an application in the economic sphere of the policy of Turkey for the Turks. A noteworthy innovation was the introduction of the Gregorian calendar and of the twenty-four-hour day on the first day of the year.

IV- NAVAL

72. The year 1926, like its immediate predecessors, has not seen any marked improvement in the fighting capacity of the fleet, which continues to suffer from the lack of modern units and equipment, though undoubtedly an impetus has been given to the training of the personnel on modern lines, since the arrival in February of a German naval officer, Admiral von Gagem, who took up the appointment of chief naval advisor to the Turkish Government.

73. He is assisted by a German staff of one captain, three commanders and a number of petty officers, who act as instructors in various technical matters.

74. All these ranks and ratings are on the retired list of the German navy, and much secrecy has been adopted as to their existence and movements. They are usually accommodated in the ex-"Goeben" at Ismid, but are occasionally embarked in other units for cruises to Smyrna and elsewhere. It is understood that they are engaged on a two years' contract.

75. An increase in the amount of target practice carried out by sea-going vessels as compared with previous years was evident, and tactical and torpedo craft exercises by day and by night took place on a small scale in November, and were given much prominence in the local press.

76. No new construction has been embarked upon, and the only vessels building at present for the Turkish navy are the three small submarines under construction at Rotterdam, which are expected to be completed in 1928.

77. A number of the older torpedo boats were sold in August for breaking-up purposes.

78. The large floating dock, the construction of which was commenced in 1925 by the Flandre Company at Ismid, was eventually completed early in December, and an attempt was then made to raise the ex-"Goeben" out of the water to enable her repairs to be carried out. The attempt ended with disaster, the dock failing to lift the ship completely clear of the sea, for when about 90 per cent of the weight had been taken, the blocks supporting the vessel in the dock collapsed, and

considerable damage was caused to the dock, amounting to approximately £25,000. Slight damage was also sustained by the battle-cruiser. The cause of the damage was probably due to bad workmanship on the part of the Turkish mechanics employed in constructing the dock but it would also appear that a very small margin of safety was allowed for by the designers, as the dock was designed to lift only 25,000 tons, whereas the ex-"Goeben" displaces some 23,000 tons even with bunkers empty.

79. An interesting point in connection with the damage sustained is that both the vessel and the dock were insured for large sums against possible damage during docking operations, the insurances being effected with English underwriters. A contract for the actual repairs to the ex-"Goeben" had been concluded just previous to the accident with the Union des Cinq Chantiers de France. The choice of a French firm has caused considerable heartburning to the German naval officers, and it is undoubtedly surprising. The German tenders, however, were considerably higher than the French.

80. The budget for the financial year 1926-27 provides a sum of approximately £T. 6 million for the navy. This amount does not include large sums which have been voted in previous years for the repairs of the ex-"Goeben", and only partially utilised, nor does it include the purchase price of the floating dock and amounts voted for the construction of the submarines.

81. More attention is being paid to naval aviation, and an increasing number of naval officers are being trained as pilots and observers. Two large Rohrbach flying boats have been recently added to the naval section of the air force, which now consists of about twelve efficient machines.

V- STRAITS COMMISSION

82. The Straits Commission, a creation of the Conference of Lausanne, entered into its second year of existence in 1926, and in April, in accordance with article 15 of the Straits Convention, forwarded its first annual report to the League of Nations.

83. In this report amongst other matters, the commission expressed the opinion that certain privileges accorded to foreign shipping by the Treaty of Lausanne and the Straits Convention were being withheld and dues levied unjustly, by the Turkish Government.

84. The premature disclosure of portions of this report by a London newspaper aroused a storm of protest in the Turkish press as to the accuracy of the commission's statements. On the whole this publicity has acted beneficially, as the departments concerned, without entirely putting their houses in order, have evinced a readiness to remedy certain of the hardships complained of.

85. The commission at present consists of eight members, the delegates of the following countries being diplomats: Bulgaria, France, Italy and Roumania; while Great Britain, Greece, Japan and Turkey are represented by naval officers. The Turkish delegate, Admiral Vassif Pasha, is *ex officio* President, and the commission is fortunate in possessing in him a chairman of upright character and urbane disposition.

VI- MILITARY AFFAIRS

86. One has to record with regret that the Turkish General Staff still regard military attachés with the deepest suspicion, and so far have not instituted the friendly relations which might have been expected after the settlement of all the questions which might by chance have given rise to war between Great Britain and Turkey.

87. Although on several occasions application was made for permission to attend such manoeuvres and training exercises as took place, no invitation was issued, the reason given being that the exercises were of such a minor nature that it was not worth while inviting military attachés. Nor has permission been obtained to visit any other military institutions. Consequently there is little more known about the army now than there was at the end of 1925.

88. On the other hand, although permission to travel in the eastern vilayets is still unobtainable, the other portions of Turkey can be visited without much trouble, and since in the last month permission to purchase training manuals and to subscribe to military journals has been obtained, it may mean that the closed door is about to be opened, and the new year may see normal relations established.

Strength and Organisation.

89. It is now established that the classes serving with the colours are those of 1903 and 1904 class, giving a total of approximately 90.000 of all ranks.

90. During the year it is believed that the two independent tribal cavalry divisions were disbanded, so that the army now consists of eighteen infantry and three cavalry divisions, organised in nine corps grouped under three inspectorates.

91. Nothing further has been heard regarding the organisation of the inspectorates into skeleton army headquarters, and the proposal is in abeyance.

92. Persistent rumours have been prevalent regarding the formation of a new 19th Infantry Division, but so far this has not yet been identified.

Infantry.

93. Nothing further has been noted in the organisation of the infantry. There is talk now of adding to each regiment a battery of guns for close support work. No

details are known regarding calibre of these guns or regarding the organisation, but a committee is now sitting at Angora and a decision may be expected in the course of next year.

94. At least two regiments, namely, the 23rd and 41st Infantry Regiments of the 7th Division, have now attached to them a battery of field artillery. Whether this is general throughout the units in the eastern vilayets is not known. None have been noted in the units of the IIIrd Corps.

Cavalry.

95. The 8th Tribal Cavalry Division has not been identified for a considerable period. It is believed that it has been disbanded in the middle of the year owing to its Kurdish relations. The 54th Cavalry Division reported to have been raised last year has also not been identified, so that it can be taken that the cavalry of the Turkish army consists of only three divisions, the 2nd Cavalry Division having five regiments and the 1st and 14th three each.

Artillery.

96. No change has been noted.

Other Arms.

97. In spite of every endeavour to be taken over by the school for engineers at Eskişehir, permission has not yet been obtained to do so.

Army Council.

98. This body, called into being at the end of last year for the purpose of studying all questions of defence and organisation, has on more than one occasion held meetings. So far no concrete results have been observed.

Armament and Equipment.

99. Nothing new in the way of equipment has been seen, with the exception of the units of the 1st Division in Constantinople, who have lately apparently been issued a complete set of uniform, boots and gaiters, packs and great coats; but the clothing of other units, e.g., the 7th Division at Adana, is in lamentable state.

100. Although reports have been frequently rising of the purchase of large stocks of rifles and the reconditioning of old stock, the units of the IIIrd Corps, at any rate, do not appear to have been issued with any new arms.

101. The Angora factory has not been completed. It has not been possible to obtain any definite information regarding the amount of ammunition that can be turned out daily. Competent observers have noted that there is a steady traffic

going on at this factory in the reconditioning of gun carriages and pack saddlery and such-like work.

102. Although there is a certain number of buildings at Yakhshi Khan furnished with lightning conductors which, judging from similar buildings at Smyrna, are certainly magazines, there does not seem to be any building work going on at this place, and it is apparent that the construction of the factory here has, at any rate been postponed.

Training.

103. As the General Staff do not invite any of the military attachés to attend manoeuvres, information on this heading is lacking. According to reliable reports, three sets of manoeuvres were carried out:-

- (a) In the neighbourhood of Rodosto, in which troops of the 61st Division took part, and which the general idea was opposing a hostile landing in the neighbourhood of that town.
- (b) In the neighbourhood of Polatli. This was more in the form of a staff exercise, for as far as can be gathered no actual moving of troops took place.
- (c) In the neighbourhood of Scalanuova, where two divisions from Vurla and Sokia were concentrated. The general idea of this scheme, also, was opposing a hostile landing at this place and the subsequent rearguard action in the hills towards Smyrna. In this exercise the third-year students at the Staff College took part.

Operations.

104. Information is lacking regarding what operations the Turks have carried out in the eastern vilayets against the rebellious Kurds. Although perhaps, these cannot be characterised as regular operations, they have, at any rate, forced the Turks to keep on a war footing some 13.000 infantry, with a proportion of guns and cavalry. The establishments engaged have been the - VIIIth Corps, with the addition of the 1st Cavalry Division, 14th Cavalry Division and the 41st Infantry Division from the Vth Corps; part of the VIIIth Corps, and part of the IX th Corps.

105. It was thought in the spring of this year that the rebellion initiated by Sheikh Said had been finally squashed, and all preparations were *en train* to institute a new administrative organisation. Part of these measures however, included deportation of a large number of Kurdish notables with their families, and this, apparently greatly excited the population, who took to the hills after inflicting considerable reverses on the regular troops sent to bring them in. At the present moment, as far as can be ascertained, the troops have instituted a series of fortified posts round the disaffected zone. They hope that with the arrival of heavy

snow on the hills the Kurds will be driven into their arms and dealt with by deportation or otherwise.

VII-AVIATION

106. Although the Aviation Congress, backed by all the powers, military and civil, have been busily engaged throughout the year in raising funds for the air forces of Turkey, and a certain amount of money has been collected, so far, no very great increase in either the number of machines or in the activity of formations has been observed. This may, however, be due to the fact that the aeroplane companies known to be in existence are all stationed in the eastern vilayets, and these have absorbed most of the new material purchased.

Organisation.

107. There has been no radical change in either the organisation or location of the inspectorate.

108. From time to time, reports have been received regarding the formation of new aeroplane companies, one of which went so far as to identify eight such units, numbered 1 to 6, 8 and 13, but until independent confirmation is received these must be taken with caution. The only companies known to exist are:-

In the eastern vilayets: 3
Ghazimir (near Smyrna): 2 training units.
Smyrna (Daragatch): 2 hydroplane.
Eskishehr: 1, perhaps two training units.

Material.

109. At the end of last year it had apparently been decided to concentrate on Junker machines for service squadrons, and Caudrons for instructional purposes. A certain number of Junkers were ordered and have since been delivered, but during the year under review, it is believed that they were found to be not altogether ideal, and no more have been ordered. Instead of these, the authorities have been trying out various other types, amongst which are:-

Moraine Saulnier for school work.
Bleriot Spad.
Devoitine.
Nieuport.
Farman "Goliath".
Rohrbach, two-engined flying-boat.

110. It is impossible to obtain accurate information as to the number of machines that the Turkish Air Force possesses, but the table below gives an approximate estimate of the material on hand:-

	On hand at end of 1925.	Purchased 1926.	Rendered useless 1926.	Balance
War stock	10	....	10	....
Beequet	20	10	14	16
Junker	10	30	10	30
Candron	30	—	18	12
Moraine Saulnier	....	12	....	12
Nieuport	....	6	....	6
Bleriot Spad	....	8	....	8
Hydroplanes-				
Savoia	17	....	5	12
Rohrbach III	....	2	....	2
Devoitine	....	2	....	2
Junker	....	6	....	6

111. This gave a total of 106 machines on hand, but since the figures of those rendered unserviceable in the eastern vilayets are incomplete, and it is understood that the wastage there was considerable, it is unlikely that there are more than eighty machines fit for service at the end of this year.

Training Establishments.

112. The school at Ghazimir continues to turn out some forty pilots a year. The three French officers who were engaged as instructors in 1925 went on leave in July of this year and stated that they were not coming back.

113. A new training school has been started at Eskişehir, at which there is at least one German instructor, but details of this establishment are lacking. It is believed that after passing out of Sevdikeui pilots are sent here for instruction in army co-operation, air fighting, bombing, &c. It is here, also, that new types of machines are tried out, tactical principles and anti-aircraft methods are evolved.

114. A school for mechanics was opened at Yeşil Keui (San Stefano) in June, which proposes to turn out thirty efficient mechanics a year.

Aviation Factory.

115. There took place in October, what was described by the local press as the inauguration of the aeroplane factory at Kaiserie. It afterwards transpired that only the foundation stone of the director's house was laid, and as far as can be ascertained, this establishment, which is being erected by Junker, is not an aeroplane factory, but a repair shop, for the company has no intention of giving away all its secrets to the Turkish Government.

Operations.

116. According to the most reliable information, three companies have had their headquarters at Diarbekir and Mardin during the whole of the year; other

reports have given as many as eight companies, but this has not yet been confirmed. Practically no mention has been made in the papers regarding these companies, nor has the General Staff vouchsafed any information regarding their activities except to the extent that they have proved of great value.

Civil Aviation.

117. The Compagnie internationale des Transports aériens continued to run an efficient regular daily service between Bucharest and Constantinople from April to October.

118. This company, which last year, as the Franco-Roumain, maintained a regular service between Angora and Constantinople, were not allowed to renew their concession for 1926, and this was given to Junker. The latter, however, owing, it is believed, to the difficulties of arranging an efficient ground organisation, were unable to maintain any service.

119. The Italian Aero Express Company obtained at the end of 1925 the concession to establish a hydroplane service between Constantinople and Brindisi, viâ the Piræus. The terminus at Buyuk Déré, with hangars, landing slips, &c. was finished at the end of July in all essentials. Although several trips have been made and the company is prepared to take anyone desirous of doing this journey, there has been no regular service.

VIII. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL (1925) AFFAIRS

120. The acute nationalist spirit so apparent during the year 1925 was maintained for the major part of the period under review, but of late there has been a change, which began after the resignation of the Ministers of Finance and of Commerce, Hassan and Ali Djenani Beys. The petroleum and benzine monopoly, the turnover, the State entertainment and profit taxes, which were mainly their work, were ratified by the Nationalist Assembly towards the latter part of 1925 for application during the fiscal year 1926-27, are now being revised as they caused much hardship and discontent.

Crops.

121. With the exception of the raisin and fig crops, practically all the crops have been disappointing, and have in some cases fallen below those of 1925.

Industry.

122. The law for the encouragement of industry, which grants certain customs immunities on material for the equipment of factories, has given a slight impetus to industry.

123. A noteworthy development is the establishment of two sugar factories—one at Oushak and the other at Alpoulou, which were recently opened with the utmost pomp and ceremony.

124. Apart from the strenuous efforts which are being made to convert Angora into a modern city, no other industrial developments merit individual mention.

Public Works: Railways.

125. During the greater portion of the year progress in railway construction has been slow on the Angora-Sivas and Samsoun-Sivas Railways, due to a great extent to the lack of funds. Since Behidj Bey has taken over the portfolio for Public Works, the resumption of work in certain sectors of the regions to be traversed by the new lines, which was being carried on spasmodically as the contractors obtained cash to pay their workmen, has been renewed with some vigour. Despite the impetus given by the new Minister, the work of construction has always been hampered by lack of money, and reports current during the past two years to the effect that the Government were gradually coming round to the view, so often expressed, that without foreign aid many years would elapse before the railway programme could be carried out, have now been confirmed.

126. Two important conventions have now been approved by the Council of Ministers consortiums for railway construction by foreign groups; but before going into details in this connection a review of the Government's railway programme and of the extent to which it has been carried out may be of interest.

Programme of railway construction-

1. The Angora-Sivas line (Angora-Cesarea-Sivas). Length: 500 kilom. approximately (broad gauge)
2. The Samsoun-Sivas line. Length: approximately 380 kilom. (broad gauge).
3. The Heraclea-Angora line. 300 kilom. (metre gauge).
4. The Oulou Kichla-Cesarea line (broad gauge). Length: 250 kilom. approximately.
5. The Keller-Malatia-Arghana-Diarbekir line. Length: 430 kilom. approximately (metre gauge).
6. Samsoun-Bafra-Alatcham and Samsoun-Tcharchamba-Terme lines. The former a length of 170 kilom. and the latter 80 kilom. (Decauville).
7. The Kutahia-Tavchanli-Euksugueul line. Length: 220 kilom. approximately (metre gauge line).
8. The Trebizond-Erzeroum line.
9. The Kotch-Hissar- Serayenu line. 90 kilom. in length (metre gauge).
10. The Tcheurekli-Hadjibairam line.

11. The Konia-Adalia line.

The position to date as regards these railways is as follows:-

- (1) 240 kilom. are completed and are now under exploitation.
- (2) 51 kilom. completed.
- (3), (4), (5). With the exception of expenditure in connection with the *tracé* of the line, no work has been carried out.
- (6) Work on the Samsoun-Tcharchamba-Terme section has been completed as far as Tcharchamba and is now exploited (35 kilom.). No work has been undertaken on the Samsoun-Bafra-Alatcham sector.
- (7) Work of levelling completed up to Kilometre 12.
- (8), (9), (10), (11). No work of any kind undertaken to date.

Thus, only 338 kilom. of rail have been laid down, but if the final ratification of the two conventions are carried out, Turkey will be endowed within a period of five years with the major portion of the railway systems which form the programme of its Government.

127. The conventions are as follows:-

A Franco-Belgian group, known as the "Société industrielle de Travaux", having its headquarters in Paris, 60 per cent. of the capital of which is Belgian, and the remainder French, except for a small German interest, obtains the concession for the construction of the following public works:-

- (1) The Cesarea-Sivas section of the Samsoun-Sivas Railway.
- (2) The Tourhal-Sivas section of the same line. (Tourhal is situated at Kilometre 178 from Samsoun.) The total length of the two lines specified above is 400 kilom.
- (3) And an agreement has been reached, in principle, in regard to the extension of the Samsoun-Tcharchamba-Terme line, of which the construction has already been completed as far as Tcharchamba, as well as the construction of the Samsoun-Bafra-Alatcham section.

128. A Swedish group is in negotiation for the following constructional work:-

The Diarbekir-Arghana-Malatia-Keller line, and

The Heraclea-Zafranboli-Irmak line, with a branch to Seuyuduzu (formerly designated as the Heraclea-Angora line).

129. In order to carry out these undertakings the National Assembly has voted laws relative to -

- (1) The modification of article 1 of the law of the 7th April 1926, in regard to the Heraclea-Angora Railway. This law increases to £T. 50 million, the credit of £T. 25 million voted in the previous law.

- (2) The issue of guarantee bonds, to a maximum of £T. 200 million to be devoted to railway, port, irrigation and drainage schemes.

These bonds are to be redeemed within a period of ten years and are secured on the revenue derived from the tobacco, spirits and match monopolies.

130. It should be remarked that of the three monopolies thus hypothecated, the tobacco and spirit revenues were already ceded to the Ottoman Public Debt.

Roads.

131. Some fresh work has been accomplished, notably in the vilayets of Angora, Constantinople and Trebizond, while repairs have been effected over a considerable portion of the Erzeroum section of the Trebizond-Erzeroum-Kizil Dize transit route.

Port Construction.

132. Nothing has been done in this connection during the period under review, but there is now every hope of port construction being taken in hand, for, in addition to railway construction, the two foreign consortiums have also been negotiating in respect to the construction of the ports of Samsoun and Heraclea.

Wireless.

133. The construction of wireless reception and transmission stations at Angora and Constantinople is now approaching completion and the Angora station will be finally completed early in 1927. The contract for this undertaking was secured by the "Compagnie française de Télégraphie sans Fil".

Customs, Port and Shipping.

134. During the winter and spring, merchants found great difficulty in obtaining prompt delivery of their goods, owing to congestion in the port of Constantinople, due to several factors, of which were the main:

- (1.) Congestion caused in customs sheds owing to delay in the clearance of goods from the customs. Some consignees delayed clearance as the result of exchange fluctuations and other causes, and lack of organisation in respect to stevedoring was another contributory factor.
- (2.) Lack of organisation in connection with the delivery of goods to the customs by the new Port Monopoly.
- (3.) Lack of storage accommodation.

135. Conditions have now improved owing to the efforts of the Quay Company and customs, which have acquired and continue to acquire more storage accommodation. In fact, when all arrangements have been completed the port of Constantinople will be in a position to provide accommodation in excess of the requirements of pre-war days.

136. Shipping agents and merchants continue to be faced with difficulties in respect to customs legislation, which in many instances is vexatious and serves no useful purpose, legislation in respect to short shipped and over-carried goods being particularly stringent and annoying. Endeavours are being made, however, to obtain some modifications in respect to the exactions, but the fact that the authorities are now considering the establishment of a free zone at Constantinople is an indication that they are beginning to realise the desirability of affording better facilities to traders.

The Port of Constantinople.

137. Towards the close of 1925 it was announced that the monopoly for the handling of goods in the port of Constantinople would become operative and shipping agents especially looked upon this new formation with some apprehension. It is feared that this monopoly, the organisation of which lacked experience, would be extremely prejudicial to trade especially at a time when considerable congestion in the port existed. Hitherto shipping agents were themselves responsible for the delivery of cargoes to the customs, these operations being carried out by competent tally clerks and labour. Happily the Port Monopoly were persuaded to make an arrangement which allowed agents to sort out cargoes and supervise their discharge into lighters on behalf of the Port Monopoly. A difficulty arose with the customs however, when agents required the Customs Administration to absolve them of all responsibility in respect to cargoes handed over from the ship's side to the Port Monopoly against the presentation to the customs of a receipt for the goods from the Port Monopoly.

Cabotage.

138. On the 1st July 1926, the transfer of cabotage to the national flag became a *fait accompli*. The benefit derived therefrom has naturally been nil from an economic point of view. On the contrary, owing to lack of Turkish bottoms, freights in respect to inter-port traffic rose to some extent.

Trade during 1925.

139. Whilst the volume of Turkey's overseas trade showed an increase in 1925 as compared with the preceding year, the adverse trade balance, which in 1924 had been reduced to £T. 35 million, rose in 1925 to nearly £T. 50 million.

140. According to Turkish customs returns for 1925, imports amounted to £T. 242,314,118 as compared with £T. 193,611,048 in 1924, an increase of £T.48,703,070, or 25 per cent.

141. In any comparison, on the basis of value, of the volume of Turkey's imports and exports in 1924 and 1925, due account should be taken of the depreciation of the Turkish lira, the average rate for 1924 being 836 piastres to the

pound sterling, whilst the average rate for 1925 was 888 piastres to the pound sterling.

142. The value of exports in 1925 was £T. 193.119.456 as against £T. 158.867.957 for the preceding year, an increase of £T. 34.251.499, or 21 per cent.

143. On the basis of weight, imports in 1925 amounted to 732.234 tons as against 702.612 tons in 1924, whilst the weight of exports in 1925 was 668.851 tons as compared with 633.979 tons in 1924.

144. As in preceding years, cotton and cotton goods formed Turkey's principal import, amounting in value to £T. 74.127.634 or 30.6 per cent of total imports.

145. The chief imports were:-

		1925	1924	1923
	Value.	£T.	£T.	£T.
Cotton and cotton goods	...	74,127,634	63,571,484	53,939,768
Cereals	...	22,691,092	23,005,732	14,642,731
Metals	...	21,556,081	16,168,158	7,750,966
Colonial goods	...	20,863,710	17,862,321	15,094,098
Woollens	...	17,625,521	13,203,837	8,897,278
	Weight.	Kilog.	Kilog.	Kilog.
Cotton and cotton goods	...	29,433,001	26,259,869	25,030,070
Cereals	...	154,918,578	207,801,295	161,408,351
Metals	...	128,240,345	97,309,001	33,991,651
Colonial goods	...	75,834,998	60,340,494	54,075,641
Woollens	...	3,948,555	3,088,079	2,600,964

146. Imports of the five groups of articles mentioned above constitute 64 per cent. of the total imports into the country.

147. The principal countries exporting to Turkey were, in the order named: Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany, France and the United States of America.

148. The following table shows the relative position of these countries in 1923, 1924 and 1925:-

1925		1924		1923	
	£T.		£T.		£T.
Italy	43,421,077	Italy	40,983,960	Italy	28,362,941
United Kingdom	37,846,817	United Kingdom	34,278,190	United Kingdom	25,073,477
Germany	27,442,072	Germany	19,114,015	France	13,229,353
France	26,077,966	France	18,297,973	U.S.A.	11,099,352
U.S.A.	19,654,074	U.S.A.	11,377,884	Germany	9,222,073
	Kilog.		Kilog.		Kilog.
Italy	58,587,543	Italy	61,249,973	Italy	46,732,076
United Kingdom	85,461,150	United Kingdom	124,721,124	United Kingdom	66,842,560
Germany	90,547,106	Germany	64,269,132	France	32,214,596
France	43,334,226	France	36,094,468	U.S.A.	70,911,859
U.S.A.	88,736,222	U.S.A.	65,080,659	Germany	19,127,333

149. Imports from Italy in 1925 amounted to 18 per cent. of the total; from the United Kingdom, 16 per cent.; from France, 11 per cent.; from Germany, 11 per cent.; and from the United States of America, 8 per cent. The rapid increase in the value and weight of imports from Germany is worthy of remark.

150. Of Turkey's exports, tobacco heads the list with 31 per cent. of the total; followed by fruit, 19 per cent.; cotton, 8 per cent.; and wool, 6 per cent.

151. The following table shows the principal exports from Turkey:-

Exports	Value.	1925 £T.	1924 £T.	1923 £T.
Tobacco	...	60,984,424	46,581,432	20,482,715
Fruit	...	37,617,682	39,477,850	20,833,387
Cotton	...	15,476,821	11,947,999	6,701,193
Colours, dyes, opium, &c.	...	11,819,809	9,299,069	7,155,745
Wool	...	11,548,110	13,170,269	8,214,554
	Weight.	Kilog.	Kilog.	Kilog.
Tobacco	...	34,490,909	26,874,844	24,524,025
Fruit	...	82,954,078	105,062,556	74,466,442
Cotton	...	17,665,524	12,694,224	9,915,359
Colours, dyes, opium, &c.	...	42,994,963	35,751,814	32,704,834
Wool	...	5,896,547	8,534,383	6,730,107

152. As regards the principle countries importing Turkish produce, the most remarkable features are the outstanding position of Italy and the steady rise of Germany.

153. The following table shows the principal importing countries:-

1925		1924		1923	
	£T.		£T.		£T.
Italy	50,490,718	Italy	34,883,764	United Kingdom	15,756,670
Germany	27,662,802	United Kingdom	23,281,808	Italy	15,200,671
U.S.A.	25,102,934	Germany	20,551,136	France	10,504,219
France	24,182,022	France	18,786,621	Germany	7,625,778
United Kingdom	17,441,277	U.S.A.	16,391,604	U.S.A.	6,749,602
	Kilog.		Kilog.		Kilog.
Italy	89,625,569	Italy	67,409,557	United Kingdom	50,006,887
Germany	46,330,224	United Kingdom	70,858,114	Italy	47,834,191
U.S.A.	55,211,641	Germany	39,071,683	France	26,831,735
France	39,938,575	France	41,709,803	Germany	11,810,420
United Kingdom	52,884,929	U.S.A.	34,060,301	U.S.A.	22,791,253

154. Of Turkey's exports, 26 per cent. were consigned to Italy (no doubt a large proportion to Trieste in transit for Central Europe), 14 per cent. to Germany, 13 per cent. to the United States of America, 13 per cent. to France, and 9 per cent. to the United Kingdom.

155. The heavy volume of imports in 1925, in conjunction with the partial failure of the 1926 harvest to realise expectations and the application of new and vexatious taxation, has had an adverse effect on the import trade of Turkey during 1926, and when customs statistics for 1926 are available it will probably be found that there has been a marked falling off in imports as compared with 1925. Some indication of this decline is to be found in the Board of Trade returns for the first eleven months of 1926, which shows that exports of cotton goods from the United Kingdom to Turkey fell from 89,972,900 square yards (value £2,417,073) in 1925, to 52,546,900 square yards (value £1,360,827) in 1926.

156. This decrease cannot be attributed to any marked falling off in the proportion of the United Kingdom's share of trade, as, according to local importers of cotton textiles, Italy, the principal competitor of the United Kingdom in this market, was equally affected.

Government Finance.

157. The date of the commencement of the Turkish financial year was changed from the 1st March to the 1st June, and an interim budget was therefore necessary to bridge the gap of three months thus created.

158. The budget provisions for this period were based on those for the financial year 1925-26, and they presented no feature of particular interest.

159. The budget for 1926-27 was however, remarkable for the number of new or increased taxes applied, involving the creation of a general turnover tax, petrol and sugar monopolies, a State entertainment tax and new succession duties, whilst the profits tax, the spirit revenues and the tax on animals were remodelled so as to bring in a greatly increased yield.

160. The estimates of revenue, as finally approved by the Assembly, amounted to £T. 190,158,854, as against £T. 153,046,854 for the preceding year, whilst the credits voted amounted to £T. 190,091,784, an increase of only £T. 1,613,420 over the credits for 1925-26.

161. Thus, for the first time under the present régime, the Ministry of Finance was able to present a balanced budget, but it should be remarked that Turkish budgetary provisions are largely tentative, and there can be little doubt that the recurring deficits shown in past years have been decreased or wiped out altogether, either by compression in expenditure or by larger revenues than were shown in the estimates.

162. Estimated public expenditure was distributed as follows:-

	Per cent. of the total.
Internal and external security	48.6
Development (public works, &c.)	20.0
Civil Service	26.4
Public Debt	5.0

163. The principal allocations were to the following Departments:-

	1926-27 £T.	1925-26 £T.
National Defence	64,173,705	48,255,674
Finance and Pensions	24,508,250	29,934,694
Public Works	14,279,631	18,278,305
Gendarmerie	10,540,000	10,972,532
Public Debt	10,136,108	10,665,607

As regards revenue, it will be observed that the estimates for 1926-27 showed an increase of £T. 37,112,000 over those for the preceding financial year, this increase being derived mainly from the following sources:-

	1925-26 1,000 £T.	1926-27 1,000 £T.	Increase 1,000 £T.
The tax on profits	3,500	9,000	5,500
The tax on domestic animals	5,100.5	9,451	4,350.5
Succession duties	.....	1,000	1,000
Customs duties	30,000	39,000	9,000
Consumption tax	.....	15,000	15,000
State entertainment tax	.....	1,000	1,000
Other consumption taxes	16,360	21,046	4,686
Tobacco monopoly	10,500	15,000	4,500
Sugar monopoly	.....	4,000	4,000
Petrol monopoly	.....	4,000	4,000
Spirit revenue, now a monopoly	3,000	5,025	2,025

But, on the other hand there have been reductions in certain revenues, of which the following are noteworthy:-

	1925-26 1,000 £T.	1926-27 1,000 £T.	Reduction 1,000 £T.
Impôt de guerre	1,000	.....	1,000
Telegraphs	5,550	4,500	1,050
Sale of State property	10,000	1,000	9,000
Tax on agricultural products	15,355	.....	15,355

164. The general fiscal policy of the Government appears to have been to shift the burden of taxation from the farmer and peasant on to the shoulders of the merchant and town dwellers, and the stream of laws, ill-conceived and loosely drafted, which were hastily introduced to give effect to the new or increased taxes

provided for in the budget for the current year disorganised trade and commerce and caused discontent amounts all classes.

165. The Government have recognised that this legislation is defective, and draft laws are now before the Assembly fundamentally to alter the law relative to the turnover tax, to reduce the petrol monopoly tax and to make numerous alterations in the tax on profits.

166. The creation of new monopolies appears to be the Turkish Government's principal solution of their financial difficulties, and the following monopolies are now in existence: tobacco, sugar, benzine and petrol, matches, spirits, revolvers and revolver ammunition, and industrial explosives.

167. The multiplication of new monopolies disorganises and discourages trade, adds to the already high cost of living and is a burden and vexation to the public in general.

168. The question of financial obligation of the Turkish Government to the foreign bondholders of the Consolidated Debt need not be discussed at any length. It is sufficient to say that the external debt of Turkey, after repartition, amounts to £T. 84,597,495 (gold), but no agreement has yet been reached in regard to the question of the annual sum to be allocated to interest and sinking fund.

169. In the meanwhile the Government propose to hypothecate to the Belgian and Swedish railway groups the revenues derived from the tobacco, spirits and match monopolies, on the first two of which the Ottoman Public Debt has a direct lien.

170. As regards the provisional estimates for the financial year 1927-28, the total expenditure approved by the Council of Ministers amounts to £T. 188,798,779 a reduction of approximately £T. 1 million as compared to the vote for the current year.

171. Although no detailed estimates of revenue have been published up to the present, it appears probable that no new taxes will be applied owing to the general feeling of discontent arising from the heavy burden of existing taxation.

172. The following comparative statistics, prepared by the Ottoman Bank, are an indication of the extent of this burden:-

	National income	Total revenue from taxation.	Percentage of taxation to income.
	(Millions of £T.)		
1925	700	196	28
1926	700	235	33.5

N.B.- The figures given in column 2 are inclusive of municipal taxes.

F.O. 371/12325/E.633

No. 36

Lancelot Oliphant, Foreign Office, to the Government Hospitality Fund

Urgent

FOREIGN OFFICE, 11 February 1927

Sir,

I am directed by Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain to inform you that Nejati Bey, Turkish Minister of Public Instruction, is making a tour of various European countries to investigate the different educational systems in force.

His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, in reporting on Nejati Bey's tour, writes as follows:-

"He is a man of energy and very rough. He speaks little French and I am not sure that he has ever been abroad before. He is an intimate associate of the Ghazi, and I think it would not be amiss if he were impressed both with the friendliness of our disposition and with the greatness of our institutions."

In view of Sir G. Clerk's recommendation the Secretary of State, in a recent conversation with the Turkish Ambassador, took an opportunity of mentioning Nejati Bey's tour and said that if he was proposing to visit this country, His Majesty's Government would welcome the opportunity of facilitating any enquiries he might desire to make.

The Turkish Ambassador has now informed Sir Austen Chamberlain that Nejati Bey is glad to accept this offer and will arrive in this country on February 21st, accompanied by two officials of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Mehmed Emin Bey and Namik Ismail Bey.

The Secretary of State has been in consultation with the Board of Education, who are prepared to make arrangements for the Turkish Minister to meet representatives of the local education authorities of London and Manchester and to visit a public school. Arrangements will also be made by this department to enable Nejati Bey to visit either Oxford or Cambridge.

The programme contemplated will inevitably involve certain travelling and entertainment expenses for luncheons etc. While it has been made clear to the Turkish Ambassador that Nejati Bey will not be the guest of His Majesty's Government while in this country, Sir Austen Chamberlain hopes that Lord Peel may be prepared to consider favourably the suggestion that the Government Hospitality Fund should pay the travelling and entertainment expenses connected with the Minister's visits during his stay in this country.

(Signed) LANCELOT OLIPHANT

F.O. 371/12322/E.612

No. 37

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 101

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 4, 1927
(Received March 10, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that, as anticipated in my despatch No.97 of the 2nd instant, the National Assembly on that day voted the extension till the 3rd March 1929, of the law for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, but refrained from prolonging the mandate of the independence tribunals.

2. İsmet Pasha proposed this measure before a crowded house in a speech of some length. He recalled the benefits which this law and the tribunals had conferred on the country. The main danger which they had averted was not the rebellion of Sheikh Said nor the attempt on the Ghazi, but the threat to the peaceful development of the country which lay in all internal disturbance. The Government had been stupefied to find that certain politicians had conspired to create disorder in the country and to take a precious life. The Prime Minister then referred to the obligation under which the Government had unfortunately found itself of closing down the Opposition. He flattered himself that many of the Deputies thus dealt with now recognised the wisdom of the step. In order that the country's work and productivity might reach its utmost development, the Government had decided to continue the law for the maintenance of public tranquillity, but feeling that a normal situation was desirable, they intended to abolish the independence tribunals. The Pasha concluded with a warning. The Government, he said, fully realised that, if public disaster were to be avoided, statesmen dealing with great events must act without the least hesitation. He hoped that his words be understood by anyone who might in the future have the audacity to defy the National Assembly. It was perhaps, not surprising that after this no voice was raised in dissent from the Government's proposals.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/266, p.40, No.21

No. 38

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 133

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 15, 1927

(Received March 21, 1927)

Sir,

The signature of the commercial treaty between Turkey and the Soviet Union, which I am reporting separately, has been accompanied by an outpouring of expressions of friendship for Turkey's most important neighbour. As this treaty has synchronised with the despatch of His Majesty's Government's note to Moscow and the Italian recognition of Bessarabia as part of Roumania, the Turkish journalist, who in this country is inevitably somewhat barren of ideas and suitable subjects of discussion, has enjoyed himself in making a great deal out of very little. In the first place he has emphasised that the pivot of Turkey's foreign policy is her friendship with Russia, and he has been careful to maintain the most discreet silence about the League of Nations. This silence is probably intentional, for a short time ago the League of Nations had become rather a favourite subject for leader writers, who sought a change every now and then from singing the praises of the Ghazi and his great reforms and permitted themselves to wander further afield. They now appear to have forgotten the existence of the League which is temporarily overshadowed by the greater prestige of Russia.

2. Of foreign countries the three whose movements are watched with the greatest interest are Russia, Italy and Great Britain. I find it hard to believe that Russia at the present moment occupies as important a place in the Turkish mind as either Italy or Great Britain, and I suspect that she is purposely thrust into the foreground to impress the others. To a certain extent Russia may be regarded as a friend in need, even if not a very reliable one, and the extent of the need can be measured by the warmth of the friendship. Were it not for the preoccupation felt by the Turks as to the future movements of Italy and the growing signs of concord which they are quick to detect and to exaggerate between Italy and Great Britain, cordiality towards Russia would be considered less imperatively necessary. I am inclined to think therefore, that the prominence given to Russia betokens a certain need for consolation which the thinking Turk must sometimes feel when he tries to probe the future of his country.

3. On the surface everything is quiet in Turkey. Politically no movement of opposition can be detected. The Ghazi has killed off all those rivals on whom he could lay hands, and the others, whom he was forced by their popularity with the army to leave at large, do not appear to think the moment ripe for action. The worst enemy of the present régime however, is economic rather than political. It is easier to wring the necks of rivals than to remove the causes which make the

appearance of new rivals probable. Turkey is no longer a great Power nor has she got the economic resources of a great Power. The present Government has the sense to realise the former, but its estimate as to its economic resources is perhaps less sure. In a recent discussion with a shrewd observer of Turkey I gathered that the population generally had grown quieter and less nervous, because they had begun to adapt themselves to a lower scale of living and had come to realise that the reduced output of the country was not the result of an economic crisis, but had come to stay. That is a wholesome frame of mind for the average citizen, but it is less wholesome so long as the Government fail to adapt themselves with equal philosophy to this unpleasant truth, for if Turkey is to produce less for years to come, she has to spend less, and above all she has to spend on her army. Until the Government are prepared to reduce their budget to what the country can properly support they will be storing up difficulties for themselves in the future. So far I see no signs that this lesson is being brought home to them sufficiently to make them change their way of living, and İsmet Pasha (see the "Times" of the 10th March) maintains that the productivity of the country is increasing. They know they have for the present reached the limit of taxation and are trying no further experiments in that direction. They are now turning their attention to the development of railways, hoping that somehow the money required will be forthcoming, and that, if and when the railways are constructed, they may open up new sources of wealth. It is all rather in the nature of a gamble, but until the gamble has failed, there is sufficient optimism about to make the future seem quite satisfactory and to keep people quiet. Indeed, the Italian cloud on the horizon is still but a small one and will only assume dangerous dimensions if all the present hopes are falsified. Italy, therefore is being watched carefully but without excessive anxiety for the moment, and Italy's friend, Great Britain, is being treated with greater politeness so that she may not join hands with the possible aggressor. So long as the future of Turkey continues to be in the nature of a gamble, she will probably be slow on her side to commit herself to any departure in foreign policy, while she waits to see what the future may bring her, and it goes without saying that other Powers will show equal circumspection in their dealings with her.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

No. 39

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 158
Confidential

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 30, 1927
(Received April 4, 1927)

Sir,

It is nearly a year ago since Sir R. Lindsay reported in his despatch No. 199 of the 20th April on a typical social function at Angora. Such functions have increased in number and have been decidedly indecorous. Now however, a change seems to have intervened as the result probably of a hint given to Ismet Pasha by Sir George Clerk.

2. A ball was given for the Ghazi a few days ago at which his Excellency danced with the ladies of the diplomatic circle in strict order of precedence and remained strictly sober throughout the dancing and during the "conversation" which he subsequently had with Mr. Hadow.

3. I should explain that the Ghazi has formed a curious habit of delivering, in the course of the ball, rambling disquisitions on his political views and experiences during the great war to such members of the company who happen to be in his presence at the moment when the spirit moved him. This usually occurred at any time between 2 and 4 A.M., by which hour his Excellency had hitherto been in a state of exaltation which detracted from the significance of his words. On the present occasion, however, after dancing with Mrs. Hadow, the junior diplomatic lady, he sent for Mr. Hadow, and some of his utterances are worthy of record. He talked for an hour and a half, and though champagne was in abundant evidence, he remained sober throughout.

4. His Excellency first talked at considerable length of the lessons of the Palestine campaign, making his interpreter blush by the vigour of his denunciations of General von Falkenhayn. These reminiscences led him after passing reference to that "low Jew-born leader of Macedonian bands, Enver," to the founders of the Turkish Empire and back to modern events, and so to the statement that, though Mr. Lloyd George's policy had caused him very great difficulties, he had all along known that the British nation was not at heart hostile to Turkey, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government had shown that he was right, and he trusted that they would continue in their present course.

5. Mr. Hadow reports that his Excellency returned three times to this topic. He described Great Britain as the greatest of all nations in the world; the world's greatest coloniser; the nation which, by his valour and perseverance, had succeeded in building up the greatest of all empires; the people in whose fairness he trusted. Intermingled with these flattering references to Great Britain, and

almost as if there was a definite purpose in it, was his abuse of the Jews, who were, he said, a menace to Turkey. In his mind their dangerous characteristics appeared to be personified in the person of Halidé Edib Hanoum, wife of Adnan Bey, who at the time of the occupation had worked against us to bring about an American mandate over Turkey. It was, he said, a curious trick of fate that the country which she had then consistently sought to damage should now be affording her shelter. Mr. Hadow gathered the impression that the warmth of his reference to England and his assistance on the iniquities of Halidé Edib Hanoum indicated some uneasiness regarding the activities of the Turkish political refugees in England and elsewhere. His Excellency hinted that he intended to publish some correspondence which would lead His Majesty's Government to take action against these plotters. Mr. Knox had personally heard in this connection from an intimate friend of the Ghazi, who is editing his Excellency's memoirs and correspondence, that a good deal of the latter covering the years of the Nationalist movement would shortly be published. He gathered that the main object of publication would be to cast ridicule on the former leaders of the Opposition, and that the more unflattering references to the Powers in occupation would be expunged.

6. Of current political events the Ghazi made no mention, except to say, after uttering the word "Balkans", "but my Ministers dislike my talking politics." As he said this he fixed his eye on the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who endeavoured to look unconcerned behind a glass of champagne.

7. It would be quite unwise to attach any special importance to the Ghazi's utterances, but they are a clear indication that the present tendency of the Turkish Government to cultivate better relations with His Excellency's Government has the approval of the director of Turkey's destinies. Exactly how far the Turks will go depends, I think, more on the views held in Moscow than on anything else, as nothing short of a definite guarantee by His Majesty's Government would be regarded as adequate compensation for any cooling off in their relations with the Soviets, who have in the eastern vilayets ample scope for political blackmail.

I have &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/266, p.52-53, No.29

No. 40

Question asked in the House of Commons, April 6, 1927.

Mr. Scurr asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Ambassador to Turkey resides in Constantinople or Angora; and, if he still resides in Constantinople, when it is proposed that he shall take up residence in Angora, the capital of Turkey and the seat of the Government of that country?

Answer

Sir Austen Chamberlain: The ambassador repeatedly visits Angora for the transaction of business with the Turkish Government, but it is not possible for him at present to reside there permanently, as the limited accommodation at present available is fully occupied by the members of his staff who are stationed there. It is proposed to build a house which will provide reasonable accommodation both for the Ambassador and an increased staff, and plans are now under consideration.

F.O. 424/266, p.53, No.30

No. 41

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 2
Telegraphic.

ANGORA, April 27, 1927
(Received April 28, 1927)

Belgrade despatch No.65 of 21st April.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has learnt that General Zivkovic has asked for diplomatic visa, but knows nothing of any mission, and says he does not propose to receive the general.

General tone of Minister for Foreign Affairs' references to Yugoslavia was distinctly cold. Turkish Government are annoyed at Yugoslavia's delay in restoring Turkish property.

I believe that Hikmet Bey's visit to Angora was partly in connection with this question and partly to assist in preparation of Ghazi's historical review of rise and progress of Turkish Republic, which is to be delivered on 19th May. Hikmet Bey was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the early days, and the only person who can find his way in the archives.

(Repeated to Belgrade)

F.O. 424/266, p.56, No.34

No. 42

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 297

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 9, 1927

(Received June 20, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a memorandum by Mr. Knox, acting counsellor at Angora, in which he summarises his impressions after six months residence in the capital of Turkey.

2. Mr. Knox, who has steadily and successfully set himself to the difficult task of getting into personal and friendly touch with the leading Turks of Angora, has written a very interesting paper. It gives a clear picture of the problems which face the present rulers of Turkey and of their manner of meeting them. Indirectly, it brings out one of the points which has most struck me since I have been here — the divorce between the ideas of Angora and the realities of life in Turkey. The directors of the country sit up of nights on their plateau, weaving their grandiose schemes, and ignoring the inconvenient but practical difficulties which residence in Constantinople would bring home to them. As Mr. Knox points out, it is in the economic domain that the stability of the country is most likely to be threatened, and unfortunately it is there that the Turks show least aptitude for learning.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/266, p. 70, No. 45

ENCLOSURE IN No. 42

Memorandum by Mr. Knox.

It may perhaps be worth while after six months practically continuous residence at Angora to endeavour to fix the impressions hitherto formed in this remarkable capital. These are still in many respects superficial, and I have no complete confidence in their accuracy. Though one is received in Turkish society with every apparent cordiality, and though little remains of the almost overt suspicion of a year ago. I still find in serious conversation with Turks — except with one or two of the unofficial but more enlightened members of the President's immediate entourage — reticence and an almost childish circumspection. This attitude of mind springs I believe, in the main from mere inexperience, lack of self-confidence and a traditional misconception which endows every diplomat with Machiavellian subtlety: it will only yield in time to unlimited patience. One is frequently confronted too, in spite of the vaunted Westernism of the day, by so Oriental a habit of mind that, of the conclusions that one draws from association

with Turks, those that on the surface appear the most logical and natural are often those that call for the most searching scrutiny.

The consequence is that the impressions received in the course of such relations are generally too tenuous and disjointed to be reproduced immediately with any accuracy and only assume some degree of coherence when summarised at lengthy intervals and adjusted with the picture which one gradually forms of the internal situation of the country as a whole. I will, therefore, endeavour to sketch, as I see them from Angora, the nature of the régime, its aims and preoccupations, and the lesser-known personalities who yet play a considerable part in the destinies of the country.

The Régime.

In constitutional theory Turkey is a republic, in which the sovereignty of the people is expressed in an elected Assembly, which itself nominates for the term of its own life a President of the Republic, in whom are vested very limited powers. The reality is less simple. Although, since the final elimination of the Opposition, the National Assembly is composed almost entirely of nominees of the People's party, major projects of policy are dealt with in the first instance by the party committee, the real debating body, which proceeds in secret. It is only after being elaborated there and scrutinised by the Cabinet and the parliamentary commissions that they are submitted for final acceptance to the Assembly — a procedure that gives a pleasing appearance of unanimity to public debate. The initiation however, of these projects rests with a body even more powerful than the party committee — the private Cabinet of Chankaya. This consists of the President of the Republic himself and his own immediate circle, and meets on two or three nights a week at the President's house. The most regular members are Shukri Kaya Bey, a former Minister for Foreign Affairs, now President of the Foreign Affairs Commission, Safvet Bey, secretary-general of the People's party, Mahmud Bey and Falih Rifki Bey, editors and directors of the "Agence d'Anatolie" and the Government organ the "Hakimieti Millieh" (the former, incidentally, the President's business man), Nuri Bey, Edib Bey and Rushen Eshref Bey, old companions of the Ghazi's days of obscurity. All are members of the Foreign Affairs Commission, and are remarkable, in their normal surroundings at least, for some culture and accomplishment; they still appear for the most part unimpaired by incredibly heavy drinking. There are also less assiduous members, chief of whom are Ali Bey and Kilij Ali Bey, ex-President and member of the defunct Independence Tribunal, Ali Jenani Bey, a former Minister of Commerce, Aghaoglou Ahmed Bey, a prominent journalist, and some others. Their meetings are, I understand, often attended in their early stages by Ismet Pasha, Fevzi Pasha and Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who are, however, dismissed before conviviality and business reach their height.

The President himself beyond all doubt, commands to a striking degree the reverence, not to say the devotion, of the coterie, and he is equally certainly, the inspirer of all policy and the great driving force of the country. The official Cabinet, I am inclined to believe, carries less weight even than is generally supposed, though no doubt İsmet Pasha, and in a lesser degree other Ministers, are able on occasion to apply the brake when over-wild schemes are propounded. Their real rôle, as I see it, is more than attributed in other countries to permanent heads of department. With this reservation it is, I think, safe to say, that in all major matters the Government of the country lies essentially in the hands of the President and the inner conclave.

I have the impression — as yet vaguely formed — that the period of establishment of the Nationalist Government, which may be said roughly to have begun with its recognition by the Powers at Mudania, and which included the more spectacular and daring reforms designed to lay the foundation of a new Turkey, has ended with the final blow dealt to the Opposition last summer, and has given place, in intention at least, to an era of consolidation. The indications as yet available are the suppression of the Independence Tribunals, the reconciliation that is taking place between the President and such former leaders of the Opposition as Ali Fuad Pasha and Hussein Jahid Bey, and the elaborate preparations now being made for the forthcoming elections. These, I am given to understand, will result in the removal of a large proportion of the present Deputies and their replacement by new blood. In all events, we will not long be kept in suspense as to the nature of the next evolution, since the President's speech, which is to be made at the impending Congress of the People's party and which has been in preparation for the past two months, will no doubt give a fairly clear indication of the line of policy which it is intended to follow. It is to be concluded from the experience we have already had of Mustafa Kemal Pasha that, once he has definitely and publicly laid down a course of action he may be counted upon to pursue it relentlessly. It is nevertheless evident that whatever may be the new directives, the main ambition of the Government will be concentrated as heretofore on the organisation of defence against either internal revolt or foreign aggression, on the conversion of Asiatic Turkey into a homogeneous ethnic unit organised on Western lines, though, as far as possible, through Turkish agencies, as an advanced post of European culture and economic development and on the consecration of Angora as its permanent capital.

It is hardly to be expected that in the elaboration of this far-reaching programme the tyranny of fact should make itself felt overmuch in the councils of a Government such as I have described above, but in their efforts, fitful, misconceived and ill-directed as they frequently are in detail, they yet display in their broader aspects a continuity of purpose and a determination which, among the more patent absurdities both of principle and application, one is often prone

to overlook. This obstinate persistence in a set of rigid ideals which appeared nothing less than grotesque among "a handful of brigands in an Anatolian village," has taken on a more plausible air as they have advanced to a surprisingly large measure of success. That, neither during the active period of the Nationalist movement nor that of exuberant fruition which followed, its leaders — in marked contrast, I fear, to their opponents — made a grave or lasting political mistake, gives food for earnest reflection — which however, their daily antics in matters of detail provokingly disturb.

It is perhaps more difficult in Angora than elsewhere to form a just estimate of the strength and durability of the existing régime. Here opposition, if it exists at all, is silent and invisible. The Army and the Administration appear to be firmly in hand, and outside the eastern provinces, where martial law is still rigorously applied, public security is more effectively maintained than at any previous epoch in Turkey's history. These seem to me the considerations most likely to count with a war-weary but long-suffering population. On the other hand, Turkey is particularly exposed to the risks inherent in any form of one-man Government, especially when as here, the ultimate succession is abandoned almost entirely to the hazards of intrigue or audacity. It will be interesting to see when the presidential election takes place on the meeting of the New Assembly next autumn whether the process of consolidation and internal unity has made progress enough to allow of an attempt to fix the succession to that office in a more satisfactory manner and thus to avert in some measure the greatest danger to which the country is exposed.

Other, if lesser, internal dangers certainly exist. One hears frequently, but in general, from Levantine sources, that there is widespread discontent in the country provoked by grinding taxation, by the Ghazi's dissolute example, and by his policy of Westernism and relentless secularisation. Although I have seen nothing of the provinces beyond a very small corner of Anatolia, and have had no contact with the people other than the ruling class, I am yet inclined on general grounds to feel that such fears may well be exaggerated. Taxation is, indeed heavy and clumsily and corruptly applied but, so far as I can observe, it bears more severely or at least, more obviously, on the foreign merchant, and the small trader — who is more often than not of non-Turkish stock and consequently limited to inarticulate grumbling — than on the great majority of the Turkish element, who alone could exercise any influence on the armed forces or play an active rôle in opposition. It is also worthy of consideration that the Turkish peasant has inherited some part at least of the wealth of the dispossessed Christian, he is enjoying an abatement of agricultural taxation, he is being studiously inoculated with the germ of national as opposed to religious self-consciousness, and he possesses for once a ruler to whose spectacular achievements he can look up.

It is possible that rare individuals may feel the scandal of the Ghazi's private life, and that it may on occasion give a theme to some subterranean Jeremiah, but I have yet to learn that the Turkish people as a whole look for the domestic virtues in their chief or would prefer them to a robust and ostentatious virility. The spirit of Westernism has, so far as I can see, barely touched the lethargic conservatism of the masses — and now that the first shock of a drastic change of outward modes is past, I would not expect on this score any violent reaction.

Remains the all-important issue of religion. Here I fear, it would require an experience of Turkey and the Moslem East in general far greater than my own to offer a final opinion. It is difficult, if not impossible, in view of the universal perversion of history in so controversial a matter, to estimate how far in the past religious fanaticism has been the cause or the justification of that congenial inter-congregational banditism and butchery which for the last half-century has been the most notable manifestation of the country's spiritual life. It is the more difficult with this antecedent uncertainty to conjecture what feeling of resentment there may be among the people at large against a Government which displays, in contrast with the avowed policy of its predecessor, the Committee of Union and Progress, special solicitude for the material welfare of the Moslem; which has removed the provocation — or the temptation — offered by a wealthy Christian neighbour, and which openly at least, attacks not so much the Moslem religion itself, as customs loosely associated with it, and has aimed, above all, at breaking the ascendancy of a parasitic and probably none too popular hierarchy. Such in my view, are the terms in which the question should logically be put, I have enough experience of the East to recognise that the answer is not that one which can be found by logic alone, and I am content to keep an open mind — with the one reservation that, in my opinion, among Turks in general, material welfare takes definite precedence of spiritual, and that there is more likelihood of over- than under-estimating the importance of the religious factor in the Turkey of to-day. I do not by any means wish to imply that religion in this country is extinct or that there is no likelihood of an eventual pretender to power "beating the drum ecclesiastic," but merely that, in such an event, the resurrection of the crescent would probably be the accessory rather than the motive of his ambition. There are still many practising, and I am sure, not a few convinced, Moslems in Turkey. Indeed, a member of the Assembly, who is one of the closest friends of the President, has often, in conversation with me, stigmatised the majority of his colleagues as "antiquated Hojas." Even among the leading members of the Government, two of the most outstanding figures, Fevzi Pasha, the sheet anchor of the régime, and Abdul Halik Bey, the present Minister of Finance and one of the most able administrators that Turkey possesses, appear untouched by the prevailing secularism. Fevzi Pasha, a devout and practising Mussulman, devotes all his attention to his duties and is never seen in the social life of Angora. Abdul Halik Bey is liberal enough to play bridge and

tennis and to keep up excellent relations — on neutral ground — with one or two European diplomats, but he clearly shows his disapproval of female emancipation by never appearing at any mixed gathering. He rarely, if ever, drinks wine, and strictly observes the fast of Ramazan, to the most open ridicule of his co-religionists. At the same time there is every reason to believe that, however out of tune their religious principles may be with those of the Government, they both furnish their best and sincerest efforts (more effective, I feel, an more sincere than those of many of their more supple colleagues) to the furtherance of the avowed policy of the President.

Aims of the Government: National Defence.

First in order of importance of the Government's aims is the organisation of National Defence. This is not unnatural in view of the traditional military proclivities of the race and of the fact that the men in power in Turkey to-day are, with very few exceptions, ex-soldiers. Over and above the heavy budgetary contribution which the country is called upon to make to the armed services, there is little doubt that in the elaborate programme of public works now being initiated strategic considerations often provide the prime motive. In the matter of purely military works much has been accomplished in spite of acute financial difficulties. The cartridge factory at Angora is in full activity, the aeroplane factory and repair shops at Caesarea are approaching completion, and considerable progress has been made with the arsenal and munition factory at Yakhshi Han, which it seems, it is now intended to link by a direct railway line with the Heraclea coal-fields.

From a general view of these works, it is safe I think, even for a layman to infer that the present strategic conception of the Turks (to which they are daily becoming more deeply committed) is to anchor their main system of defence to the Angora plateau with the centres of concentration and supply at Caesarea and Yakhshi Han. From this inference I would venture to hazard two conclusions: the one, that the scheme is designed to meet an attack from the sea either from the west or from the south and leaves entirely out of account an invasion from Russia; the other, that it marks the abandonment of that flexibility of defence which from the campaigns of Lucullus to the battle of the Sakaria has proved so costly to invaders in this largely waterless and trackless upland. One is inclined to speculate whether, in so primitive an organism as Turkey must long remain, the pinning-down of defence to a point from which it could not recede would not result in the end in a dangerous brittleness.

A truism that one hears enunciated with increasing frequency is that if Turkey were to cut down relentlessly her military expenditure she would be able to enjoy a satisfactory economic and financial situation. This, up to a certain point, is patently exact, but it leaves out of consideration the brutal and all-important fact that if she were to practice large economies on her armed forces she would run grave risk of

loosing not only the hope of stable and enduring government, but even a large measure of a dearly-bought independence. One cannot blame the Turk for appreciating the obvious, if unpalatable, truth that his under-populated and ill-developed country offers a vacuum that would prove, if undefended, an irresistible attraction to over-populated and expansive Powers.

Proportionally, Turkey's expenditure on national defence is very heavy, amounting to 36 per cent. of her budget — precisely the same figure as in the case of the Ottoman Empire before the war. The actual expenditure on the army (£T. 58 million, approximately £. 6 million, according to this year's estimate) cannot be judged excessive in itself for a force of about the same size as the German Reichswehr, which it would be folly for the rulers of the country to leave unprepared for emergency.

The Capital.

The strategic and political considerations which originally prompted the choice of this inhospitable centre of Anatolia for the capital of Turkey have in the past five years lost nothing of their force, and any scepticism as to its durability that I brought with me to Angora a year ago has yielded to acceptance of the accomplished fact, as the conviction grew in force that the present régime and its capital are indissolubly wedded. Every effort is being exerted with a fine disregard of expediency even of possibility, to make of Angora the strategic, economic and social as well as the political centre of the country. New projects of railway and harbour construction, tending generally to this end, are devised almost monthly. Banks spring up like mushrooms on an ever larger and more imposing scale, but all with an equally imponderable capital. Houses, shops, villas are built in every direction with no coherent plan in a wave of optimistic speculation. New roads are traced and abandoned after a spell of feverish and expensive work in order to seek another alignment suitable to some man of influence, or if they reach completion, subside in a few days under the stress of modern traffic. The municipality, undeterred by chronic bankruptcy, goes on from one grandiose project to another, each more wasteful, incoherent and inept than the last. And yet something is gradually emerging from this chaos; a number of Deputies are amassing respectable fortunes; the population of the surrounding country has more and better-paid work than it could ever have dreamed of; swamps have been drained; a few trees have been planted and an Asiatic hill village is rapidly assuming the aspect of a shoddy lath and plaster town.

Above the more material aim of creating a visible capital, there is ever present in the mind of the Government the ambition of crowning their accomplishment by making of Angora a social centre fit for Ambassadors to live in. Here their efforts, for all their intensity are more than ever disjointed and uncouth, and their result is perhaps the most painful feature of life in this curious post. Dances and tea parties

follow each other throughout the winter and the spring with a monotony, and often a squalor, that once the first shock of amusement is past, are heartbreaking. The "social material" is as yet distinctly crude. The men are, on the average, like the usual product of revolutions, very young. With few exceptions their general education is limited in the extreme and their experience of the outside world negligible. When due allowance is made for these drawbacks, it must be admitted that, on the whole, they are more presentable than might reasonably be expected. Though their ignorance of ordinary social usage is complete, their native manners are often good, if somewhat diffident. They are rarely at their ease in the presence of women, but among themselves they are easy and friendly enough, and in their club, where, apart from a very rare colleague, one meets nothing but Turks, my reception has always been pleasant and cordial. The great majority are Gargantuan drinkers, but their powers are remarkable, and those who ever reach obvious drunkenness are few. So much for the generality; there are however, amongst them notable exceptions. One permanent official, the Political Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, is as competent and pleasant a colleague as I would hope to meet in any country, and there are amongst the Ministers and the President's immediate circle one or two men whom it is, in Angora at least, a pleasure to associate. In this group the spread of Westernism is very rapid, and it is by no means impossible that in the forthcoming purge of the National Assembly many of the new Deputies will be chosen for their table manners and their attainments in European dress and the Charleston.

The women should perhaps in view of their large emancipation, present more interest. A few of those who had grown up before the change came, indeed, do so. They are generally of a higher social standing and education than their mankind, and have either had European governesses throughout their childhood or spent some part of their youth abroad. They possess both charm and culture, accompanied by a refreshing dignity and repose. These are, I fear, qualities which Angora in its present mood does not appreciate and the type is doomed to extinction. The others are not attractive. A small advance guard reproduces creditably the strident self-satisfaction of the young woman who makes herself most widely seen and heard in Europe to-day, whilst the remainder - the vast majority - sit at parties in unassuming silence, a row of strangely-clad, lymphatic ruminants, and watch the dancing much as a cow stares at a passing train.

Economic Development.

It is in the economic domain that the least progress has been made and that the stability of the country is, in my opinion, most likely to be threatened. In fact, when one considers this aspect of the situation one is often tempted to dismiss the Turkish State as a republic of children with no thought beyond the devising of new toys to be rejected or destroyed on the morrow. This is however, on reflection

natural enough; the Turk is by traditional a soldier, a primitive agriculturalist or a shepherd; his mental qualities are in no sphere very high, but it is in commerce and finance that his inexperience and native incompetence are most marked. Thus, be it cause or effect, the economic development of the country has throughout its history rested entirely in the hands of the Rayah, the Jew and the foreigner. The triumph of the Nationalist movement and the large emancipation granted by the Treaty of Lausanne brought to a people whose vanity, however ill-founded, is yet pronounced, and who were then at the top of a wave of unexpected success, a not unnatural reaction of chauvinism and self-sufficiency. The result has been three years of almost open war against foreign and "minority" enterprise. Their motives have been varied — a vindictive desire to demonstrate on every occasion that the Turk was at long last master in his house; the wish to acquire for themselves the profits and perquisites which those of "inferior race" had in the past so easily amassed; the deep-seated policy of creating and developing a purely Turkish State; and, lastly the fear of European political penetration in the guise of economic enterprise. In this phase the Government have been guilty of every possible mistake, except the crowning folly of inflation, which by some miracle has been avoided. As a consequence the country has been considerably impoverished, and much of its trade and industry has been driven to take refuge with its inveterate rival — Greece.

Even with such a policy and the wild experiments that have accompanied its application, the financial and economic condition of Turkey is far from promising. The country's assets are broadly viewed, inconsiderable. They consist of a vast territory possessing some rich agricultural products and potentialities, but in great part afflicted with centuries of barrenness and gravely lacking in communications; also, it is believed, much mineral wealth, most of which however, is still hypothetical or inaccessible. It is at the same time grievously under-populated, and since the removal of its more productive elements, it has too few workers even for its present needs — and these slow and unadaptable. Its liabilities are a considerable burden of debt inherited from the Ottoman Empire, and the present Government's easy acts of spoliation, heavy expenditure on national defence and great wastage due to inefficiency and corruption. Moreover, Turkey, like many a more advanced State since the war, is indulging in a reckless orgy of governmental squandering, but with one great difference. In the case of less primitive organisms much of the Government's extravagance is deliberately designed to maintain social equilibrium, to create artificial prosperity, to give an impetus to trade, and in sum, to bolster up an economic system which, in spite of any cracks it may be showing at the base, is still the keystone of our civilisation. Turkey is not cursed with such cares. In her case the grandiose schemes which it is proposed to execute in the course of the next few years spring from the vain dream of making Asiatic Turkey a highly developed Western State, and are fostered by a host of intermediaries, who

see in them only an opportunity for bribes and speculation. If Turkey would resign herself to going modestly clad, in however Western garments, it would cut her cloth accordingly, there would be hope of her living comfortably - even usefully - within the limits of her natural budget. Such a hope is however remote. There are indeed some slight symptoms of general improvement: the budget has, on paper at least, been balanced, the deficit subsisting from former years has been considerably reduced, and exports show a gradual expansion. There are too, signs that the present economic policy has brought some measure of disillusionment; xenophobia is undoubtedly on the wane and the rulers tend to look on the foreigner no longer so much as a designing invader as a useful, almost a necessary, milch cow. Yet there is no indication that the Turkish Government though tentatively casting about for outside help, have in any way resigned themselves to according either the security or the necessary measure of foreign control that must accompany it if it is to be granted, in Europe at least, from a sound source or on reasonable terms.

For myself, I have the distinct impression that Turkey is rapidly approaching the parting of the ways that lead either to retrenchment or reckless and usurious borrowing. I have little doubt that the projects at present on foot will not come to full maturity, and that it will prove impossible to complete even a moderate part of them without the intervention of a substantial windfall that is not yet, by any manner of means, in view. I have some ground for thinking that one or two of the more capable members of the Government have convinced themselves of the weakness of the present policy and would like to set a slower pace, but that the pressure from above is too strong. I cannot imagine that the President himself and his advisers seriously believe that a country with the resources of Turkey can create in a few years, out of revenue, an imposing series of elaborate public works, and I can only conclude that they are for once looking back for a lesson to imperial days, and calculate that, as soon as they have effected the consolidation of their existing debt, a fresh batch of foreign sheep will come up complacently for the ultimate but inevitable shearing. It is perhaps unlikely that European financial houses can still find a sufficiency of investors of this type. America, however, may well be able to provide them. If not, it appears probable that Turkey will eventually have to humble her pride to the extent of admitting some adequate measure of foreign supervision and control such as might in the end be made acceptable by an apparent assimilation to the Dawes scheme. The only alternative, retrenchment, cannot well be effected except by the abrupt abandonment of the great schemes of development that are so near to the President's heart, and would mean a heavy loss of prestige for the present régime. It is to my mind, unlikely that such a solution will be seriously considered before financial stringency has reached a much more acute phase. Here again it may, of course, well be that the logical conclusion is not the true one, and that Turkey in the way of the East will seek no solution, but jog on contentedly and ineffectively in a chronic state of semi-bankruptcy.

PERSONALITIES

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Since I arrived in Angora a year ago I have rarely seen the President of the Republic save on official or public occasions. He has once or twice honoured me with a lengthy allocution which, as translated by a circle of competing interpreters, for the most part none too sober, has, I fear, left little impression on my mind. Such opinion as I have been able to form of him is thus drawn from what I have learned of his history, and from the conversation of his intimate friends, of which he affords the ever-recurring theme.

In personal appearance he is unimpressive. He is short with a tendency to stoutness; his features have nothing remarkable, and his very fair hair is rapidly thinning. A fixed expression of sternness is obviously cultivated, and relaxes at will into a particularly attractive smile, which is perhaps his most striking characteristic.

He is now 46 years of age. His parentage and education were undistinguished. His military career is well known. Its most decisive event was the Tripoli campaign. The bold enterprise of organising, with no financial or material resources, a mob of desert Arabs of doubtful fidelity for operations against a civilised Power no doubt did much to fortify his character and gift of command. In the world war fortune favoured him and found him twice at Gallipoli in a position to retrieve by vigorous and spontaneous intervention an almost hopeless situation.

Less is known of his early political life. He played a part in the revolution of 1908 and in the period of active intrigue that followed, but remained overshadowed by the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress. It is said by his friends that, for all his temporary allegiance, he was never at heart a true disciple of the committee, but leaned always towards the ideals then voiced only by the newly-created "Foyer Turc", which he has since made his own, and which may be roughly resumed as the integral nationalism of the Turk as opposed to that of the Ottoman. This may or may not be true; the question is academic and otiose. It is enough that once he had made his first "profession de foi" to a minute band of needy outlaws in the heart of Anatolia and launched them on a vast and seemingly impossible adventure, he has never wavered. His final success appears still to those who were close spectators of the earlier phases of the Nationalist movement little short of miraculous. It has indeed, been given to few men to effect against such heavy odds, both foreign and domestic, so complete a revolution. Here again, as in his military career, he enjoyed his full share of good luck, not the least part of which was due to our own action in deporting, without coherent plan and with the most ill-assorted aims, all possible rivals who might have stood in his way. Such a consideration, however, in no whit detracts from the greatness of his achievement. Rare intrepidity of conception and determination alone could have set a vital spark

to the native lethargy of his countrymen, deadened as it was by disarmament, disunion and the exhaustion resulting from a decade of incessant war.

Since the acute phase of the struggle ended, the Ghazi has kept his turbulent team in hand and has shown, with here and there a mild compromise with the flexibility appropriate to times of peace, the same single-minded resolve to direct the destinies of his country according to his own lights regardless of traditions and susceptibilities. Here it is early as yet to appreciate results, but the measure of success attained is already large and his energy seems unimpaired. It is now entirely absorbed in the elaboration of an account of his stewardship to be rendered to the Congress of the People's Party, which will meet before the impending dissolution of Parliament that marks the close of his present term of presidency.

With historical figures of this type who, from a humble origin, have hacked their way to greatness, rumour exaggerates alike their virtues and their vices. Thus, observers in general either close their eyes to Mustafa Kemal's undoubted qualities and are only repelled or amused by the crudities of deportment of the Head of the State, or are content to admire wholeheartedly, remaining blind to his very obvious defects. We, ourselves, are perhaps especially prone to look upon him in a false light. The legend of the "gentlemanly Turk" was in its origin a normal and effective piece of war propaganda designed to render acceptable to early-Victorian England an alliance with a polygamous infidel. It has however, survived as an article of faith in the education of three generations, and we have, under its influence, accepted, without probing, the thin veneer that often decorated the Turk of the old régime. It is consequently disturbing to us to come suddenly upon the Asiatic in his natural nakedness, and it is only after close contact with the men in power in Turkey to-day that one bows to the essential truth that Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his entourage are crude Orientals, the sons of undistinguished soldiers, of village doctors and schoolmasters, whose Western civilisation is still in the main no more than an ignorant aspiration, and who have only assimilated as yet that part of it that is represented by the machine gun or the jazz band. If we keep this consideration in sight we can hardly expect that the President of the Republic should yet have mastered his part. The fog of domestic incense in which he leaves is dense and perpetual; his experience of Europe has been practically confined to his stage as military attaché at Sofia, and his Western associations have hitherto been for the most part with the adventurers of journalism or with politicians and diplomats of the type of M. Franklin-Bouillon, M. Sarraut and Admiral Bristol - lick-spittle sycophants *laudare parati si bene ructavit*.... Thus, when he pats the arms of ladies of the Diplomatic Corps, or reaches up to stroke the hair of an Ambassadress, the tallest and sternest of French Protestants, it is only natural to take into account the limitations of his social education, and to suppose that his gesture is dictated by nothing more than the wish to show himself a man of the world, and to display an easy and graceful condescension. That this supposition is probably just is shown by

the immediate effect of a hint recently given by Sir George Clerk to İsmet Pasha touching the duties of a Head of a State on official occasions. Since then the balls have been attended by the President have been graced by a startling respect for the protocol and a grim determined sobriety. It speaks well for him that he has accepted the lesson with no sign of resentment.

So much for the statesman and President. As a man, Mustafa Kemal is an elusive figure, living aloof in a small house in Çan Kaya, surrounded by "adopted daughters," and visited only by a few intimate friends, with whom he works, drinks and converses the night through. His remaining distractions are a model farm, and latterly a number of business enterprises which are usually of a somewhat shady nature, and in which his Government takes too paternal an interest. The Ghazi, like all those around him, drinks heavily, but I am very credibly informed that he still possesses complete self-control and, when faced with any difficult problem, can for long periods renounce drink, and with it coffee and tobacco. It is also well to remember that he and his companions have for many years led mentally and physically very strenuous lives, that they have the scanty respect for appearances of men who have made their own laws, and are in sum only doing openly — if perhaps more emphatically — what their fathers did behind drawn blinds...

Shukri Kaya Bey (Deputy for Menteshe).

A former Minister for Foreign Affairs, is now President of the Foreign Affairs Commission. He was a member of Yussuf Kemal Bey's staff in London, where, he tells me with pride, he learned to drink whiskey. He evidently did so thoroughly, and on his return to Angora, by the example of his capacities, gave a large impulse to this branch of British trade. Drink is telling severely on his appearance, but not yet apparently on his brain. He commands considerable influence — more, I am inclined to think, than the present Minister for Foreign Affairs. I have only had recourse to him once in a concrete matter — on the occasion of an incipient press campaign on the subject of the Malta deportations. He discussed the question with refreshing frankness, good sense and detachment (he was himself one of the deportees), and I have good reason to believe that he took immediate and effective action to put an end to it. If he does not succumb to drink, he has a future before him, and is one of the Turks of to-day who is most worth cultivating.

Colonel Safvet Zia Bey (Deputy for İsmidit).

During the war a divisional Chief of Staff and has frequently been on minor missions abroad, mainly to Germany. He is now secretary-general of the People's party (the Turkish Signor Turati) and a man of wide influence. He is shrewd, friendly and capable, but I should think, supremely untrustworthy. When in liquor he has a surprising turn of wit of a very caustic quality. More hospitable than most of his countrymen, he often gives small luncheon parties, which, both in selection

of guests and adaptation of the miserable resources of Angora, show talent. Personally, I owe him a considerable debt of gratitude. As my *parrain* at the Ankara Club, which I was the first Englishman and one of the earliest Europeans to join at a moment when we were still none to popular, he put himself to great pains to ensure me a pleasant reception.

Ali Bey (Deputy for Afium Karahissar).

Head of the Tribunal of Independence until its suppression last month, leader of the People's party, a former Malta deportee. He is to me the most enigmatic figure of Angora. His air is eternally one of overflowing benignity (he has been very aptly described, by Sir Ronald Lindsay I think, as a "benevolent Scotch elder"). He is, in spite of his former position and in marked contrast to his colleague Kilij Ali, desperately poor, and that rarest of all things in Turkey to-day — a man who may confidently be qualified as incorruptible. Some three years ago, after a quarrel in the Chamber, he emptied his revolver into the stomach of a distinguished fellow Deputy prostrate on the steps of the Assembly. Since then he has sent some hundreds of his countrymen to the gallows, but without losing anything of the quality of his smile, an asset which seems to render speech unnecessary. I see him often and have played bridge with him for hours on end, but have never heard him utter five consecutive words. And yet he is constantly spoken of by the well-informed as one of the most important men in Turkey, and I have even heard his name mentioned as a likely successor to the President. To me he remains one of those curious phenomena that are only comprehensible to an Oriental mind.

Mahmud Bey (Deputy for Sert).

Is the leading journalist in Turkey and the President's business man. I have seen less of him than I would wish, as he is a steady worker and goes out but little. He appears strangely sober for his surroundings, and beyond doubt a man of considerable capacity. His appearance is very Oriental, of an almost negroid type, but his mind is of a more European turn than most, and he talks French with a finesse that is rarely met with here.

Falih Rifki Bey (Deputy for Bolu).

Was secretary to Jemal Pasha in Syria during the war. He is now director of the official news agency and the Government organ. As a journalist he writes, for a Turk, with remarkable directness and concision, and his style is much admired by his countrymen. He is now 32, the most ardent apostle of modernism *à outrance*, the wildest of President's circle and one of his closest friends. He drinks very heavily, but never seems the worse for it. He takes a wholehearted pride, with no alloy of cynicism or pose, in his varied and boisterous iniquities, and expresses without reticence quite uncritical admiration for those of his patron. His name is

consistently mispronounced by the wife of the American High Commissioner with an aptness that is disconcerting.

Colonel Edib Servet Bey (Deputy for Constantinople).

Was on the military staff of the Turkish mission at the Conference of London in 1919. He was more lately Turkish representative at the Islamic Congress in the Hejaz in 1925, and likes to describe the consternation created by his appearance on this solemn occasion in a bowler hat. He is a jovial and, I fear, bibulous rotundity, but endowed with far more shrewdness and sharp observation than appears on the surface. He talks frankly, is well informed and by no means a fool. He has more experience of Europe than the rest of his group, and speaks French, Italian and German.

Roshen Eshref Bey (Deputy for Afium Karahissar).

Aged 36, a former schoolmaster, now a leading poet of Turkey, *rapporteur* of the Commission of Public Instruction and a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. A very close friend of the President. He is a man of education, of a creditable European and very wide Oriental culture. A good talker, with an instinct for what is interesting, and with novel and illuminating views on Islamic history. He knows French remarkably well and speaks it with an exuberance of Oriental image that is attractive. His name is now mentioned for the post of Turkish Minister at Budapest. He offers in this desert a rare oasis of culture, and I trust, for my own sake, that the appointment will not materialise. His wife is good-looking and civilised, but spends most of the year in Constantinople or Europe.

Colonel Nuri Bey (Deputy for Kutahia).

Was a companion of Mustafa Kemal in the Tripoli campaign of 1911, and has been his close friend ever since. He has a very direct and soldierly manner and every appearance of frankness, but is, rapidly succumbing to drink. He has like many others, taken to speculation in house property at Angora, without possessing the beginnings of business sense. The resultant disillusionment is probably hastening a downfall that I feel is not far off.

GEOFFREY KNOX

ANGORA, May 20, 1927

F.O. 424/266, p. 70-80, No.45/1

No. 43

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 318

THERAPIA, June 22, 1927

(Received June 27, 1927)

Sir,

Since the future of Turkey is largely dependent upon her economic condition, the enclosed copies of certain confidential reports, drawn up by the local branch of the Ottoman Bank and supplied to me in strict confidence by its British Manager, Mr. Reid, have considerable interest.

2. For convenience of reference I also enclose a summary of these reports prepared by a member of my staff (Mr. Mallet), which brings out the salient points of each.

3. The conclusion to be drawn from them is that Turkey seems to be moving in a vicious circle. She has set her feet in the way of Westernisation, with its attendant necessity for a balanced budget and a sound policy of economic development, such as the East has never known. For development she needs capital; but as yet she is unwilling to take the necessary steps to attract it from abroad by facing her unpaid debts and giving foreign trade a fair chance. The Association of Foreign Bondholders in London, the holders of Ottoman debt coupons in Paris and elsewhere, and the numerous British and foreign companies interested in moribund mining or engineering enterprises in this country receive no compensation; but the Republican Government of Turkey continues to mortgage its already assigned revenues to Swedish, Danish, Belgian and German groups for the construction of railways and other public works of a purely hypothetical commercial value.

4. Negotiations for a construction contract with the important American Ulen group recently failed for the second time, presumably because the security offered by the Turkish Government was not considered to be sufficient by conservative finance in America. The money markets of Paris, London and New York therefore appear for the time being to be united in their policy of withholding money from Turkey until she meets her overdue obligations.

5. Nevertheless, German groups continue to finance new railway and development projects in this country. The Dresdner Bank is said to be largely at the back of the Swedish and Danish group, which has begun work on the Héracle-Angora and Keller-Malatia-Diarbekir lines; and an agreement is now reported to have been signed between the Julius Berger Consortium and the Turkish Government for the construction of further railway lines, reported in my despatch No. 207 of the 3rd May.

6. The deciding factor of this continued trust by German business interests in the ability and willingness of Turkey to meet her mounting obligations towards them is said by the German Embassy itself to be the absolute necessity of obtaining orders to keep the German metal and heavy industries working at high pressure. For this reason the same source maintains that profits are cut to a minimum and all warnings that the security offered for these enterprises by the Turkish Government has already been in part assigned to others or is grossly overestimated in value are disregarded.

7. There can be little doubt that, whatever the motive, German firms are sweeping the steel, iron and machinery markets of Turkey. In part this may be due to lower prices; in part it is certainly due to the intimate connection between German firms and the various members of the Turkish departments responsible for placing these contracts. German advisers there are in the Public Works and other Ministries; German officers in the fleet and acting clandestinely as military advisers in such fortified zones as Smyrna. Through these people advance information probably reaches German interests, and it is noticeable that, largely owing no doubt to the fact that railways, bridges and rolling-stock in Turkey are mostly of German construction, the specifications for new materials and supplies are almost always issued in German and to German standards and gauges.

8. Germany therefore has a strong economic hold on Turkey, and her industrialists seem to have decided to strengthen that hold by showing obvious trust in Turkey's ability and willingness to pay and accepting the security others refuse for the large constructional enterprises of this country.

9. The nature of the security offered is consequently worth examining. In the case of the Swedish and probably the German railway contracts, it consists of Government bonds backed by the semi-official Turkish banks, such as the Ish Bankassı and the Agricultural Bank, redemption of these bonds being guaranteed, as they fall due over three or six months; that is, as the constructional works proceeds. But the banks themselves are really the Turkish Government or its more influential members. In the Ish Bankassı the President of the Republic has large interests; indeed, he and his small coterie of intimate friends derive no small profit from its operations, although the money used is freely reported to belong to the State. That such banks are at present profitable there can be little doubt; but in the sense of true finance they offer no security whatever.

10. The security offered to foreign enterprise therefore amounts to no more than the good name and goodwill of the present or future Turkish Governments. So long as order reigns, taxes are paid and budgets balance or deficits are made good by invisible assets, Turkey hopes to be able to pay her new creditors. Indeed, it is essential for her to do so in that she has already trampled upon the rights of her old ones and set her face against meeting their demands on the plea that the

debts were incurred by the old and degenerate Ottoman Sultans, and that new Turkey should not be saddled with this burden at the outset of her career as a modernised State.

11. But the interests of the German financier and the German merchant are in the long run one and the same, which must, it would seem, make it next to impossible for the present régime to continue indefinitely its steadfast policy of squeezing the foreign merchant, particularly in Constantinople and Smyrna, while at the same time persuading the German Embassy and the incoming financier to recommend the outlay of German capital in this country.

12. For the German merchant must needs report home on his inability to make both ends meet because of the lack of good faith or obstructive policy of the Turkish departments; and despite clandestine orders for munitions and similar occasional windfalls, there is good reason to believe that all is not well with the hardworking German trader in this country, whose cries to his Embassy and his supplier in Germany against extortion and unfair handicaps wax ever louder and louder.

13. A considerable factor moreover, in the economic status of the country is the venality or otherwise of the Administration.

14. In this respect Turkey has perhaps never been above reproach; but there can be little doubt of the almost universal corruption of officials to-day, from the highest to the lowest.

15. At the head stands the President, who recently accepted a new and luxurious car from a candidate for a large contract in Angora, whose success was thereafter regarded as a foregone conclusion; at the foot stands the custom official, whose price for passing trunks unopened, despite a vast espionage system, varies from 50 to 100 piastres!

16. So marked is this corruption to-day that the chief claim to fame of two members of the Cabinet is openly stated to be the impossibility of bribing them. Caused largely by the utter inadequacy of the salaries of all Government officials, the results are not far to seek. Roads in Angora are tripled and built without foundation or soling; contracts placed and accepted with the main object of providing the requisite percentage for the Deputy or Minister concerned; and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that personal profit rather than national necessity is often the deciding factor in the grandiose schemes now being started all over the country.

17. This to some extent may also account for the apparent steadfastness with which the President and his immediate advisers pursue their plans without due regard to finance; but I do not wish to press this point too far, as there is also

undoubtedly a striving after ideals which animates the Ghazi in his present task of modernising his country, and which is an important factor in closing the public eye to the venality of his Government.

18. It is my impression therefore, that Turkey is hazarding a very great deal in a gambler's throw of the dice.

19. It will be seen from the enclosures that these appear to the expert eye of the financier to be loaded against her. In which case she can only turn to her German friend for help in the hated form of loans, or persuade others to give up their present aloofness and help her lest she relapses into traditional Eastern helplessness in matters of finance.

20. It is at least significant that the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs claims that already the "ring" against his country is broken. England is lending to Germany and Germany is financing Turkey. If, argues Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Turkey were to default, so would German firms who have more or less directly secured the capital for their enterprises from Great Britain. Therefore in the long run Great Britain will find it cheaper and more advantageous to finance Turkish enterprises herself, and France, whose coupon holders are watching the British bondholders resistance to Turkish offers with some fretfulness, will not be far behind. The optimism of the speaker quoted is well known to you, but it is possibly more or less true that English money lent to Germany is in this manner finding its way to Turkey. The important point unknown to Tewfik Rushdi Bey and myself is the degree of security offered by German firms to British capital; and this point will decide whether Germany is taking the entire risk of a Turkish default or is in a sense underwriting it in Great Britain and perhaps in the United States of America, while hoping herself to secure the benefits, both political and financial, that accrue to her from her friendship with this progressive Eastern gambler.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/266, p.82-84, No.48

ENCLOSURE IN No. 43

SUMMARY

Turkey's Internal Capacity for Payment.

The budget of 1926-27 has been theoretically balanced:-

			£T.
Receipts	.....	.....	190,158,854
Expenditure	.....	.....	190,103,544
			<hr/> 55,310

But in fact the budget 1926-27 inherited from that of 1925-26 a deficit of some £T.20 million, to which must be added a deficit of some £T.12 million from the interim budget of March-May 1926, £T.5 million resulting from use the Treasury of the equivalent to one month's salaries of civil servants whose pay was kept in arrears, and a supplementary credit of £T.3,500,000 voted in April, *i.e.*, a total actual deficit of about £T.40 million.

In January 1927 it was announced that the Turkish Government had paid off £T.34 million of its debts. This was done by: 1) Cutting off 13 per cent. from all Ministerial budgets = £T.20 million; 2) making use of £T.7 million allocated to external debt; 3) spending an advance of the Treasury on £T.7 million gathered from certain taxes which are paid almost in full during the first months of the financial year, *i.e.*, total £T.34 million. This latter item is only an advance which will have to be repaid to the Treasury at end of year. There will remain therefore at the end of the year a deficit of £T.7 million plus £T.6 million = £T.13 million.

The budget of 1927-28 will therefore inherit a deficit of £T.13 million. This will probably be increased:

- (1.) By the failure of the spirit monopoly, the revenue from which was estimated at £T.6,500,000 but will probably amount to only £T.3,500,000.
- (2.) An approximate credit of £T.5 million for the concession of the Ouloukishla-Caesarea and Kutahia-Tavchanli Railways; altogether, a deficit of some £T.21 million. If the same economies on Ministerial budgets were made as in 1926-27 (£T.20 million) this could be almost wiped out, but unfortunately in 1926-27 more than half the sum derived from these economies, or £T.11,500,000, was made over to railway construction. This, in view of the Government's plan for Public Works, will again be the case in 1927-28. There would remain, then, a deficit of £T.12,500,000.
- (3.) To wipe this off and to provide the £T.17 million or £T.18 million necessary to meet the payments on the coupons, the Government will have to produce £T.23 million, in addition to the £T.7 million already provided for the service of the debt in the budget of 1927-28.

The only source available for this is the budget of Defence and Public Works, amounting in all to 50 per cent. of the whole expenditure of the State.

2. *Can the Turkish Budget bear an Annual Charge of £T.17 million.*

1. In 1923-24 Turkish taxable resources had to pay £T.110 million to the State; in 1926-27 the same resources had to meet a demand of £T.190 million from the national income. In addition local taxes have to be paid to the amount (in 1925) of £T.45 million, an increase of 400 per cent. over the figure for 1920. This payment

of £T.235 million in 1925 represents 33.5 per cent. of the national income, whereas taxation in England amounts only to 22.3 per cent. of the whole. It is clear that higher taxation in Turkey is unlikely to be productive of increased revenue.

2. Therefore economies must be effected. The Defence budget in 1926-27 was more than double that of 1924-25. If reduced only to the level of 1925-26 it would make available the £T.17 million needed and would even then represent more than a quarter of the total budget. Similar arguments apply to the Public Works budget (14 per cent. of whole), which is largely strategic expenditure.

3. *Turkey's Capacity to Buy Foreign Currency.*

Can Turkey buy the £6,000 sterling a day needed to pay its debts without unsettling its exchange? Turkish financial balance before the war was unfavourable to the extent of about £15 million a year; exchange was maintained by foreign loans. After the war Turkey bought heavily abroad, and in four years ran up an unfavourable balance of some £T.180 million, which resulted in steady depreciation of the Turkish pound. In latter years the trade balance has always been unfavourable. To this must be added expenses of freights and marine insurance, payment of dividends to foreign shareholders in Turkish companies, payment of interest on some foreign debt, and purchase of war material abroad. Against these can be set only the expenditure of visitors to Turkey. The result is a steadily growing deficit amounting in 1925 to £T. 86 million. However, even with the addition of £T.17 million for the debt, this still remains lower than the pre-war deficit. Governmental policy has aimed steadily at removing the causes of this deficit by helping agriculture to increase exports, by imposing taxes to check imports, by building up manufacturers, and by encouraging a national mercantile marine and national insurance. Export trade has already increased from 36 per cent. of the whole turnover before the war to 46 per cent.

The purchase of £T.17 million worth of foreign stock might affect the exchange adversely, but should not do so, since it amounts only to £6,000 a day in a day's turnover on the Stamboul market of £150,000.

Turkey's capacity to purchase foreign stock to pay annuities on, and to amortise, her external debt depends on her financial balance. In 1926, thanks to increasing exports, to the introduction of capital by foreign syndicates exploiting monopolies, and to the increased number of visitors to Turkey, the deficit has been reduced to about £T.40 million. But even if the excess of imports over exports, now amounting to about £T.18 million, were to be completely wiped out, the necessity of paying £T.17 million annually would increase the deficit once more to £T.40 million. In this case the Turkish pound would inevitably continue to fall. It is however, true that the mere fact of starting to pay off the debt would start a sentimental movement in favour of the Turkish pound, and would facilitate the

influx of foreign capital, which, by improving the balance of trade, would in its turn enable more money to be put aside for debt settlement.

Conclusions.

The only reliable way in which Turkey can maintain her exchange at a point high enough to enable her to pay off her foreign debt is by ensuring that her general trade balance is not unfavourable. This can only be arrived at (1) by the influx of foreign capital — itself dependent on the settlement of the debt; and (2) by economies on purchases of war and railway material abroad, and on Defence and Public Works at home, which would provide the Government with the funds needed to balance its budget.

F.O. 424/266, p.84-85, No.48/1

No. 44

Sir G. Clerk to Austen Chamberlain

No. 334

THERAPIA, June 29, 1927

(Received July 4, 1927)

Sir,

On the 23rd June it was suddenly announced that the President of the Republic was at last to gratify the wishes of the inhabitants of Constantinople by visiting this town in the very near future. There have been similar announcements in the last two years, but this time there is no doubt that the Ghazi intends to come. Detachments of the Republican Guard and numbers of detectives have already arrived from Chan Kaya, Dolma Bagcheh palace is being prepared and an elaborate programme has been drawn up to enable the inhabitants to offer an appropriate welcome.

2. The Ghazi will embark on the ex-imperial yacht at Ismid on the 1st July, off the Princes Islands specially chosen representatives of various Turkish institutions will go on board to greet him, he will steam past lines of ferry boats containing school children, members of the "Turkojaks" and other associations, will step ashore at the Palace and there receive the congratulations of individuals.

3. The official programme, of which I enclose a copy*, is a typical mixture of elaborate detail and vague generalities which in any other country would lead to hopeless confusion, but here, helped by the simple police method of telling anyone who wants to go anywhere "yasak" ("it is iforbidden"), will probably work out all right.

* Giltne yok.

4. For the last few days the press has been almost delirious in its expressions of the popular joy at the Ghazi's visit and, by force of mass suggestion, has possibly worked up a certain amount of enthusiasm, largely inspired by curiosity. No doubt too, the functionaries, in their *tenue de rigueur* of tail coat, patent leather shoes, white gloves and top hats, and the representatives of the unofficial establishments and associations who cannot rise to such glories and are allowed to appear in a *chapeau melon* will gladly suffer the rays of a July sun on the Bosphorus mid-day for the sake of a glimpse of the great man, but I am not convinced of any great spontaneous manifestation of popular emotion. It is noteworthy that the programme gives no opportunity to the real Turkish centre of Constantinople, Stamboul, to share in the welcome, though it would have been easy for the presidential yacht to have landed the Ghazi at Seraglio Point, where a brief popular reception could have been arranged with facility and success, while the precautions taken for the President's safety at Dolma Bagcheh surpass anything that Abdul Hamid could have devised in his most suspicious mood. When I contrast the way in which, on similar occasions, President Masaryk went among his people, I cannot but feel that while the Ghazi may justly claim the title of Saviour, he has not yet won that of Father, of his Country.

5. The actual reason for the visit at this juncture is a little obscure. There have been alarming rumours lately about the Ghazi's health, and it is certain that two German specialists were sent for. The report passed on confidentially by the German Embassy was that the specialists found nothing organically wrong with the President and considered that he had a good expectation of life. It may be assumed that the doctors added the proviso that he should live normally. In any case, it is believed that for the last few weeks he has been very temperate. It is suggested that the doctors may have recommended the Ghazi to try a lower altitude than Angora on account of his heart which, according to some rumours, has been giving him trouble. If it is true that Angora is too high for the Ghazi, various possibilities present themselves for the future of the capital.

6. However, whether the Ghazi is coming here for reasons of health or not, it is possible that other considerations as well have weighted with him. To relieve the monotony of his life at Chan Kaya and to escape the Angora summer, he usually makes a tour somewhere. He has never ventured to come here. He may now feel that, with opposition thoroughly repressed, with the policing of Constantinople well in hand, and with the Angora *régime* firmly established, he can come here without danger for his life and without the risk of losing his individuality among the age-long traditions of Constantinople. The visit has of course, caused certain preoccupations in the Diplomatic Body. The Turks profess to have no official knowledge of our existence here and, therefore, we are not to be received by the President, nor invited to any of the celebrations. On the other hand, were we to be logical and adopt a corresponding attitude of remaining officially ignorant of the

Ghazi's visit, misrepresentation and unnecessary prejudice would arise. We have accordingly decided to take a *via media*, which consists in flying our flags for the three days of official rejoicings and arranging some form of modest illumination of our gateways at night — in my case, chiefly with a view to prevent the windows of His Majesty's Embassy from the stones of exuberant patriots. My German colleague, whose enormous barrack rises sheer above Bosphorus, will have to pay for the beauty of the site and illuminate the whole façade of his Embassy. We shall further, if the presidential guards allow us to land from our launches, write our names in the presidential book.

8. M. Nadolny, who, as acting doyen, has discussed the question of our position with the Turkish authorities, has, as a riposte to their official ignorance of our existence, given them an unexpected nut to crack. He has not contested their theory that they only know us in the capital, but has pointed out that when the Head of State makes a tour in the provinces, it is the invariable custom for him to receive the foreign consuls in important towns. If that is not done here, the most important provincial town of Turkey, foreign opinion will not be favourably impressed. At the time of writing, no consequent amendment of the official programme has come to my knowledge, but I hope that the ineffable "chef du protocole" has being taken to task for this lamentable oversight.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.1-2, No.1

No. 45

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 341

THERAPIA, June 29, 1927

(Received July 4, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Grand National Assembly rose on the 26th instant. Compared with the orgy of legislation in which it indulged a year ago, its activities since it met last autumn have been mild. It has dealt with few things and those have been for the most part matters of administrative routine. Until quite recently it has had some difficulty in finding anything to do. The adjournment of its rising has been continually deferred on one pretext or another, partly, it would seem, on account of differences among the Ghazi's henchmen in the Government and in the Popular party, and partly because the Ghazi was not physically fit to

deliver the great speech which was to have followed on the end of the parliamentary session.

2. However, with the Ghazi's decision to come here (see my despatch No.334 of to-day's date) came the announcement that the Assembly was to close its labours, and it is stated to have done so by legislating at the rate of thirty laws an hour. This brings to an end the second Angora Parliament, which has run its appointed course of four years. The new elections have already been ordered and, according to the Constitution, the first act of the new Assembly when it meets in November will be the election of a President of the Republic. The choice is not in doubt.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.2, No.2

No. 46

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 348

THERAPIA, July 5, 1927

(Received July 11, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a note by Mr. Helm, second secretary at Angora, of a conversation with one of the Deputies for Constantinople.

2. The conversation is interesting inasmuch as, especially in view of Edib Bey's position with the Ghazi, it may be taken as a bid for British support generally and as a special request for us to encourage British capital to come into the country. Mr. Helm answered well on this point, which is one where I fear it will become increasingly difficult for the Turks to differentiate between such appreciation as His Majesty's Government may manifest of the general foreign policy of Turkey as at present directed, and the concrete reluctance of British capital to sink itself in Turkish enterprise, the more so as Germany appears always ready to encourage German ventures, however hazardous they may be as a financial speculation, for the sake of an economic position in Turkey outshining that of other countries.

3. Incidentally, the conversation is a gratifying instance of the excellent personal relations which Mr. Knox and Mr. Helm have succeeded in establishing with influential factors in Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, P.3, No.3

ENCLOSURE IN No. 46

*Note by Mr. Helm**(Confidential)*

THERAPIA, June 30, 1927

Last night in the train I had a long conversation of some interest with Colonel Edib Servet Bey, one of the Deputies for Constantinople and a man of considerable influence at Angora. At first sight Edib Bey does not strike one as being endowed with more than average intelligence, but as I have got to know him better I have come to appreciate increasingly his very sound common sense.

He has, of course, come down for the Ghazi's reception, and our conversation started about the President, who, I said, I had been glad to see was now looking much better. Edib Bey said that the Ghazi was badly in need of change. Too long residence at Angora was not desirable, and he personally strongly favoured a summer capital on the Bosphorus now that the position of Angora was secure. (This scheme is finding increasing favour at Angora.) The Ghazi had recently become very nervous and rather querulous as the régime which he was following was very strict — not more than two small glasses of alcohol per day and other excesses correspondingly limited.

The Ghazi would not be accompanied by Ismet Pasha. The latter was suffering from rheumatism and was going almost at once to Broussa to take the baths. He might later come to Constantinople — where Safvet Bey will also come in a fortnight in connection with the elections — but he would not go abroad this year.

Edib Bey then threw a little light on the Mosul settlement. He asked if I thought it had been a good thing for Turkey, and I said that in my opinion it had been a good thing for both sides. There were now no serious questions outstanding between the two countries and relations were far more cordial than anyone could have dreamed to be possible only four years ago. He said that the Mosul settlement had at the time given rise to much heartburning, and that even now some people were still wondering whether Turkey had done right. "However," he said, "it was not in our hands. The Ghazi and Ismet Pasha decided at any price to reach a settlement with England and so it had to be." They were still all out for a British friendship, but sometimes got rather discouraged as a result of British coldness. "Before the war, we regarded Great Britain with her Russian ally as our deadly foe. Now we know that we have nothing to fear from Britain, whose policy we know is open, but we never quite know where we are with Russia. We want to advance along the road with England."

At this stage he asked me why it was that British capital still refused to come to Turkey, which was so badly in need of money for reconstruction, and which would so readily welcome reputable British financial assistance. Telling him that I would speak plainly, I asked him whether, if he had lent large sums of money over a long

period of years to a certain man who, at long last, not only refused to pay interest, but also refused to recognise his old debts, he would himself — and that when times were hard and he could get much better security elsewhere — be disposed to rush in and grant further loans to his defaulting creditor. He said that, of course, he would not. A leading French banker had last year said almost the same thing to him, and he had reported the conversation to the Ghazi. The coupons question would, he was sure, now be definitely settled, but he wondered whether with its settlement funds would be forthcoming. I said that a settlement would, in my opinion, do much to re-establish confidence in Turkey in the financial markets of Europe, and a return of confidence was the initial requirement. He made it clear that what Turkey wanted was the support of the London and Paris markets.

A complimentary reference to Tewfik Rushdi Bey did not bring much of a response beyond a suggestion that Turkish diplomacy was directed by the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha rather than by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Edib Bey talked at some length about his mission last year to Mecca, where he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress. He described the sensation he created by appearing in a bowler hat with the result that he was at first taken to be an Italian! He had throughout striven to keep the discussions of the Congress within their proper limits. A delegate having raised the Mosul question, Edib Bey had stated that as that was a political question affecting his Government he must leave the Congress if the discussion continued. He described the Ali brothers as mad and said that he had told them so. He was glad that Ibn Saud had signed the treaty with us. He had seen him last year and told him that he must put his faith in Great Britain, who alone could help him. Turkey was too remote, and in any case the Ghazi was determined at all costs to avoid foreign complications or adventures beyond the national frontiers. This was the touchstone of the Ghazi's policy. Numerous efforts had been made to get him to abandon it, but every offer had been and would be summarily rejected. There was more than enough work to be done within the national frontiers, and in the prosecution of that work foreign assistance would always be welcome, but on the one essential condition that Turkish independence was not compromised in the very slightest degree.

Edib Bey finally enquired whether I had any information regarding the prospects of oil production in the Mosul Vilayet.

The conversation lasted for rather more than two hours, and I have written these notes because I feel that Edib Bey was expressing views which others held besides himself. He is essentially a moderate and is in extremely close contact with the Ghazi. In recent months I have got to know him extremely well over the bridge table and at the club. This is the first time we have discussed politics in any way, and the trend of the conversation was almost entirely directed by him.

ALEX K. HELM

No. 47

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 355

THERAPIA, July 6, 1927

(Received July 11, 1927)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No.344 of the 29th June I have the honour to inform you that the long announced and oft deferred visit of the Ghazi Pasha to Constantinople took place on the 1st July.

2. The President travelled to Ismid by special train accompanied by four or five of his most intimate friends, and was met by a deputation from the town of Constantinople, and with a happy blending of East and West, by the salute of twenty-one guns and the sacrifice of a number of sheep. He proceeded on board the ex-imperial yacht, which was to convey him to the Palace of Dolma Bagtche on the Bosphorus.

3. For three days Constantinople had been feverishly prepared for the honour that was coming to it. Triumphal arches studded with electric lights were set up across the principal streets — at the cost of the Belgian Electric Light Company — the principal buildings and police stations were illuminated, and every house made to show its flag. From early in the morning all the local passenger boats had been mobilised for the transport of the sightseers and of the deputations which went out to meet the Ghazi in the Marmara, and the walls of the Old Seraglio and the streets along the Bosphorus were lined with sightseers.

4. Two hours late, the presidential yacht appeared off the Princes Islands, followed at a respectful distance by six units of the Turkish fleet. A bugle sounded, a few hands clapped, the sirens wailed, but not a cheer was raised and not a sign of enthusiasm was shown as the Ghazi passed rapidly and at a chilling distance down the line of waiting ferry boats.

5. A procession was slowly formed behind the yacht to escort it in triumph to the palace, but by the time the vessels were fairly emerging from a complicated series of manoeuvres the President was already landing at Dolma Bagtche.

6. The frenzied enthusiasm of the crowds, of which the press for the last four days had been full, existed less in reality than in the minds of the not-uninterested journalists. Constantinople seemed indeed extremely apathetic. A holiday, a warm evening, a natural curiosity and a desire to see the decorations brought many people into the streets, but a two hours' wait in a July sun and an impenetrable cordon of police and guards brought specially from Chan Kaya calmed any enthusiasm, and kept the loyal populace at a respective distance.

7. The President was received at the Palace by representatives of the various communities and interests of the town, and himself received the foreign consular corps. The torchlight procession which was to have been a spontaneous expression of the joy and loyalty of every section of the town could not be organised in time for Friday evening, and only made a belated appearance twenty-four hours afterwards. It was remarkable, according to the local press, for unexampled splendour and for an outburst of popular enthusiasm, but those who saw it were more impressed by the pitiful tawdriness of the whole scene and the entire lack of interest which the town as whole showed in it.

8. I find it difficult to attribute to this visit of the Ghazi the importance given to it by an adulatory and interested press.

9. The visit, to my mind, does indeed mark a definite stage in the establishment of public order, and of the security of the present régime. After an absence of eight years the Ghazi finds that he can again revisit the centre of the Sultanate, of the Caliphate and of the opposition which he last year so violently overthrew. His return to the town which he last left to take up the sword against all that it then stood for, marks the highest point in the personal triumph of the President. But I should hesitate to attach to this return any conjectures as to the future of the town, or any supposition that a policy which has for eight years deliberately scorned, if not actively repressed, Constantinople would now be modified, or that Angora and Anatolia would in any way cease to be centre and the strength of the new Turkey.

10. To me the interest lies rather in the effect that this visit will have upon the President himself.

11. I cannot yet believe that anything like a permanent residence in Constantinople is in contemplation, but if, as is currently reported, his doctors have ordered the Ghazi to spend several months at an altitude less trying to the heart than that of Angora, it will be interesting to see the effect that Constantinople with its charm, its climate and its traditions will have upon a resolution which has carried him through eight consecutive years of the Anatolian uplands. Whether the President is sufficiently strong in his idealism to resist the soft enchantment of Stamboul, and sufficiently Western in his mentality to withstand the attraction which increasing comfort and personal wealth must offer to the riper years of every Oriental autocrat, only time can show.

12. What is certain, so far as I can gather from the testimony of competent onlookers, is that the Turk of Stamboul has not unnaturally joined his polyglot brethren from Pera and Galata in showing to the champion of Anatolia, who has slowly been strangling the commerce of this place, a chilly welcome which only

imagination and press adulation, coupled with decorations enforced by the police, can transform into a "triumphal return of the Saviour of Turkey."

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.5-6, No. 5

No. 48

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 357

Therapia, July 6, 1927

(Received July 11, 1927)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.355 of the 6th instant recording the arrival of the President of the Republic at Constantinople, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a memorandum by His Majesty's acting consul-general on the reception of the consular body on that occasion.

2. As I informed you in my despatch No. 334 of the 29th June last, the necessity for the reception had been overlooked by those in charge of the arrangements, and it is rather haphazard nature is, therefore, not surprising. Indeed, it is fortunate that there were not even greater complications, as several of the missions here have no separate consulates, but only a section of the mission allotted to consular work, under the general superintendence of the Ambassador or Minister. Some of my diplomatic colleagues were, therefore, in considerable doubt as to whether they should or should not attend the consular reception in their consular capacity. This meant more confusion and quarrels about precedence, and I urged my German colleague to take the line that only regular consular officers should attend the ceremony.

3. As regards the attitude of the Diplomatic Body on this occasion, the question was settled on the lines foreshadowed in my despatch No.334. On the morning after the Ghazi's arrival the Heads of Missions went separately to Dolma Bagtche and wrote their names in the Presidential Book. On this respect I have heard no criticism of Turkish methods. Speaking for myself, everything was done most punctiliously. My Ambassadorial flag was saluted by each of the guardships in turn as the Embassy launch went by, the place at the Palace landing-stage where the launch should come alongside was clearly indicated, sentries and police saluted as I stepped ashore, and a lieutenant conducted me to the main hall where the book was laid out for signature.

4. I only trust that it will now be considered on both sides that all the requirements of etiquette have been properly met, and that my Ambassadorial colleagues will not set about seeking the honour of entertaining the Ghazi in their summer residences. I fear, however, that it is quite likely that the Soviet Ambassador, who returns from leave in a few days, will make an effort in this direction, an effort which, if successful, will be rather tiresome. Should his reception include the Diplomatic Body or Heads of Missions, I of course, could not attend - indeed, I presume he would not invite me. But if the Ghazi goes to the Russian, then the German and the French and the Italian will want to score a similar success, and if I do nothing, my attitude will be attributed to displeasure at the Russophil leanings of the Ghazi. On the other hand, I am living in a hired house not suitable for such an entertainment, while the Therapia garden is a wilderness, and not in a condition to be the scene of an official festivity.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.6, No.6

ENCLOSURE IN No. 48

Memorandum

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 4, 1927

In consequence of a notification from the delegation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, that the President of the Republic was arriving in Constantinople on Friday, the 1st instant, and would receive the foreign consuls, and after communication with certain of my colleagues, I proceeded to Dolma Bagtche Palace at 6.30 p.m. on that day and was shown into the large room on the left-hand of the entrance door, where I found most of my colleagues and the Oecumenical Patriarch already assembled. The President's arrival had been announced for 3 p.m., and as he did not arrive until 6 p.m. we anticipated a considerable wait. However the reception of officers of the garrison and of officials and Deputies was evidently speeded up, for we were conducted to his Excellency's presence by Hussein Nazmi Bey, 7.45 p.m. There was some doubt as to who was the senior consular officer, the French, Roumanian, Persian and Argentine consuls-general all laying claim to the honour, which the delegation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, apparently did not attempt to dissipate. The French consul-general had gone so far as to prepare an address of welcome which he proposed to read to the Ghazi. The delegation cut the middle paragraphs out of this address, and just before we were conducted to Mustafa Kemal's presence, Nazmi Bey told M. de la Forcade that no speeches or addresses were to be made. We were led, some twenty-three of us, in any order, through corridors lighted with electricity to the large hall, where his late Majesty Abd-ul-Hamid held the ceremony of the *baisemain*, and which I saw last in the company of Prince Omar Faruk and Mr. and Mrs. Amery. To our surprise we found the room

in semi-darkness, with not a single light of any kind burning. We were conducted past the President, who, like all those, with the exception of officers of the garrison, taking part in the reception, was wearing civilian clothes. His Excellency shook hands with each of us as we passed him and thanked those of us, including myself, who welcomed him on his arrival in Constantinople. Owing to the semi-darkness it was impossible to see the President's features distinctly.

W.D.W. MATTHEWS

F.O. 424/267, p. 7, No.6/1

No. 49

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 374

Therapia, July 13, 1927
(Received July 18, 1927)

Sir,

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has been spending two or three days at Therapia, where he has come in order to be near the President of the Republic.

2. In the course of an interview on current questions, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, of his own accord, began to talk to me about the visit of the Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, which I had the honour to report to you in my despatch No.354 of the 6th July. His excellency said, in effect, that Afghanistan looked to Turkey for advice and a lead, and that he had strongly counselled Ala Mahmoud Tarzi Khan to follow Turkey's example and to steer a prudent middle course. Tewfik Rushdi Bey told me that, while his information was that Russian influence had had a set-back in Persia, it was very strong at the moment in Afghanistan, and his counsel to the Afghans had been consistently aimed at impressing on them the wisdom of keeping on the best terms possible with Great Britain. I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of Tewfik Rushdi's declarations, though possibly his references to the British Empire, its strength and the soundness of its policy were less eulogistic when talking with the Afghans than with me. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs wants peace, and he does not want Russia to become the dominant Eastern Power.

3. After expressing himself as, in general, highly satisfied with Afghanistan, the Minister for Foreign Affairs said he wished he could say as much of Persia. There seemed to him to be no sense of reality there, but he hoped that the Shah, whom he regarded as the one man of force and common-sense in the country, assisted by his able Minister Taimourtache, who knew conditions outside the frontiers of Persia better and with a sounder appreciation than any other Persian, would get things on to the right lines.

4. His Excellency was quite satisfied with Iraq, pleased that the question of the Turkish consul-general at Bagdad was settled, and ready to welcome an Iraqi representative in Turkey, provided that he was intelligent and prepared to work in the real spirit of the Treaty of Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.12-13, No.9

No. 50

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 380

Therapia, July 20, 1927

(Received July 25, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of reports furnished by His Majesty's consular officers at Smyrna, Trebizond, Mersina and Adrianople on the progress of the modernisation movement in the provinces of Turkey.

2. These reports agree closely in certain details, although the progress reported varies considerably between Smyrna and Trebizond owing to the very different characteristics of the populations of these districts.

3. As reported by Mr. Helm in the report of which a copy was sent to you under cover of my despatch No.364 of the 12th July, Islam seems still to maintain a firm hold on the interior and the country-side, but is receiving serious blows to its former prestige in the larger towns and villages accessible to the sea or the railway.

4. Road-making is consistently at a discount owing to the inability of the Turk to carry to completion that to which he has set his hand, and the upkeep of roads already made is considered necessary only by the military authorities and a few isolated officials, such as the Vali of Smyrna. The Turkish Government seeks to open up communications by means of costly railways largely because of their greater strategic value in Turkish eyes, and seems to forget that good roads are still an economic necessity for the development of the country.

5. In striking agreement with one another are the reports concerning the increase of loose habits, and particularly of drinking, among the younger Turks; with their natural corollary of diminished power of working and undermined honesty. Whether these weaknesses are likely to lead in the long run to difficulty on the part of the Government in controlling the youth of the country and preventing the spread of revolutionary propaganda it is difficult as yet to predict. But the fact that the Turkish trader is to-day outstripping his former and hated predecessor, the Greek and Armenian trader, in sharp practice and double-dealing bodes ill for the progress of trade.

6. Modern Turkey is still in its early infancy. It has been carefully nursed by a skilful hand through its first few days of life, but has been given the strong wine of Nationalism and Modernism at a tender age. The mass of the population have probably not yet become used to these changes, and it will require many more years for the Angora Government to make of the present baby a stripling fit to withstand the onslaught of the reactionary forces of Islam.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, 13-14, No. 11

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 50

Report by Vice-Consul Watkinson, Smyrna

The Ghazi is said to aim at producing conditions of social and economic life similar to those in Western Europe. His personal prestige and authority have made the country accept changes in the course of a few months which the old régime would not have achieved in a hundred years.

2. The policy is one of imitation and adaptation. The reforms provided for by the Grand National Assembly are real and have been carried out with firmness, but it is probable that they are not understood by the masses of the people, and the inconveniences of more modern systems of taxation, of providing uniforms for their school-children, of adopting *soi-disant* European clothing, of general contributions to charity or national defence, and even of being made to take one's female relatives to the local beer-garden, are undoubtedly felt by many whose geographical environment is still unchanged. The process of grafting Western ideas in surroundings of the East is a slow one. The new order cannot be entirely accepted until the old order has been discarded. And there are occasional signs that it has not been put away by the devout Moslem, of whom the interior of Asia Minor is still full.

3. So far as Government encouragement is concerned, there are definite signs of material progress both in Smyrna and in the smaller towns and villages. The vilayet authorities are full of schemes for the improvement of urban and rural life.

4. There is great activity in road-making, particularly in the Smyrna Vilayet under the present Vali, whose main interests are roads and schools, to judge from his frequent tours of inspection. The basis of all organisation is the opening-up of the country by proper roads. The principal scheme being carried out at present is the main road from Smyrna via Menemen to Pergama, which brings the products of a rich portion of Western Anatolia within easier reach of Smyrna. Every road leading out of Smyrna is being kept under repair. This is doubtless partly prompted by military considerations. Unfortunately the material used is of the cheapest. No single stretch of road in this neighbourhood has been repaired within

the last few years which has not been in urgent need of attention within twelve months. It is doubtful if these roads would survive a month of modern war transport. In the Aidin district there is similar activity. In some districts camels and donkeys are being slowly replaced by Ford cars and wagons. According to a recent declaration to the press on the subject of road-making, a comprehensive scheme copied from Russia is to be carried out for the building of cottages for road-menders at 5 kilom. intervals on all the main roads. Though various discussions have taken place between the authorities and representatives of foreign interests, practically the whole of the road construction and repair is given to local contractors.

5. Second in the list of officially inspired improvements is the school programme. This dealt with more fully in notes on "Education". Religious instruction has to all interests and purposes been abolished in all schools and a modern curriculum laid down by the Government with a system of inspection. The actual building of schools is also proceeding rapidly. Night classes, both in connection with the schools and at the Turk Odjaghis, are a recent innovation in Smyrna. They are not very largely attended.

6. Great progress has been made in the telephone system, largely at the instance of the military authorities. Repair gangs are supposed to be available in Smyrna to proceed to the scene of any breakdown. The Smyrna town telephone system is a disgrace to any large community. A new automatic telephone plant is now being laid down which will operate early next year. This will only cover the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

7. Housing facilities are being slowly improved. In Smyrna itself the task of clearing the ruined areas is so great that little progress has been made in actual rebuilding. So far as private accomodation is concerned, nothing whatever has been achieved. Accomodation is probably sufficient according to prevailing standards for the present population, which is said to total about 280.000. It does not allow for any expansion and makes the suggested organisation of an international exhibition a mere farce. In the interior, on the other hand, Magnesia, Oushak and Aidin have been largely rebuilt. The installation of immigrants from Macedonia and Thrace has been provided for in certain localities so far as housing accommodation is concerned. Unfortunately, Government assistance in land, money and equipment has been very sparing, and the newcomer who develops his land with any success has all too frequently had it taken away from him, so that there is said to be great discontent amongst the exchanged population.

8. With the slow reversion to normal conditions since the war, there is an increased area under cultivation. The abolition of the tithe may also have contributed to this. Modern agricultural devices would make more headway but for

the general poverty in the interior. The only innovation in the agricultural domain is the establishment of the sugar-beet industry at Oushak. It remains to be seen whether this will be a success or not.

9. In the town of Smyrna there have been many modern improvements. The President of the municipality made a survey of the past year's achievements in a recent press article. They are quoted in his own order:-

- (1.) The year 1926 saw the commencement of three new buildings for the Turk Odjaghi, of which Aziz Bey is the local President.
- (2.) Modern slaughterhouses were begun at an expenditure of £T.500,000. This was entrusted to a Turco-Swiss syndicate, and the buildings are now completed and in full working order.
- (3.) The Swedish Ericsson Company obtained the contract mentioned above for the installation of automatic telephones in Smyrna. Cables are being laid and six operators have been sent to Stockholm for training.
- (4.) A telephone exchange for 2,000 subscribers is being fitted up.
- (5.) A large park was laid out at Bahri Baba, near the centre of the native town, in which provision is made for children amusements.
- (6.) The sum of £T. 230,000 is said to have been spent on street improvements. A part of this consists in the demolition of unsafe buildings in the streets bordering on the burnt area. Many streets were also relaid last year.
- (7.) The land on the new Boulevard Ghazi, which is to be the main thoroughfare of the reconstructed town, is said to be nearly all sold now, and some building has been commenced in that neighbourhood. The area which has changed hands is given as 106,000 square metres. Until building actually begins this figure has very little significance.
- (8.) The total budget of the municipality for the year 1926-27 is £T. 600,000 receipts and expenditure added together (this is hardly a modern method of computation).
- (9.) £T.86,632 were spent on fire extinguishers and pumps. The municipality has for some months past been very interested in the testing of new types of fire extinguishing apparatus. The present fire brigade is well equipped and fairly efficient when called out.
- (10.) Ambulances have been acquired for the Memleket Hospital.
- (11.) A new marriage office has been opened in the Belledie buildings.
- (12.) £T. 12,000 is said to have been expended on the study of a general drainage plan for the area under reconstruction. A German engineer has been working on this.

- (13.) Land has been acquired for the laying out of a new cemetery outside the town, near Ishiklar. A director has been appointed and an up-to-date plan in squares on European models approved.
- (14.) A statue of the Ghazi is provided for in the budget.
- (15.) The stadium and football ground at Alsandjak has been reconstructed. A cycle track has been laid down, modern stands of reinforced concrete erected and changing and washing rooms built. The sum of £T. 3,000 is to be set aside by the municipality annually for the encouragement of sports. The improvements made have been rendered possible by contributions from the funds of the vilayet and from the Near East Relief.
- (16.) The municipality claims to be responsible for the commencement of a sleeping-car service between Smyrna and Angora.
- (17.) The octroi duty on raisins and figs has been reduced.
- (18.) The regulations for fruit-packing houses have been strictly enforced. These provide for aprons and white shirts for workers, the use of the hands in preference to the teeth in manipulation, the erection of wooden barriers and wired windows in the packing sheds, and medical examination of workers.

10. Other modern improvements in the town not mentioned by the president of the municipality are the introduction of taximeters and standardisation of the tariff, the street sweeping and watering arrangements, which are said to be vastly improved since the war. A concession, also, not mentioned in this catalogue of achievements, is that of the Gueuztepe Tramway Company, for electrification of the tram system and lighting of the whole town and district. The power station is now nearly completed, but the installation will not be finished until the year 1928. It is hoped that the Quay Company will be prevailed upon to change the present antiquated horse trams for electric ones, and the action in the early part of the year of the Port Monopoly Company in running a competitive service of ferry boats along the quay may hasten this.

11. Mention should be made of the increasing popularity of the theatre amongst the Turkish population. A performance of Hamlet in Turkish was recently produced before a crowded audience. The most up-to-date cinema films are also shown in Smyrna from time to time.

12. Perhaps one of the best examples of modern tendencies in Smyrna is in the sudden realisation of the advantages of radio telephony. A year ago the number of wireless sets in operation could be counted on one hand. Permits could only be obtained after great expenditure and trouble, and those who "listened in" were apparently considered suspicious persons in league with the undesirable

outside world. Thus when a certain American citizen set up his apparatus in a house near to that occupied by His Majesty's consul-general and fixed his aerial to the consul-general's chimney, the house was under close observation for ten days in succession, and a person living in an intervening house who knew nothing whatever about it was eventually called upon to explain the nature of the wire. To-day permits are granted freely, and many Turks are in possession of radio sets. The local cafés have also taken up the new craze, and crowds gather daily to listen to the latest from Stamboul. The Turk Odaghis are similarly equipped, both in Smyrna and at one or two places in the interior.

13. In this, as in many other matters, the strong military influence which prevails in this district has been a hindrance to progress. The intense suspicion of anything new, the dread of too free communication with the outer world, and the haunting fear of spies, have tended to kill initiative and to hamper attempts at reform.

14. Another craze which has been taken up with enthusiasm is for the jazz and the Charleston. In the dancing gardens of Smyrna the local hairdresser rubs shoulder with the Inter-Allied Claims Delegate, and the consul-general has the alternative of staying at home or sitting in close proximity to his greengrocer. This levelling influence is at work in most countries, but it is a radical change so far as the Turk is concerned, though he may have but replaced the Greek and the Armenian. The real change lies not so much in the closer association of the Turk and the European as in the admission of his women-folk to the revels. To-day the shortest skirts and the most powdered face are to be seen on the Turkish lady at these gatherings. It is only at the gaming tables that she has not yet made her appearance in public.

15. Though he has certainly made material progress in certain directions, present conditions seem to point to the Turk being at heart unchanged. If changed he shows signs of being morally the worse for the present as a result of recent reforms and of being called upon to take a closer interest in the actual administration of the country. This may be merely a passing phase, a form of swelled head in the newly-awakened and self-conscious citizen. The present day official is given far greater opportunities of spoiling his neighbour than ever before, but under a system of control and observation, which he knows may limit those opportunities to a few months or even weeks. In consequence, corruption amongst officials is practised on a larger scale than was known before.

16. In a less degree the same applies to the tradesman and the cultivator, landowner or peasant. It is the generally expressed opinion of those who come in contact with the Turk that there is no honesty in him to-day. The smallest loophole is taken advantage of. The commercial morality of Smyrna is in no way better than it was when the trade was largely in the hands of Greeks and Armenians. The

Turkish trader then stood out as a relatively straighter dealer. With sophistication his standard seems to have deteriorated, and the partiality of the Law Courts towards the native makes the European need to be wary in his transactions with him.

17. In personal dealings with the Turkish trader or the Turkish official it is the writer's usual experience that any sign of courtesy is construed into an indication of weakness.

F.O. 424/267, p. 14-17, No.11/1

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 50

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk

No. 14

TREBIZOND, June 12, 1927

Sir,

I have been instructed by your Excellency's despatch No.13 of the 30th April to furnish reports on, among other subjects, modernisation in this consular district, but it would hardly be an exaggeration to say, without entering into details, that any such process scarcely exists. If, however, railways can be considered modern, there are now two of them radiating once a day, at a snail's pace, from Samsoun for a few miles to the south and east, while the new Angora-Caesarea line, at present the subject of so much enthusiasm in the Turkish press, passes, between the Kizil Irmak and the latter town, through a part of the vast territory nominally under my supervision. Motor cars and lorries there are in abundance, both at Samsoun and Trebizond, and these have to a great extent superseded, during the summer months, the more ancient methods of transport on the very few roads which permit of wheeled traffic. Both towns also boast modern fire-engines, but, as there are no water supplies or trained firemen, their utility, which at Trebizond at least has not as yet been seriously put to the test, must be very limited indeed.

2. In my despatch No.3 of the 12th May I had the honour to report on the almost total absence of modernisation with regard to the position of women, and in this respect Trebizond, backward though it be, is ahead of the other eastern vilayets, where, at least in the towns, the face is still hidden by the "petché" as completely as if the Ghazi had never been heard of. There is, as between Turks and Europeans, and among the Turks themselves, absolutely no spontaneous social life as it is understood in Europe, and, although some desperate efforts have lately been made by various local clubs in that direction, the results have been ludicrous in the extreme. Thus the young men belonging to the club called itself the "Star of the Future" gave a subscription "ball" some weeks ago, at which the guests were seated round the room at small tables, where the most meagre refreshments were

served at exorbitant prices, and the great majority of those present remained glued to their seats throughout the evening. The bachelors, who are evidently considered dangerous in a mixed gathering, were herded into a corner by order, and I only succeeded in extricating a young Turkish friend of mine and introducing him to the English ladies of my party at the expense of embarrassing stares, and, as I afterwards learned, much jealous comment. The only Turkish ladies present were either wives of officials and officers or else schoolgirls, and the very few who danced belonged to the latter category. The Vali and his wife (dressed in a severe black costume of sporting cut with a masculine collar and tie) sat at opposite ends of the room all the evening, and, when at pointedly remarked to his Excellency that I had not yet had the honour of making his consort's acquaintance, the only answer I got was "Non, malheureusement."

3. A few days later, for Trebizond has been unusually gay this spring, a similar entertainment was given, with the addition of a preliminary concert, by the "sporting club" of this town. I gladly consented to play, more to make myself agreeable than in the hope of encouraging a taste for classical music, but I was not on that account let off the entrance money, which was considerable. The proceedings were begun, after more than an hour of unrelieved waiting, by three young men singing the "Marche de l'Indépendance," in comparison with which the most ear-splitting feline nocturne would have seemed melodious. The piano I was given to play upon was an ancient cracked instrument, hopelessly out of tune, supplied by the Soviet consulate-general for the occasion, and the only bright spot in an otherwise melancholy evening was an unaccompanied violin solo by my young Turkish friend, referred above, who alone in this town of 30,000 inhabitants has any artistic talent or understanding of Western music, and who is the object of much determined propaganda on the part of the Soviet consul's wife with a view to inducing him to study in Moscow.

4. I should be the last to deny that promising *beginnings* in the direction of beneficial modernisation (apart from the marked success if doubtful utility of the imposition of hats and caps on the male population) have been made by the local authorities. It is reported that at Erzeroum, which, however, no foreigner may enter, a really tolerable hotel has been evolved, under official auspices, out of a good house and garden which were pointed out to me during my visit in 1925. This must be a great improvement upon the indescribably filthy quarters which I had to occupy in what was then the best hotel in the town. Still, even a good hotel in this part of Turkey is not incompatible with swarms of bugs and the most primitive washing arrangements, as also, of course, an entire absence of baths and Western systems of sanitation. The hotels in Trebizond and Samsoun, the most "modern" towns in my district, are loathsome and comfortless to the last degree, service is almost non-existent and food unobtainable on the premises. Two or three very inferior restaurants are to be found outside, but the elementary requirements of

travelling Europeans and better class Turks can be met only by a "Pension suisse" in each of the two towns, run by German-Suisse women, who are well aware that the decencies of life in these parts are worth their weight in gold.

5. Then, too, the Trebizond Municipality took it into its collective head last year to do something for the town by laying out a public garden in the railed enclosure within the central square. Good progress was made, flower-beds laid out, grass borders planted, trees pruned, &c., but on my return two months ago I found the place had become a howling wilderness, and subsequent attempts at remedying this state of things were of course abortive as the season was much too far advanced. The same body, also early last year, resolved, not to be outdone in practical patriotism by other towns, to create a grand boulevard and call it after the Ghazi, who might be induced to come and inaugurate it if ever he could be persuaded to forgive Trebizond for his frigid reception in 1924. In true Turkish fashion wholesale destruction of inhabited houses, including several of the best surviving in a town where one in three is in ruins, was carried out with the greatest alacrity, the only theatre, such as it was, being cut in two in the process. Then all the domestic refuse of the town was carted for weeks to the spot in order to create a suitable foundation for the future boulevard and mitigate the steepness and unevenness of its descent from the centre of the town to the unsavoury beach, on which for no possible practical purpose, it should ultimately debouch. The ruined houses, the refuse and the unsavoury beach are still there, but after nearly a year and a half the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha Boulevard is far from materialisation as ever. Indeed, the whole work seems to have been abandoned, and the citizens must find what comfort they can in the fact that the waste space thus produced is all to the good for ventilation purposes. So much for public works, but the town is without electricity (though this is promised for next year) and almost without water, for, although water exists in abundance, the pipes are spoilt, and the Turks can neither repair them nor do they even know the location of the springs, all such skill and knowledge having been the monopoly of the Greeks and Armenians, who are sorely missed, as even the Turks admit, for every practical purpose of daily life. In short, it would be safe to say that in the two thousand six hundred and eighty-third years of its history, civilisation in Trebizond has never been at so low an ebb.

6. One very noticeable aspect of modernity, as it can be called in this country at least, is the great relaxation in religious observance which has taken place in recent years. To what extent faith in Islam still maintains itself would be very difficult to determine, but it may be presumed that it is still intact among the peasants of the interior, who appear to be re-enacting the pious, simple, laborious lives of their forefathers. In the towns however, and even in the coast villages, it is very different. Attendance at the mosques has fallen off enormously, even on Fridays, which are now spent in truly hectic fashion, dashing along the few available roads in rattling old Ford cars, the men and women separately, and

drinking raki all day long, to the accompaniment of strident German gramophones, in one or other of the natural beauty spots in which this coast abounds. Drunkenness is, indeed, fast becoming a national vice, to all appearance, although only among the men as yet, and human life, never held of high account in this neighbourhood, is now in greater peril than ever as a result of the constant drunken brawls which very frequently have a fatal ending. Although the triumph of what may be termed reaction would be hailed throughout this district with unfeigned joy, and although, with the restoration of the fez and a sense of personal dignity and liberty, religious principles and practices would doubtless triumph for a time, yet the present official discouragement of religion with the resultant physical and moral degeneracy would probably have gone too far to permit of a permanent recovery along the old lines.

I have, &c.

W.L.C. KNIGHT

F.O. 424/267, p. 17-19, No.11/2

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 50

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk

No. 17

MERSINA, May 27, 1927

Sir,

The signs of modernisation which I have observed on returning to this district after an absence of sixteen years from Turkey may be summed up under the following heads:-

2. *Dress.* — The picturesque national costumes of the very mixed peasant population are rapidly disappearing. The men go about in shoddy modern clothes, and the most dreadful brand of coster and poacher caps it is possible to imagine. You can now hardly tell a Circassian from a Yuruk, or an Albanian from a Kurd. In their wild and romantic natural setting these people would at least look well in the costume of the Wild West, but in their present rig they are almost an offence to the landscape, which only the Cretans now brighten in the rags of the clothes they were exchanged in. Townsmen at first glance look like so many Greeks, but there is a certain tendency to affect good form and, being generally well set up and frequently now clean-shaven, some smart young Turks present quite an English appearance. With the formation of sporting clubs, tennis flannels and football jerseys are now in demand, and "The smoking" has come in with the dancing.

3. *Material Progress and Lack of Progress.* — Apart from the railway, which had not linked this district to the outside world when I was last here, motor cars, which were then unknown, and electric light, Adana and Mersina do not show many signs

of material progress. They are old-fashioned Turkish country towns with narrow cobbled streets (in Adana broken and holed and most painful to walk on), little native booths and shops, cafés with smokers of narghiles, camels, ox-carts, peasants jogging about on horseback, and all the rest of it. With the coming of motors there is not so much squatting along the sides of the streets as there used to be. In Adana many of the houses are built of sun-dried mud and have flat roofs. On the outskirts of Mersina the poorer classes live in huts of reeds and mud, and in the summer time in perches in the trees. There has been scarcely any building in either town. A half-finished boulevard has been cut through a quarter of Adana, and ambitious modern blocks of offices and shops begun and left unfinished. The Mayor of Mersina is making raised pavements along the sea-front, which protect the feet from the mud in winter and the dust in summer. He is also talking of asphalt and the usual fancy scheme to build a modern hotel, casino, theatre, &c. There are private electric lighting plants in Adana. The whole of Mersina is lit by a public plant. Hitherto the current was only laid on during the night time, but as from the first of next month it will be available during the day, with the most welcome boon of electric fans. There are no public telephones in either town. The first radio set has just been established over the Mersina Chamber of Commerce and Bourse building. Apart from the stretch between Mersina and Tarsus, the roads are almost as bad as before, starting bravely out from each town, but leaving a long intervening hiatus with *détours* through fields in which the Fords have to jump the ditches and the usual broken and unrepaired bridges. Motoring between towns is only possible in summer. Mersina has a fire-brigade with Fiat engines. With the exception of the "New Hotel" at Adana, run by an enterprising Albanian, which has single-bedded rooms, quite decent furniture, electric light and fans and a European bathroom (but not lavatory), the hotels in these country towns are about on a par with Greek provincial "locandas", and foreigners only endure them of dire necessity. To be "modern" a pianist is employed to hammer out bygone fox-trots during meals in the public dining-room. The only modern shop in Adana, Orosdi-Back's, has lately been burnt down. Its branch in Mersina is being closed in consequence. There is one quite enterprising Turkish shop here which stocks a variety of lines, but the majority of articles of common necessity to a European are simply not obtainable in either town. With the removal of the Greeks and Armenians hardly any skilled labour is available here. One Turkish, Dunmeh, firm has lately begun to turn out furniture with the aid of a cabinet-maker trained in Vienna, and I employed a wandering German in fitting up my house, but the average native carpenter is about as skilful as an English schoolboy. There is only one individual in the place who can doctor a typewriter or a gramophone, and that in a clumsy fashion. Plumbers simply do not exist, and I could find no one with the most rudimentary notions of fitting up a bathroom but an Italian stone-mason. The electric light plant, which constantly plunges the town into darkness at awkward

moments, is kept going by a Hungarian. There is no decent barber in Mersina, and men's and women's hair is cut alike, as by the village blacksmith. The ladies of Adana have discovered a Cretan with more attempts at art. Adana and Mersina each have a cinema. Owing to the lack of local talent the pictures are not accompanied by music of any sort. Adana indulges in a low-down cabaret, but apart from dancing, there are no other public entertainments, not even a Punch and Judy show.

4. *Sports and Pastimes.* — The Turks down here are being encouraged by the Government to take to European sports and games. Sporting clubs have been formed at both Adana and Mersina, and football and tennis are played. The Mersina club has just acquired a rowing-boat. There is talk of cricket. Gymnastic apparatus is being erected on sports grounds. It is also amusing to watch the boom in bicycles, which all the lads and lasses are now learning to ride. Motor-bicycles are also popular. Pillion-riding is carried to the most perilous lengths imaginable. I have mentioned the popularisation of dancing in my report on the position of women. As for horse-racing, Adana, Tarsus and Mersina have long had their regular meetings, very much on the Irish model. This region is the home of Circassians and is essentially horsey. The men ride for pleasure as well as locomotion, and play the old Turkish game of Djerrid every Friday afternoon in the autumn and winter. Horse-racing needs little encouragement down here, though it can doubtless be "modernised" and its vicious elements introduced if the Ghazi so decrees, to the great loss of the real sport in its best and most natural form which it at present affords.

5. *Manners and Morals.* — I have said in my report on women that the harem is a thing of the past, and that Turkish men and women are beginning to meet socially in their own houses. I dare say that ordinary Turkish gatherings are tame enough and confined to sittings round the best parlour or hall-dining-room sitting-room in the style of provincial Greeks, sippings of coffee or raki, eatings of cakes and sweets, and strummings on primitive string instruments of music. Unlike the Greeks, the provincial Turks would certainly not dare to talk politics, and one supposes that the conversation is confined to cotton and crops and taxes. Whenever I have been at parties among the Turkish upper classes or officials the proceedings have been distinctly Pickwickian, with aids to revelry modernised in the form of cocktails and gramophones. The word "cocktail" has come to stay in the Turkish language. It covers diverse liquors (among which good old English gin ranks respectably high) mixed in an inappropriate manner and consumed at inappropriate times and in inappropriate amounts. The gramophone goes with the cocktail as sugar with coffee. Some Turkish families proudly display a piano (traced in vain by distracted reparation claims investigators), but having regard to the slow progress made by the local school of piano-tuners or players, this instrument is put to bed again with the baby early in the evening. The "Charleston" is most popular

dance in Turkish towns. It does not in the least matter whether the Hungarian professional has taught it you or not. The more grotesque your contortions and the wilder your kickings the funner it is. Were it not out of place in an official report, I could write cantos on the Caperings of a Customs Collector, and volumes on the Vim of Valis in essaying this peculiar dance. Turkish parties are apt to last till very late, and it is refreshing to find that the essentially English beverage known as Eno's has also found a niche in the Turkish language and in every grocer's shop, and is used by all wise Turks as the natural corollary to the cocktail. With the sudden removal of essential Moslem restrictions and the teaching of republican ideas the younger generation of Turks are bound to be somewhat thrown off their balance. My French colleague at Adana, who sometimes gets stones thrown at him on his walks abroad, and is naturally inclined to pessimism, takes a gloomy view and thinks that the little Turk will soon be not only a regular little Turk but a regular little Bolshevik. I have not yet been molested, but though generally treated with politeness and respect, I agree that it is not so easy as before to keep the young Turk in his place. I have had more than one occasion to reprimand a cheeky youth of the chauffeur class (one of whom was downright rude to some guests of mine and subsequently had a scandalous adventure with the Mufti's daughter) and have now had to dismiss my second cavass for stealing my pigeons, a mean offence which a retainer of the old school would sooner have died than commit. These young fellows do not go to the mosque. Shopkeeping would not seem likely to improve the Turks' morals. Here, at least, they are taking too readily to the petty tricks of the dispossessed Greek and Armenian traders without learning much about the main essence of the business. A sinister feature, directly or indirectly due to the Angora régime, is the presence in the principal café of every small town of "Filles de Cabaret" of the vague nationality. These strumpets are in addition to the inmates of the public brothels. Whatever laxity of morals follows from all these things will probably be held longer in check here than elsewhere by the older generation. The bulk of the people are strict Moslems, who go regularly to the mosque, keep Ramazan and say their prayers in field and factory and shop. Little effect is yet observable on the patriarchal manners and customs of the country population.

I have, &c.

R.E.W. CHAFY

ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 50

Report by Consular Officer, Adrianople

ADRIANOPLE, May 25, 1927

An attempt is being made to create a public park modelled in a humble way on those at Constantinople. A tennis court is being made, and there is to be music, dancing and bathing. The site chosen in the woods beside the Maritza River, though beautiful in itself, is unfortunately found to be infested with mosquitoes of an extremely ferocious kind, and it seems likely that the success of the enterprise will depend largely upon the result of the efforts now being made to do away with them. A squad of prisoners is generally to be seen working in the park.

2. Another phenomenon, minute itself but quite as significant historically as brimmed headgear, is the installation of a striking arrangement in the town clock, and the sound of the bell, formerly so hated by true Moslems, is now heard all over the town.

F.O. 424/267, p. 21, No. 11/4

No. 51

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 384

THERAPIA, July 20, 1927

(Received July 25, 1927)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No. 380 of to-day's date, I have the honour to transmit herewith further reports from His Majesty's consular officers in Turkey on the position of women in their respective districts since the introduction of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's programme of modernisation.

2. In general the results seem to be such as might be expected when a Moslem country is swung from the extreme repression of women laid down by Islamic law to the freedom of 20th century Europe. Still, it is worthy of note that the rulers of modern Turkey have had the wisdom or prudence to allow a considerable measure of liberty to those elements which continue to think the veil and the customs of Islam a necessity. Doubtless they trust to the schools to inculcate in the new generation ideas that will bring in the projected reforms automatically.

3. The report from Trebizond in particular shows that, if such is their reasoning, their plans appear to be meeting with success.

4. It is, however, to be hoped, for Turkey's sake, that "progress" will not connote smaller families. Turkey needs above everything an increasing population,

and short skirts and degrees of law and medicine will not replace the habits of large families and hard work, which, as these reports show, still prevail in the country districts and small villages in the interior.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.21-22, No.12

ENCLOSURE 1 IN No. 51

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk

No. 3

TREBIZOND, May 12, 1927

Sir,

With reference to your Excellency's despatch No.13 of the 30th April, received on the 9th instant, I have the honour to report as follows on the present position of women in my consular district, this being the subject among those mentioned in the despatch under reference which can best be taken first, as involving least need of further study and observation.

2. It will be remembered that during the past winter the Vali, on behalf of the Council of the Vilayet of Trebizond, issued an edict ordering the women to unveil within a few days, and threatening the refractory and their nearest male relations with sundry fines and varying terms of imprisonment.

3. Trebizond has the reputation of being the most reactionary vilayets in Turkey, but it is somewhat easy-going inhabitants, in spite of the opportunities afforded in recent years, have signally failed to show the martyr's spirit. Thus, while at Erzerum and Rizeh and elsewhere in this consular district they were hanging men in plenty for the wearing of the fez, Trebizond adopted the new headgear with alacrity on the approach of the Tribunal of Independence.

4. It was always anticipated however, that the "devout female-sex" would prove a more difficult proposition, although were the attack on them to assume the legal form and adopt the executive methods so effective in the case of the men, I venture to doubt whether the ladies would put up a better show of resistance. At all events, being confronted in the present instance with a mere conciliar decree lacking the force of law, they and their men-folk devised a compromise which, from their point of view, proved a complete success. The "petché", or short black veil which fell over the face, was duly discarded, while the "charshaf", as not being a veil in the sense of the decree, was retained in all its amplitude, and serves to protect the features to the exact extent desired by the wearer. Modesty being as much a distinguishing mark of the Trebizond women as jealousy is of their

husbands, the situation has, to all intents and purposes, remained the same as before the promulgation of the edict, and with the state of affairs the local authorities have to be satisfied, at least for the present.

5. The few female faces to be seen in the streets are, with very rare exceptions, those of either school-mistresses or school-girls, who, having been the objects of special legislation, are, of course, in a category apart. The latter, growing up without the traditional restrictions of dress or manners, will doubtless never adopt those of their mothers, except possibly in the case of a very few old-fashioned families, where the tradition of filial piety is still strong. I know of one such family, where the majority of the girls had already passed school age, and where the remainder will probably retire one by one into the veiled seclusion of their mother and elder sisters. But such cases must remain quite exceptional, so that, granting the permanence of the present régime, there can be little doubt that this side of its scholastic policy will result in a new generation of emancipated women, whether for good of the country or otherwise remains to be seen. It is difficult to conceive how, with little or no moral basis in education, and under the quite opposite influences which meet with official encouragement, the majority of these fresh and attractive young creatures can be prevented from turning into the appalling specimens of painted and half-clad flappers who have begun to flaunt themselves even in the streets of Trebizond. It is perhaps inevitable that among the rising generation one extreme should, under the circumstances, be followed by the other, but surely a Government which is obliged to have a special care for the productiveness of the race must soon realise that certain social tendencies of its own local creation, most marked at Constantinople and Angora, and so far to a much lesser extent in the provincial centres, are the last in the world from which motherhood of any sort, much less quantitative and qualitative motherhood, is to be expected.

6. It will have been gathered from what has been already said that in the public life of this town and district women so far take practically no part. None exercise any profession or calling except the school-mistresses. A few are drudges in the women's wards of hospitals in the rare towns where such institutions exist. None are to my knowledge employed in any office or administration with the exception of the post-office, which, in Trebizond, has two women clerks said to be of local extraction. Although the servant problem is most acute, it is almost impossible to obtain the services of a Turkish woman or girl, and such as are procurable are the last word in slovenliness and inefficiency. Nor do they seem capable of improvement by training, and the energy required for the effective scrubbing of a floor is more than they can or will command.

7. On the other hand, an Englishman who is actively interested in mining in this district, assures me that the peasant women, whom he employs to shovel the

mixed earth and ore and carry it from the mines to the washing plant, work steadily and well. Women, too, are everywhere to be seen in the country districts laboriously tilling the soil, and are especially skilled in the delicate processes of tobacco-growing and picking and drying the leaves. In the Régie cigarette factory at Samsun I have seen women, and more particularly very young girls, work with an industry and dexterity which the manager declared quite put the men to shame. It would appear, therefore, that the women of the peasant class, who will be the last to be influenced by new ideas of any kind, are least in need of them as far as their own contentment and their usefulness to the community are concerned. It is to be feared, however, that such conditions are hardly more conducive to infant welfare than those alluded to at the end of paragraph 5 above.

8. Social life in the towns is all but confined to the small European and Levantine communities, which hardly exist in this district except on the coast. Indeed, Trebizond, Samsun and Kiresun are the only places where the foreign element is sufficiently strong to influence the local population to any appreciable degree, and such influence has scarcely begun to make itself felt on the local Turkish women. The latter are never visible to a male caller, and when they call they see only the women of the house. They have no idea of etiquette (the Vali's wife has not yet returned my wife's visit paid nearly two years ago). Even the cinema is now taboo, as they will not be present with the men, and the Friday afternoon performances reserved to women and children were abolished more than a year ago as being a concession incompatible with these enlightened times. The light generated by the fiat of modern Turkey's creator is obviously of too garish a quality for eyes unaccustomed to the normal light of day.

I have, &c.

W.L.C. KNIGHT

F.O. 424/267, p. 22-23, No.12/1

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 51

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk

No. 15

MERSINA, May 21, 1927

Sir,

I have the honour to report as follows on the position of women in this part of Turkey.

2. My district is old-fashioned and fanatical, but the emancipation of women under the new régime is proceeding steadily and I do not think that anything will now check it. The new type of woman now so familiar in Constantinople,

turbanned or hatted and dressed in the mode of Paris, most of whom set a distinctly rapid pace, is making her appearance in Adana and Mersina in the shape of wives and daughters of imported officials or manufacturers and notables who have been abroad. Officials on the spot are also dutifully modernising their womenfolk. Having recently some cousins staying with me to act as hostesses, I invited my local authorities to a party and made them play musical chairs and other childish games. They all much enjoyed themselves, but it was afterwards delicately hinted to me that the only flaw in the proceedings was the absence of their ladies, whom I dared not to invite. The chief of police promptly gave a return entertainment. "English games" and all, and his wife under the tutelage of a more experienced Armenian neighbour, acted as hostess in a bashful but pleasing manner, and played on an agreeable instrument called the "Oot."

3. Turkish ladies in the provinces are being deliberately taught to dance. When I first came here a year ago Mersina was giving its first public ball and the then Vali was much annoyed that the Khanums at that time would, or could, not dance and told me that his own daughter was the one of the next occasion to be the first to take the floor. Since then more and more Khanums are beginning to dance in Adana and Mersina. A Hungarian dancing professional, who spends his time teaching in the two towns, told a friend of mine that he was positively worn out with his caperings in Turkish houses. The first public dance was given the other day in the distinctly old-world borough of Selefke. The Hungarian jazz band from Mersina was booked for the occasion, but in the end the company had to be content with a gramophone as no such things as a piano could be discovered in Selefke. On this occasion the Khanums were duly "blooded" and made their first acquaintance with confetti and paper streamers, in which they sat garlanded between dances, not venturing to whisk away these marks of the gentlemen's attention.

4. Girls are now beginning to walk about the town by themselves, a thing unheard of before. Though a part of the public garden is still reserved for the frumpish and old-fashioned wives now commonly go about with their husbands. The sexes are also beginning to meet socially in each other's houses and the "harem" would seem definitely to be a thing of the past. A large number of townswomen of the *bourgeoise* class are still heavily veiled or half veiled, and I understand that the Ghazi is wise enough not to impose any unveiling order in these parts. But the veil is, I think, dying a natural death. Girls growing up will simply not wear it.

5. Little Turkish girls now go to school, bare-headed in becoming little pinafores. They ride bicycles and behave very much like schoolgirls elsewhere, though, not all having short hair, they look a trifle old-fashioned. Young Turkish girls are employed in the only two modern shops in Mersina, but not yet in

business offices. They are also allowed to sell flags and badges in the streets on the now numerous "flag" or Red Crescent days. Moslem girls are sometimes employed as servants in Christian houses, but only allowed to stay during the daytime. A very modern type of girl makes her appearance from time to time from Constantinople, Angora or some other centre and goes round offices collecting subscriptions for newspapers. Turkish sporting clubs are now being formed in Adana and Mersina, and Turkish girls will doubtless shortly appear on the tennis court.

6. The countrywomen round here have never worn veils. They are a hardy lot who work with the men in the fields and tramp with camel caravans, carrying their babies in slings on their backs. In certain villages and tribes, the women wear the good old-fashioned Turkish baggy trousers. They spin and weave their own and their men-folk's clothes and among the Turkomans and nomads make them coats of many colours. The only way in which the Ghazi is likely to touch the countrywomen of Cilicia is through the village schools which have been founded within a certain radius of the towns, and where new ideas will doubtless be taught to the rising generation of wives and mothers. In the Cilician plain men, women and children work in gangs under an overseer. They are now working from sun rise to sunset. There is seldom and shade from the scorching sun but that thrown by an occasional carob-tree or the ox-waggon which brings their midday cauldron of food from the farm (though the overseer wears a common black umbrella). This hoeing and gathering in cotton fields is niggers' or coolies' work elsewhere (and one wonders if Southern Italians could stand it). The women who walk with the camels are also of a prodigiously robust physique. The general position of countrywomen in these parts is essentially primitive, and champions of women's rights might observe that they do a full man's work as well as a full woman's work — with brief pauses for gestation. They seem to flourish on it very well.

7. Some well-to-do countrymen in the mountain regions who have an interest in the tillage of several villages, keep several wives, as it were to every village a stewardess (but not in the manner of a ship's steward or common sailor man). Each wife looks after her husband's interests in one village during his absence in another. Owing to the lack of easy communication (and seeing that the husband goes away on the best nag), neighbouring wives are presumably debarred from inharmonious contact. The people have been made to understand that these fashions must cease and will doubtless resign them with the spread of education and means of communication, if not at once by order and edict. A German scientist with forty years' experience of this district tells me that polygamy is not very largely practised. It will probably be quickly suppressed in the towns.

I have, &c.

R.E.W. CHAFY

ENCLOSURE 3 IN No. 51

Report from Consular Officer, Adrianople

ADRIANOPLE, May 25, 1927

I am under the impression that women here are coming to the fore slowly but surely. One does not often see a veiled one now, while the Jewesses of the town (of whom there are many) are always there to set at least a Levantine, if not a European, standard of dress and behaviour. As I have before reported, dancing is very popular, but the old harem spirit is not quite dead, and social intercourse does not seem to get much beyond formal dancing in large open rooms. With very few exceptions, the provincial ladies are still heavy and handicapped by a lack of education and languages. Their visits are, I know, a terror to my French colleague's sociable and amusing wife. But still, when all is said, there is no doubt that the general position of women has improved immensely under the present régime, and it seems to be only a question of time until they can take full advantage of it.

2. In the smaller towns things have naturally gone more slowly, and Mrs. Boggetti, of Keshan, told me that it was only the other day that the local ladies started to pay calls, when they came to visit her all together and sat a most unconscionable time without saying anything.

F.O. 424/267, p.25, No.12/3

ENCLOSURE 4 IN No. 51

Report by Mr. Helm

SMYRNA, June 28, 1927

The most complete of all the changes which have been decided upon by the Republican Government of Turkey is in the position of women. The emancipation of women by Government decree has taken the population of Turkey by surprise. To the older people it is evident that the endeavour to change their status comes as a shock. It is no easy matter to destroy the tradition of centuries, and certain of the population show a strong disinclination to fall in with modern views. This is shown in the poorer quarters of Smyrna, in such residential suburbs as Boudja and Bournabat, and even more in the villages of the interior, where women still cover their faces at sight of a European and withdraw rapidly to their houses if they are surprised on their doorstep. There are also many instances known of individual Turks who have refused to allow their women-folk to conform to the requirements of the authorities, even to the extent of shooting the police who have been to enforce those regulations.

2. The better classes are less conservative. The younger generation, in particular, seems prepared to avail itself of the changed conditions, as is evidenced

by the zeal with which the young Turkish girl, when allowed to do so, throws herself into amusements and the ultra-modernity in some cases of her skirts and general appearance.

3. It has always been the custom in this district for women of the peasant classes to work as labourers in the fields, and as factory workers, carpet makers, embroiderers and knitters. A few Turkish women are now also to be seen in public offices and as cashiers in shops, as bank employees, telephone operators and post office sorters. There are Turkish dressmakers in Smyrna who compete successfully with their foreign rivals. But in general, they are not equipped with sufficient education for anything other than manual work, and in Smyrna they cannot compete with the Jewess.

4. The most important step towards the emancipation of the women lies in developing their educational attainments. Formerly, the educated Turkish woman was acquainted with arithmetic and reading. A very few knew French or some other foreign language, though in Smyrna it is very rare to find any with more than a mere smattering. There was no question of any Turkish woman other than some isolated exception adopting a profession or interesting herself in men's spheres of life. Now it is possible for them to be specialists in mathematics and chemistry and lady doctors, lawyers and chemists.

5. The Smyrna Vilayet has sent a certain Melahat Hanum to Constantinople University to study chemistry. Apart from this, there is a training establishment for teachers at Cordelio, which is said to be well staffed. Most of the primary schools are now mixed. With better education there is no reason why Turkish women should not follow the same lines of evolution as in other countries.

6. There is no women's club or Y.M.C.A. organisation in Smyrna. Certain of the more enlightened ladies of Cordelio, some of whom are connected with the family of the President of the Council, and a small set at Gueuztépé, amongst whom are the wife and sister-in-law of the late Vali of Smyrna, are interested in the Society for the Defence of Women's Rights. They take a prominent part in the work of the Anti-Tuberculosis League and of the Child Protection Society. Under their auspices lectures are given in schools on modern hygienic principles. Party politics do not appear to interest them greatly.

7. Women now travel about freely with their husbands and appear everywhere with them in public. But it is unusual for a Turk to permit his wife to go out very frequently alone except to the bazaars. There is no longer any separation of the men and the women in tramcars or trains, though on a railway journey there is a tendency for the men to gather together for discussion, leaving the women-folk and children to their own devices.

8. The veil has now practically disappeared in Smyrna, though it is still seen on some of the older women. At Aidin, on the other hand, a large number of the women were veiled last Bairam and the authorities decided not to interfere. It appears that there had been considerable traffic in undesirable women in certain cabarets and clubs of Aidin, and the more conservative portion of the population objected the scenes which took place there. At Sokia, on the other hand, the large garden belonging to the resident manager for the Macandrews and Forbes Company was recently lent for a garden party for the charitable purposes. The whole population of Sokia attended and none of the women were veiled. Somewhat to the surprise of their host there was not a single case of drunkenness.

9. Modern European headgear is as yet practically unknown to the Turkish women of Smyrna. As a general rule the Turkish costume is little changed except for the omission of the veil. It appears to go against the grain for the Turkish woman to do away with the symbol of the distinction between Moslem and the non-Moslem.

10. There is a certain amount of entertainment by Turkish ladies in their homes. Tea parties and dancing are by no means unknown, but the circle of those who visit such houses is restricted and very few Turkish ladies visit European houses.

11. In family life there is said to be a general change. The selamlık and haremlik have disappeared. Husband and wife pass their time together as Europeans do, and the woman's position in the home is not any more that of the inferior than is the case, say, in Germany. The morality of the Turkish woman is said to be high, and her newly-found liberty does not seem to have produced any such results as did the emancipation and sudden enrichment of large numbers of young girls in England during the war. Whether this is due to Moslem principles or to repression by the other sex it would be difficult to say.

12. Though the seeds have been sown which may later bring forth a radical change in the position of the Turkish women, their complete emancipation is a thing of the future dependent on their better education. If the present views of the Government are maintained, and there is no reversal to the more conservative view, there is no doubt that in a few years this change may be effected. As yet it is idle to look on it as more than a movement in the desired direction, except in the case of a very few who may have been ripe for such a change.

F.O. 424/267, p.26, No.12/4

No. 52

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 419

THERAPIA, August 9, 1927

(Received August 15, 1927)

Sir,

During the past month there has, according to the press been feverish electoral activity throughout this country. Actually, signs of electoral activity of any kind have been absolutely lacking, but as in these days there can be but one party in the State this is perhaps hardly surprising.

2. The new elections are being carried out on the basis of the Election Law of 1923, which was very slightly modified just before the recent closing of the Second Grand National Assembly. This provides for a system of secondary elections, whereby every 200 primary electors (women's suffrage, though spoken of, has not yet been introduced in Turkey) choose a "second" elector, every hundred of whom in due course elect a Deputy to the Assembly.

3. The fact that no population statistics are available has made it a matter of some difficulty to establish the number of "second" electors to be allotted to each electoral area, but this has been easily overcome thanks to the simple expedient of stretching the numbers of the population to their uttermost limits, as, for instance, in the case of Constantinople, to which seventeen Deputies are to be allotted on the assumption that there are 340.000 electors. In other districts the exaggeration must be on an even larger scale, for it is stated on official authority that the new Assembly will number at least 300 Deputies, a total which, according to the law, would provide for the representation of upwards of 6 million primary electors, and that in a country whose total population is most unlikely to exceed that figure by more than 50 per cent.

4. The elections are however, going forward, and the choice of the "second" electors has now almost been completed. With the entire electoral machinery, in the hands of the People's party organisation, it is perhaps superfluous to add that that party's "electors" have everywhere been unanimously elected. Indeed, it is doubtful whether in any area any but those on the approved list had the audacity to submit their candidature.

5. The final elections will, it is understood, be held early in September, and can hardly fail to be as uninteresting as have been the recent "second" elections. what will be of interest will be the list of People's party candidates, as regards which the utmost secrecy is being maintained. By a decision of the party in May last, the party's candidates must be vetted by a committee consisting of the President (Mustafa Kemal Pasha), vice-president (İsmet Pasha) and secretary-general (Safvet Bey) of the party. The two last have arrived at Constantinople within the last week

and are understood to be in daily consultation with the Ghazi. Nervousness among the present Deputies is widespread, and it is confidently expected that not less than half of these will disappear and that their places will be taken by more enlightened representatives who have deserved well of their country, their party, and more particularly of its President.

6. Since it is known that the list of People's party candidates to be published over the Ghazi's signature will a few days later be the list of Deputies composing the Assembly which will meet on the 1st November, the prevailing secrecy gives rise to much speculation, more especially as it is in marked contrast to the comparative openness with which the last general election was carried out four years ago. Moreover, there was at that time a heterogeneous collection of dissentients who, if left alone, might have coalesced into a reasonably effective Opposition. To-day even these have disappeared, the Kemalist creed has been assiduously propagated in the intervening four years through the agency of the Turk Ojaktari, and the entire country has been thoroughly organised for electoral and other purposes by People's party inspectors, who in their respective zones are more powerful than the once omnipotent Valis. Further, as if the precautions already enumerated were not enough, no less than seven Valis and thirty-three Kaimakams have been changed in the last week.

7. In face of all this it is not surprising that secrecy has given rise to rife speculation. This has for some time centred round the person of Ali Bey, the President of the now abolished Angora Independence Tribunal, who, with the assistance of his former colleague, Kilij Ali Bey, and others, was believed to be leading a cave against Ismet Pasha. For my own part, I have throughout been sceptical regarding such rumours, if only because Ali Bey does not seem to me to be capable of filling the bill. He has been, and may again be, a willing and capable henchman, but he is not I think, possessed of the qualities of a leader. If, however, such a cave did exist, and signs of it were not lacking, the Ghazi appears successfully to have broken it, for Kilij Ali Bey, a former sergeant of gendarmerie and a bully with no redeeming qualities, has been in constant attendance on the Ghazi ever since his arrival in Constantinople.

8. It is suggested that the Ghazi's object in dispensing with the services of half the present Deputies is to facilitate the introduction of further unspecified reforms which he has in view. Be this as it may, the drastic weeding of the existing Deputies is likely to end in the creation of a not inconsiderable disgruntled element which, with an effective rallying point, might constitute a possible source of future trouble. Such a rallying point might be found in the person of Rejeb Bey, the present Minister of War, who at one time was regarded as second in influence to Ismet Pasha alone, and as the latter's only possible successor. Recently Rejeb Bey has retired into obscurity. He occupies himself only with his department, and confessed the other day to my military attaché that he had ceased to busy himself

with politics. He is moreover, the only Minister who has not visited the Ghazi in Constantinople, and his disappearance from the Cabinet in the event of a reconstruction of the latter would not be unexpected.

9. In the meantime İsmet Pasha clearly continues to enjoy the full confidence of the Ghazi, who seeks his advice at every step and who a fortnight ago specially visited him at Brusa, where the Prime Minister was undergoing a cure. Now İsmet Pasha himself has come here and sees the Ghazi daily. The Minister for Foreign Affairs also has paid two short visits, and in the course of the last week most of the Cabinet has been at Dolma Baghtche Palace, where Refik Bey, the very capable Minister of Health, seems to be exercising an increasing influence. While in most other States such meetings would, especially on the eve of a general election, be regarded as only natural, it is difficult to believe that this is the case here to-day when one remembers the personality of the Ghazi, the manner in which he has on previous occasions taken decisive decisions alone, or at most in consultation with İsmet Pasha, and the steps which have been taken to render the elections a mere formality. I confess however, that I am unable to indicate the real reason for these meetings, and if I suggest that internal dissensions are beginning to show themselves in the more influential body of the Popular party, I do so, not because I have anything concrete on which to base such a theory, but rather because I feel that such a state of affairs is not inherently improbable.

10. Whatever may be happening behind the walls of Dolma Baghtche, there are abundant signs that the Ghazi is enjoying his stay in Constantinople. He appears to be much improved in health and shows himself frequently in public in a very informal manner. So far he has shown a marked reluctance to attend public functions, but he pays frequent visits to different places on the Bosphorus and to the islands. On such occasions the absence of a uniformed guard is a particular feature, though this is doubtless compensated for by a strong guard of civil clothes policemen. One result of the charms of the Bosphorus seems to be that the strict régime which the German medical specialists three months ago regarded as essential for the Ghazi's continued existence has had to be modified, for on at least two occasions within the last week he has had to be assisted to his launch at the end of the evening's enjoyment. On the Ghazi, as on his immediate entourage, which incidentally is not what had become known last winter as the Chan Kaya clique, but rather the friends of older days, such as Kiliç Ali, Salih and Rejeb Zuhdi Beys, the comparative luxury of Constantinople seems to be having its effect. No suggestion is made as to the date when the President will return to the capital, and a presidential visit to Adrianople and Thrace, which a fortnight ago was stated to be imminent, is steadily postponed.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 53

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 428

THERAPIA, August 15, 1927
(Received August 22, 1927)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.419 of the 9th August concerning the present elections in Turkey, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of a report prepared by His Majesty's consul at Trebizond on the Popular party and the elections in his district.

2. It will be seen from this report how distasteful to the reactionary inhabitants of the Black Sea coast is the Western programme of the present Government, and how farcical the elections are in which the Government candidates are assured of success in spite of the unpopularity of their tenets. The discontent in these districts would seem to be such that one day the Soviet Government may find in it an opportunity to incorporate the Laz coast into the Federated Republics of the Caucasus and so to stretch out towards the oppressed Kurdish districts, just as, more to the east, Imperial Russia gradually pushed her conquests further and further south.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.73, No.29

ENCLOSURE IN No. 53

Consul Knight to Sir G. Clerk

No. 19

TREBIZOND, June 30, 1927

Sir,

In my immediately preceding despatch I referred to the great difficulty I had experienced in the attempt to obtain definite information of any kind, owing to the virtual boycott of the foreign consulates which the attitude of the Turkish authorities, with their elaborate system of espionage, had succeeded in establishing. Since this is true even in the case of ordinary economic and commercial information, it may be realised to what extent the boycott operates where political matters are concerned. Having therefore practically no definite data to go upon, I shall now attempt to set down, for what they are worth, my impressions with regard to the position of the Popular party in this district, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Excellency's despatch No.13 of the 30th April last.

2. I feel that in any case I am on safe ground in stating that were there a dozen recognised parties, corresponding to genuine tendencies, in the country instead of only one, the Popular party's following would be the least numerous, from the Kizil Irmak to the Araxes and from the Black Sea coast to the mountains. Indeed, it may be averred with almost equal certainty that outside the coast towns, where a sprinkling of the young men may be credited with the views they outwardly profess, the party would have practically no following at all, probably not even one adherent out of a hundred. Communism of the most thorough-going Russian type is not more alien and distasteful to the people of this district, and that is saying a very great deal, than the ideals of forcible Europeanisation and secularisation which the Popular party has made its own. As a matter of fact, the Popular party is not conceived of apart from the *régime* of military autocracy, for which it provides a semblance of legality in harmony with modern democratic principles. It is the *régime* that has made the party, not the party the *régime*, and the latter receives the little credit as well as the much greater amount of blame that is due for the present condition of public and private affairs.

3. While the Progressive party had still a recognised existence, it obtained the suffrages and sympathy not only of the great majority of the voters but of all the influential and respectable elements of the population. When I first came to Trebizond two and a half years ago the Popular party existed in name only, or at most in skeleton formation. After the suppression of the Progressives a Popular party inspector for the north-eastern vilayets was designated by Angora in the person of a certain Shevket Bey, who has since then been assiduously touring the district, which includes Rizeh, Artvin, Gumush-Khaneh, Kerasund, and probably other vilayets also, with Trebizond as his headquarters. This gentleman has the reputation of being far from popular with the few privileged persons with whom he has direct dealings, these being exclusively the higher authorities and the principle office-bearers in the local party clubs. It appears to be a fact that the Government officials, from the Vali down, are in much dread of him, as being the direct representative of the Ghazi, to whom alone he is believed to be responsible. Our mild, honest and quite unintelligent Vali certainly treats him with marked deference, though not with the absurd obsequiousness of the local Trebizond daily, the "Yeni Yol", which chronicles his movements with unfailing regularity, and showers on him titles and epithets of the most profound respect. I once found myself next to Shevket Bey at an official reception in the Town Hall, and thought him an unsavoury-looking individual, with whom I felt relieved that I had nothing to do, but I have no reason to suppose that he competes in villainy with his underling, the local party representative at Rizeh, Metridjé Mehmed, whom I had occasion to mention in paragraph 8 of my despatch No.5 of the 19th May. I may perhaps recall here what I said then in this same connection: "The life of a decent Vali must be made unbearable by the local party emissary from Angora, who,

although without any recognised official status, is the real power in the place, and no local authority can be independent of his influence or immune from his intrigues."

4. The "Yeni Yol" is endeavouring to give some semblance of reality to the forthcoming elections, but without any success. Paragraphs appear from time to time about the "electoral activity" which is supposed to exist in our midst, but which is conspicuous only by its complete absence. It is a foregone conclusion that no Progressive party candidates, as much, will be allowed even to stand, and also that the Popular party's nominees will be duly declared "elected" against all comers. Nothing, apparently, is known as yet as to who the candidates will be, or whether any of the existing Deputies will stand again. It is thought probable that Angora will insist on a clean sweep being made of the Deputies returned at the last elections, with the exception of the very few who may be considered really faithful henchmen of the present régime. It will be interesting to see whether any independent candidates stand, and, if so, whether any of them will, as a small concession, be allowed to be returned. Meanwhile, the only news bearing on the elections is that the above-mentioned inspector-general, Shevket Bey, together with three of the party delegates of the vilayet, are returning shortly from Angora, presumably to open the electoral campaign.

5. What is specially interesting to an outsider is the undoubted fact that some of the more prominent of the few recent local recruits to the party are known to harbour sentiments which can only be described as reactionary, as is clearly seen by their continued segregation and veiling of their women, and dogged attachment to their old modes of life in general. A prominent merchant and member of the chamber of commerce affords a glaring instance of this, and is doubtless an object of scorn to the scoffers. But the material advantages to be gained merely by lending one's name to the party more than compensate, in the opinion of some, for any loss of personal dignity. It is not to be wondered at if self-respecting citizens disclaim all interest in politics, and derive what comfort they can from wearing their calpaks, bashliks or fezzes in strictest privacy, and contemplating the sacred texts which still look down from domestic walls where the Ghazi's familiar features find no place.

I have, &c.

W.L.C. KNIGHT

F.O. 424/267, p.73-74, No.29/1

No. 54

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 460

THERAPIA, August 31, 1927

(Received September 5, 1927)

Sir,

A further and decisive step towards the abolition of any pretence of freedom of choice in the Turkish general election was taken yesterday, when the President of the Republic issued a manifesto to the nation, and with it announced the names of the candidates of his party whom he had decided to submit for election.

2. The date —the fifth anniversary of the final victory over the Greeks —was doubtless carefully chosen in advance, though a great display of last moment activity was made. Every member of the Cabinet who is at present in Turkey (the Ministers of Finance and Justice are abroad) was summoned to Dolma Baghtché Palace; eight-hour Cabinet meetings were held on two successive days. On the eve of the 30th August the Cabinet and the leaders of the Popular party met once more and remained in constant session under the presidency of the Ghazi until well after dawn yesterday, when the eagerly awaited manifesto and list were handed to the press.

3. I enclose a copy of the former document.* To me its interest lies not so much in what it contains, as in the tone in which it is written. In his former proclamations and manifestos, the Ghazi was wont to show a modicum of modesty and to pretend at least to associate others with him in the successes achieved. This is entirely lacking in the present document, which might be condensed into "l'Etat c'est moi." The labours of the last Assembly are summarily reviewed, special credit being claimed for the abolition of the nefarious Caliphate, while as regards the work to be undertaken by the next Assembly, only the vaguest indications are given, subject always to the very definite assertion that opposition in any form will not be tolerated. Nor is there any doubt left in the mind of the leader as to the personality of the President of the Republic, the election of whom will be the first duty of the new Assembly. Though this was never in question, it is significant that the Ghazi makes no pretence of awaiting the choice of the nation, but assumes its bestowal on himself even before the election of the Deputies has taken place.

4. The list of the candidates, who in a few days will all be Deputies, is constituted on the lines anticipated in my despatch No.419 of the 9th instant, except that the weeding out of the present Deputies has not been so drastic as had been expected. About 100 of the latter disappear. These are the hojas, the

* Ciltte yok.

members of the defunct Progressive party and about fifty others, whose adulation of the Ghazi has not been so fulsome as might have been wished. It is not surprising that those who vanish also include the Pashas — Ali Fuad, Kiazim Kara Bekir, Jafer Tayar and Nureddin — all of them heroes of the Independence struggle, whom the Ghazi at last feels himself strong enough to cast aside. Twice in the last three months the first of these has been received by the President, with whom it was thought that he had made peace on behalf of himself and his colleagues, but this expectation has not been fulfilled, and so they are left outside where, should the central control ever weaken, they may yet exercise no little influence.

5. The new Assembly will apparently number 315 members, an increase of twenty-six on the present number. Well over 100 new Deputies had therefore to be found. For the most part they have been recruited from among those who have done good work for the People's party in the provinces. To the outside world they are unknown, but it can be assumed that they will give no trouble to their leader. For the remainder, the selection appears to be not unhappy, for they include a number of doctors, agriculturists and Valis, whose provincial experience must be of value when the new Assembly devotes itself, as it must largely do, to questions of internal reform and development.

6. Further, the elevation to the dignity of Deputy of the Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, Finance, Interior, Health, Education and Agriculture and of several other high officials of the two latter Ministries, cannot but have a beneficial effect on the legislative activity of the new Assembly, whose measures will, it may be hoped, be less wild and unpracticable than those of its predecessors. As regards foreign affairs, the number of Deputies with diplomatic experience has also been increased and, in addition to two former Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, will now include Zekai Bey, former Ambassador in London, now at Moscow, Ahmed Munir Bey, *Chargé d'Affaires* in Abyssinia, Suleiman Shevket Bey, Ambassador to the Hejaz and Nusret Saadullah Bey a former Minister at The Hague and a man of agreeable manner and of some ability.

7. Finally, an endeavour is apparently to be made to put an end to the abuses resulting from the holding by leading Deputies of posts in monopolies and other State concerns by the subjection of Deputies to the conditions set forth in the appendix to the Ghazi's manifesto. Whether these conditions will be strictly enforced or not remains to be seen, but the principles they embody are to be commended, especially in Turkey, and they are at any rate a striking example of the manner in which the Ghazi has secured undivided control of the entire country and administration, a control, moreover, which, during the life of the Assembly shortly to be elected, may be utilised for purposes to which no reference is made in the President's Election Programme.

8. Immediately after writing the last paragraph I happened to pay a visit to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom, as the one of the leading figures in the People's party, I ventured to express my approbation of the conditions which members of the party were now called upon to fulfil in order to become Deputies. Tewfik Rushdi Bey was evidently pleased at what I said and observed that the reform was overdue. These Deputies who were using their position for their pecuniary advantage were becoming not only a scandal but a serious obstacle to public work. "Besides," added His Excellency, "there are other party workers who have not the good fortune to be Ministers or Deputies and we must have some means of rewarding them!"

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.87-88, No.32

No. 55

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 486

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 21, 1927
(Received September 26, 1927)

Sir,

In the afternoon of the 14th instant the inhabitants of Pera, who adore the cinema, were given a taste of it in real life. Shots in the first floor of a house in a small street near this Embassy, and then police agents bringing out four corpses and two wounded prisoners. It appears that the police had, after careful preparation, rounded up an Armenian gang in their meeting place and called on them to surrender. The answer was a volley of shots from the Armenian revolvers which killed two of the police, who in their turn shot two of the band dead and wounded two others. The dead included the police officer in command, a first-class man who had organised the raid, and one, Merjan Altounian, the leader of the band. Altounian was an ex-criminal who had been in America, had there, among other things, done detective work, and had returned clandestinely to Turkey. His accomplices included a Turkish policeman.

2. The first public reports of the incident announced that the objective of the gang was a raid on the Yildiz Casino, for which they were said to have collected all sorts of apparatus — up-to-date burgling tools, masks, police number-plates for motor cars, &c. This theory was however, soon discredited, especially as the first statement of the Public Prosecutor, when the press was already talking about Yildiz, was that the objective of the criminals was so far unknown. The press was quick to

see that the hope of pocketing a few thousand liras from a hold-up at Yildiz, with the practical certainty of ultimate detection, would be a poor proposition for a really expert American burglar, and now takes the line that a more serious purpose must be looked for. Indeed, the elaborate preparations made by the police for the capture of the whole gang, and their readiness to sacrifice the lives of some of their best agents in the attempt, and the immediate and desperate use of their revolvers by the criminals when called upon to surrender, point to something far more serious than the capture of a gang of ordinary thieves. Moreover, the Casino at Yildiz had been closed by the authorities for contravention of the gambling law two days before the gang was caught.

3. Although nothing more definite as to the possible motives of the criminals has so far been allowed to appear, the obvious conclusion is that they were plotting against the Ghazi, and probably the police are still tracing the further ramifications of the plot and the remaining conspirators. Yildiz is not far from Dolma Bagtche, and it may be that the story of a raid on the Casino was intended by the gang to be used as a plausible reason were they unlucky enough to be caught in the neighbourhood with arms in their possession. That is a point however, rather of police interest. What would be more interesting would be to know who were backing the Armenians. The incident, coming as it does soon after the attempt of Hadji Sami (my despatch No. 458 of the 30th ultimo), naturally suggests the 150 exiles, but I find a curiously general, though barely whispered, belief that in this last case instigation came, not from Paris, but from Moscow, where there is said to be growing annoyance at Mustafa Kemal's inclination to the West. Even if this is so, it is probable that the facts will never become public, but events such as this and the attempt of Hadji Sami show how slender is the thread on which the present situation in Turkey hangs, for, were anything to happen to the Ghazi, there is no one who could be relied on to keep the country together.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.91, No.36

No. 56

*Sir G. Clerk, British Ambassador in Turkey, to Lancelot Oliphant,
Foreign Office*

Private

CONSTANTINOPLE, 21st September 1927

My dear Lancelot,

Grew, the new American Ambassador, has just arrived here. I am to meet him at dinner to-night unofficially, but shall have no time to give you my impressions before the bag closes. I have however an idea that when he was at Lausanne he did not altogether win our hearts. Could you perchance give me an intimation of what like he is?

As a footnote to my despatch No.486 of to-day I might say that, were I responsible for the Ghazi's safety, I should go through many anxious moments. During the time he has been here he has given many opportunities to a really determined assassin. The other day, for instance, he took a second class tram from Taxim to Tokatlian's, where he sat in the café for about two hours; when he came out and got into his car, an open one, he stood up for a couple of minutes bowing to the cheering crowd. Now there would have been heaps of time for one of these Armenians, whose lair was only a few paces away, to provide himself with what he wanted, and either walk into the café and do the Ghazi in there or shoot him as he stood up in his car. While I admire his courage in showing himself like this, and consider that he deserves his reward in increasing prestige and popularity, I shall frankly be glad when he is back in the comparative seclusion of Angora, for, with all his faults, his fate and that of Turkey are for the next few years bound up together.

Yours ever

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/12321/E. 4100

No. 57

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austin Chamberlain

No. 493

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 28, 1927
(Received October 3, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Tewfik Bey, the First Secretary of the President of the Republic, has been chosen to be Turkish Ambassador at Moscow in succession to Zekia Bey, who becomes a Deputy again.

2. Tewfik Bey was well known to many members of your Department at the time of the Lausanne Conference, at which he was military adviser to the Turkish delegation, and in 1925 he was Turkish delegate at the Arms Traffic Conference. For nearly four years now Tewfik Bey has lived in the closest intimacy with the Ghazi. In 1924 Ismet Pasha wanted to appoint him to London or Moscow, but the Ghazi refused to let him go. That he has now been appointed means that the Ghazi attaches great importance to the proper handling of Russo-Turkish relations at the present juncture, and I expect that Tewfik Bey can be trusted to take good care of Turkish interests. He has been on fairly intimate terms with the Russian Embassy at Angora, but he would not, I think, allow himself to come unduly under Russian influence.

3. Tewfik Bey was born and bred in Bagdad, and his mother is an Arab, but he has identified himself with Turkey and is in the Ghazi's inmost counsels. He is barely 40, and professes to regret the conviviality of Chan Kaya, which has made him so stout. He is not married.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p. 96, No. 40

No. 58

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 502

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 5, 1927
(Received October 10, 1927)

Sir,

An interesting sidelight on the Niego case, reported in my despatch No. 488 of the 21st September last, was afforded to a member of my staff by the local manager of the Banque de Salonique. This bank consists of a group of Jews and, as the employers of the murdered typist, its directorate were keenly interested in the case.

2. It will be remembered that two years ago the Jewish community was persecuted for a short time on the pretext that its leaders had claimed the protection of the League of Nations against the Turkish Government in a letter written to the Spanish consul. My informant states that this agitation dropped as a result of the plain words spoken to Fethi Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Paris, by one of the Rothchild family, as well as by certain leaders of Jewish finance in Great Britain. Fethi Bey reported to his Government that he had been warned that the Jewish communities outside Turkey were prepared to assist their compatriots in this country to emigrate and establish themselves elsewhere in Europe if the

persecution did not cease; but that, if this came to pass, Turkey might expect her only friends in European financial circles to turn against her and exert their considerable pressure to hasten her bankruptcy. He therefore begged his Government to put an end to the baiting of the Jewish community in Constantinople and his warnings had the desired result.

3. The anti-Jewish party in the Turkish Government however, swallowed the rebuff with considerable reluctance and were delighted when the arrests at the Niego funeral gave them a chance to retaliate. They were successful in bringing about the restriction of Jewish travel in the interior of Turkey, but were brought up with a round turn when M. Naoum, who was in charge of the defence of the accused, was given an audience at Dolma Bagtche, either by Ismet Pasha or by the Ghazi himself, and the tribunal received instructions to finish the trial without any further delay.

4. Once more, according to my informant, the Jews in Europe had sent a message to the Turkish Government warning the latter of their power to affect Turkish finances in no small degree, particularly as the Turkish Government was, and is, in a difficult position, with its harvest a partial failure, its railway construction exceeding the estimated costs, and the coupon question settled only on paper, the revenues of Constantinople assigned for the extinction of this debt being urgently needed for other purposes.

5. This procedure may sound mediaeval but it is noteworthy that the prosecution, which had been carried on with considerable vigour for a time, collapsed with somewhat dramatic suddenness, and the reasons for this change of front must have been powerful.

6. Ismet Pasha's letter to the President of the tribunal about the subsidiary prosecution of M. Pardo on a charge of having written contemptuously about the Turkish judicature and officials, copy of which I enclose herein, is but lamely explained away by the paragraph inserted at the beginning. The Prime Minister's reasons for this personal intervention, which began the collapse of the case against the Jews so far as the public was concerned, must have been strong, as his Excellency is well aware of the hostility to the Jewish community which animates certain members of the Cabinet not too friendly to himself, who are currently reported to be waiting their opportunity to bring about his downfall.

7. My informant hinted that Shukri Kaya Pasha (Bey), who has been asked to join the board of his bank, was the source of most of the above information about the Prime Minister's intervention and that moreover, the Ghazi had been privy to Ismet Pasha's action. He thought that the restrictions on Jewish travel would not be maintained with any degree of strictness and that the Jews would merely have to pay the local officials a bribe to secure their connivance at journeys or sojourning

in the interior, for the officials knew that the Government were not whole-hearted in imposing the restrictions.

8. As an interesting, though irrelevant, piece of information, Shukri Kaya Pasha was said to have requested that his definite appointment to the board of the bank should be deferred, as he expected to receive shortly a portfolio in the Government — possibly that of Minister for Foreign Affairs in place of Tewfik Rushdi Bey. He had then stated that the only members of the present Cabinet certain to retain office were Djemil Bey, Minister of the Interior, and Abdul Halik, Minister of Finance.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.96-97, No.41

No. 59

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 503

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 5, 1927

(Received October 10, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mustafa Kemal Pasha left Constantinople for Brussa on the 30th September.

2. The President's parting words to the prefect of the city were that the welcome he had received would make him always feel the attraction of Constantinople, which is interpreted as an indication that the Ghazi will return here from time to time. The general impression is that he and the chief people in the Government will continue the practice of spending the summer here, although it is likely that the Ghazi himself will occasionally visit Brussa or perhaps some Black sea town.

3. It had long been announced that the Ghazi was to visit Thrace and elaborate preparations had been made, but the plan seems to have been abandoned tacitly. The story is that the chief of police was unable to report all safe.

4. Showing himself freely, as he has done, and appearing in the crowd without any fear, the Ghazi has certainly increased his popularity here this summer, while, since Constantinople is not a particularly squeamish place, the tales of his occasional excesses do not do his reputation any serious harm.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p. 97, No.42

No. 60

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 535

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 26, 1927
(Received October 31, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith an extract from the "Stamboul" of the 24^e instant, containing a statement of the Popular party's programme as laid down by the Ghazi and announced by Ismet Pasha. There is nothing very new in it. Importance is attached to economic development, to a balanced budget, to the maintenance of the value of the currency and to public security. Measures are to be taken for the preservation of the family in view of the importance of the question of population, which has long preoccupied the Government and is now publicly admitted. The announcement that a State bank is to be founded as soon as possible, while far from unexpected, is not encouraging for the Ottoman Bank.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F. O. 424/267, p.105, No.49

No. 61

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 536

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 26, 1927
(Received October 31, 1927)

Sir,

Some weeks ago Constantinople was surprised and amused to learn that the "Municipal Casino of Yıldız" had been raided at midnight by a considerable force of police under the personal direction of the Public Prosecutor, that the names and addresses of all those in the gambling rooms had been taken, and that they, with the lessee of the casino, an Italian, one Mario Serra, were to be brought to trial.

2. The case duly came on, and Mario Serra was able to prove in irrefutable fashion that his thirty years' contract with the municipality for the opening of a casino in Abdul Hamid's old Palace definitely authorised the organisation of gambling. This disposed of the principal charge against him and against the persons caught "flagrante delicto," as the local press had it, who were not Turkish subjects. The subsidiary charge was that even if gambling was permitted by his

contract, Turkish citizens were not to be admitted to the rooms. But again another examination of the contract proved conclusively that there was no such clause, and that the only persons who were not allowed access to the rooms were officers, officials and minors. The prosecution attempted to make some play with this, but once more the defence had documentary evidence showing that the municipality had undertaken responsibility for the enforcement of this regulation. In due course, therefore, all the players were acquitted, Mario Serra was condemned, for reasons which are not obvious to the layman, to a week's imprisonment and to a fine of £T. 25 under article 526 of the Penal Code for failure to obey an order legally given. The sentence is, however, being remitted under article 89 on the ground "that his past and his social position indicate that he is not a man who is likely to act in this manner in the future." Furthermore, the casino may be reopened.

3. This bald account of the prosecution, which was evidently bound to fail, naturally provokes the question, "Why was it ever instituted?" Rumour has naturally been busy, and rumour has, as is inevitable in Turkey, suggested Mario Serra had failed to bribe the right people, and that a vexatious prosecution had been considered a suitable punishment. I think, however, that these rumours can be set aside, and that we must go back to the murder of Archbishop Becket for an explanation. It was observed, immediately after the casino was raided, that the Ghazi, who had been to most of the public resorts at Constantinople, did not once set foot in Yıldız during his stay here, and I have lately heard from one of the Italian secretaries that it is practically certain that in a moment of impatience, and possibly of imperfect sobriety, the Ghazi gave orders that the casino was to cease its existence. "Who," he might almost have exclaimed, "will rid me of this pestilential casino which is a blot on our civilisation?" And so the Public Prosecutor rode forth to inevitable disaster in the courts.

4. There may be an appeal, and the municipal controllers may be prosecuted for an alleged failure to exclude officials and minors, and so, if the Ghazi is in serious earnest in his dislike of the existence of public gambling in Turkey, the resources of civilisation are not necessarily exhausted. This, however, is of little interest. What is of interest, if my story is true, as I believe it to be, is that Turkish officialdom is prepared to make itself ridiculous at the slightest word uttered by the Ghazi. We frequently suspect that administrative blunders are due to blundering attempts to interpret the Ghazi's mind, and the present incident is a good example of this unselfish spirit.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 62

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 539

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 27, 1927

(Received October 31, 1927)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a notice appeared in all the Turkish press on the 25th October to the effect that, at the invitation of the Soviet Government, a delegation composed of Safvet Bey, secretary-general of the People's Republican party, Kilidj Ali Bey, Deputy for Ghazi Aintab, Mahmoud Bey, Deputy for Seerdit, and Neshet Eumer Bey, principal of the university, will leave for Leningrad to take part in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Soviet revolution on the 7th November.

2. I have thought fit to report this announcement, as it is probable that the true purpose of the delegation's visit is other than that published in the press.

3. As you are aware, there have of late been indications of friction or misunderstanding between Turkey and Soviet Russia, and the visit of the Soviet Ambassador at Rome to Angora, in company with M. Souritz, at the time of the opening of the congress of the People's party, was proclaimed as a special mission for the removal of these differences. This return visit, following as it does on the heels of M. Kameneff's trip to Angora, and the importance of the Deputies chosen—who include three of those in closest touch with the President—suggest something more than a mere coincidence.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.106, No.51

No. 63

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 546

ANGORA, October 30, 1927

(Received November 7, 1927)

Sir,

The fourth anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic was celebrated at Angora on the 29th October. The ceremonial was on the same lines as in previous years: a reception by the President of the Republic of the Cabinet, Turkish officials and notabilities and the Diplomatic Corps, followed by a review of the Angora garrison and a march past of students, boy scouts and guilds. In the evening a subscription ball held in aid of the "Foyer Turc" was attended by the President.

2. Mustafa Kemal Pasha appeared to be in good health, and I was able, in all conscience, to congratulate his Excellency on the remarkable way in which his constitution had stood the extraordinary effort of his recent speech.

3. The proceedings call for little comment. The Turkish Ceremonial Department seems to be slowly acquiring a modest efficiency. In comparison with previous experiences the reception was conducted smoothly and expeditiously. It was only after the President's departure that the accustomed chaos revived and the Diplomatic Corps were left to struggle to their motor cars through a good tempered but quite unregulated mob.

4. The military part of the review passed off well; the physique and equipment of the troops were, on the whole, good. The civilian march past showed that there are still lacunae in the westernisation of Turkey. The students, girl guides and boy scouts, who, in general, were much as those elsewhere, were followed by groups of athletes, "sportsmen", and representatives of the trades, whose curious get-up and shambling gait are still far behind the standards of the less-aspiring European village.

5. The ball, which I and my staff were precluded from attending by the Court mourning, was, I understand from my colleagues, undistinguished by any of those incidents which have been such a feature of social life at Angora in the past. Proceedings were, I gather, dully and rather disappointingly correct, at least until the Diplomatic Body retired about 2 A.M. But as the Minister for Foreign Affairs has just - 4.30 P.M. - had to excuse himself from the interview arranged for me to-day at 5 o'clock, on the ground that he left the ball at 7 this morning and is still suffering from a severe headache, it is possible that the end of the festivity was in accord with Angora tradition.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.108, No.53

No. 64

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 551

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 3, 1927

(Received November 7, 1927)

Sir,

In accordance with the practice laid down by the Turkish Constitution, the new Grand National Assembly met on the 1st instant. I attended with Mr. Knox, and many members of the Diplomatic Corps were present. The Deputies, after taking the oath, re-electing Kiazim Pasha to be President of the Assembly, and

choosing its other officers, proceeded to the main business of the day, the election of a President of the Republic. Mustafa Kemal was of course, chosen with unanimity and enthusiasm by the 288 Deputies present.

2. After lunch I attended again with my colleagues, this time in uniform. The Ghazi took the oath prescribed for a new President, and then made a short speech expressing his thanks, his determination to work for the country, and his confidence in the future activities of the Assembly. After this the President of the Republic withdrew to his official rooms and received the congratulations, first, of the Cabinet and of the officials of the Assembly, and then of the heads of foreign missions.

3. Later in the day İsmet Pasha's Cabinet resigned as required by the Constitution. The Ghazi has called upon the Pasha to form a new cabinet, and the following changes have been made. The present Minister of Finance becomes Minister of Defence, the Ministry of Marine being once more incorporated in the Ministry of Defence, and under-secretaries being appointed for army, navy and air. This change is not unexpected, as Rejeb Bey, the Minister of Defence, was believed to have lost favour owing to differences with İsmet Pasha, and İhsan Bey (the Minister of Marine) had fulfilled the only function for which he was believed to be qualified — namely, the ruthless weeding-out from the navy of any sympathy with the former Opposition. Abdul Halik Bey, who is to take over the Ministry of Defence, is a good organiser, but his place at the Ministry of Finance is to be taken by Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey, which seems a poor appointment, as Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey (at present Turkish delegate on the Turco-Greek Exchange Commission and delegate for the Anatolian Railway negotiations) has little qualification for this important post beyond average intelligence. The two other changes are that Shukri Kaya Bey takes the Interior from Cemil Bey, who probably returns to the important post of secretary-general of the Popular party, and that Sabri Bey, the Minister of Agriculture, hands his portfolio over to the Minister of Commerce. This latter change is probable to be accounted for by Sabri Bey's old friendship with Rauf Bey, whom the Ghazi denounced so vehemently in his long speech.

4. Tewfik Rushdi Bey thus remains in the saddle, and two of the men who seemed most likely to succeed him — Shukri Kaya and Sarrajoglu Shukri — are given other employment. On the whole, the changes are probably for the better, but Rejeb is a strong man whom it may be inconvenient to have ousted.

5. The full list of the Cabinet is, therefore, as follows:-

Prime Minister: İsmet Pasha.

Justice: Mahmud Essad Bey.

Defence: Mustafa Abdul Halik Bey.

Interior: Shukri Kaya Bey.

Foreign Affairs: Tewfik Rushdi Bey.

Finance: Sarrajoglu Shukri Bey.
 Public Instruction: Mustafa Nejati Bey.
 Public Works: Behij Bey.
 Agriculture and, temporarily, Commerce: Rahmi Bey.
 Health: Refik Bey.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p.108-109, No.54

No. 65

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 560

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 9, 1927
(Received November 14, 1927)

Sir,

In my despatch No.458 of the 30th August last I had the honour to report on an abortive plot conducted by one Haji Sami, who landed from Samos upon Turkish coast and was immediately hunted down by gendarmes. The sequel has now been enacted by the condemnation to death of three of his accomplices. The conviction was to be expected. What is of some interest is the details of the plot which are now revealed. The conspirators, mostly Circassians on the proscribed list of 150 and resident in Greece, were to have penetrated inland to Salihli, then to have made for a spot to the north of the line from Eski-Shehr to Angora, and there to have waited to blow up the Ghazi's train as he returned from Constantinople. They were joined by Haji Sami's brother, but appear to have been betrayed by villagers whom they asked for food. The police now seem to have rounded up all concerned in the conspiracy, but it may be that they are following up other ramifications. In any case the Ghazi may well feel that Abdul Hamid was not better guarded.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/267, p. 112, No. 7

No. 66

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 572

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 19, 1927

(Received November 28, 1927)

His Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No.63 from His Majesty's consul-general, Smyrna, dated the 31st October, respecting the Turkish attitude towards the Jews.

F.O. 424/267, p. 115, No.59.

ENCLOSURE 1 No. 66

Consul-General Rabino to Sir G. Clerk

No. 63

SMYRNA, October 31, 1927

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.49 of the 17th September last, I have the honour to forward to you herewith copy of an undated letter said to have been written sometime about the beginning of this month by the elders of the Jewish community in Constantinople to the President of the Jewish Communal Council at Smyrna.

2. This letter, which has come into my possession from a very reliable source, is interesting both in substance and in form. It will be observed that in the second paragraph the writers refer to the Jewish contribution towards the erection of the statue referred to therein as an obligation, thus clearly leading the reader to infer that the hint given them as to the figure their contribution was expected to reach must have been conveyed in pretty unequivocal terms.

3. This part of the letter stands in marked contrast with paragraph 5, which attempts to convey an impression of loyalty and attachment on the part of the Jews to the governing classes, and which was no doubt written with an eye to the possibility of its falling into hands other than those it was addressed to.

4. I am informed that all Jewish property at Aidin has been confiscated, and that the personal application made last year by leading members of the Jewish community to Ismet Pasha for its restoration has so far left the grievance undressed. Acting on the convenient theory that the Jews, who owned real property up-country, are absentee landlords, their property at Aidin, Magnesia and Casaba has been comprised in the category of abandoned property, despite the fact that the owners thereof are, and have all along been, resident in Smyrna.

5. No Jew is allowed to travel up-country without a permit from the Ministry of the Interior, and I believe it can safely be said that the majority of applications for leave so to travel are unsuccessful.

6. In matters scholastic, it would appear that while, on the one hand, the Turk Odjaki is sparing no effort to vulgarise the Turkish language among Jews and other Moslem and non-Moslem Turks, yet no Jewish pupils are admitted into Turkish schools. Per contra, Turkish pupils abound in Jewish schools.

7. One grievance, among others, about which the Jews are very sore is the systematic incitement to race hatred fostered by the Turkish press. Whenever, the Jewish community have complained about it to the authorities, the latter have taken their stand upon the principle of the liberty of the press and their inability to interfere with its freedom. This refusal to put a stop to a campaign of abuse and misrepresentation inclines the Jews to fear that the animosity bred thereby may conceivably run to the length of a pogrom in times of trouble.

8. As mentioned in a former despatch, the Turkish nationality of the Jew is no protection against his dismissal from employment in railway and other administrations. While Jews are made to engage Turks, Turks are forbidden to employ Jews.

9. The following is one instance, no doubt among others, of the illegal exactions the Jews have to submit to: About a year ago the predecessor of the present commandant of police requested the rabbi to see to it that his co-religionists paid for a Fiat motor-car he had just purchased, and the Jews had to foot the Bill. Deprived of protection against such arbitrary impositions, and foreseeing that the Turk is not likely to forgo the advantages of the higher standard of life attained within recent times through the easy process of loot and misappropriation, the Jews live in an ever-present fear of spoliation.

10. Another instance of a similar nature is that of a Jewish bank manager who was asked to contribute (1) to the Turk Odjaki towards the foundation of night classes for Jews; (2) towards the establishment of a Jewish school to teach Turkish to Jews; (3) towards the Reserve Officers' Fund - all within one week.

11. Such cases of compulsory contributions are of frequent occurrence. The Jew is not getting used to them. When he finds that he cannot stand the strain any longer, he seeks an early opportunity to shift his activities to some other country where he feels that both his person and his property are safer.

12. I shall not fail to report any further developments in the situation.

I have, &c.

H. L. RABINO

ENCLOSURE 2 IN No. 66

Elders of Jewish Community, Constantinople, to M. Gomel, President of Jewish Communal Council, Smyrna

M. le Président,

Nous avons l'honneur de porter à votre connaissance qu'une commission spéciale s'est formée au sein du Grand Rabbinat de Constantinople à l'effet d'ouvrir une souscription parmi tous les Israelites de Turquie pour compléter la somme nécessaire à l'érection d'une statue à Angora de notre illustre Président de la République, le grand Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Les Israelites de Turquie doivent participer à l'érection de cette statue pour un montant de 25.000 livres turques.

La souscription est déjà ouverte à Constantinople.

Les signataires de cette lettre ont été chargés par la susdite commission de recueillir les souscriptions de nos coreligionnaires se trouvant dans différentes villes de la Turquie.

Nous faisons appel à votre patriotisme pour que vous ouvriez cette souscription le plus tôt possible parmi les habitants de votre ville. Nous sommes persuadés que tous y prendront part avec le plus chaleureux empressement et voudront ainsi donner un témoignage éclatant de reconnaissance et de respect au fondateur de la République turque et au grand Réformateur qui fait marcher le pays à pas de géant vers le progrès et l'indépendance économique.

Vous voudrez bien nous faire parvenir les fonds recueillis dès que la souscription sera close, au plus tard dans le délai de dix jours.

Veuillez, &c.

J. NIEGO
SORIANO

F.O. 424/267, p.116, No. 59/2

No. 67

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 633

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 21, 1927

(Received December 28, 1927)

Sir,

The Turkish Government is evidently toying with the idea of establishing a State bank.

2. Some time ago the project was mooted and it was then rumoured that this bank would have extensive privileges, including the sole right to issue notes as legal tender.

3. Since then various statements have appeared in the local press concerning the source whence the requisite capital would be obtained.

4. One theory was that the Ish Bankassi, in which the Ghazi is personally interested, together with most of his personal adherents, would be made the basis for the project, the compulsory deposits to be made by insurance companies, estimated at a total of approximately £100.000 sterling, being used to supplement existing capital.

5. Another was that a new bank, with headquarters in the old Ottoman Public Debt Buildings, would be started with funds obtained by a loan on the State jewels to be obtained from abroad. The origin of this story was no doubt that a French expert was recently engaged to value the gems and other relics now lodged in the Old Seraglio. His estimate of their total worth is stated to have been approximately £200.000 sterling — no large sum for the capital of a State bank.

6. Still a third rumour is that the capital is to be found by utilising the surplus which should remain after exchanging the old note currency for a new issue which is now in process of being put into circulation.

7. The circulation of the old notes was supposed to be £T. 150 million, but of this the Turkish Government hopes, it is said, to have in hand about £T. 25 million of the new money, since a considerable amount of the old notes must have been destroyed in one way or another during the troubles through which the population of this country has passed during the last ten years or more. This amount, equivalent to approximately £2.500.000 sterling, would perhaps suffice for the purpose named above; but as yet the project appears to be still in the nebulous stage, although it makes a natural appeal as a means of "freeing Turkey from foreign financial domination."

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

No. 68

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 636

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 22, 1927

(Received December 28, 1927)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.571 of the 17th November last, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of an article from the local press which tends to show that the minds of the Ghazi's advisers are not yet at rest as regards the agitation which exiled Turks are carrying on against the present régime.

2. It will be observed that in the present instance the plotters are accused of using the Khalifate question as a cloak, particularly in Egypt, and that France is given as the base of their operations, although Halide Edib, Adnan Bey and the others now in England are implicated.

3. The complaint that France is the base of operations is of some interest in view of the language held by Ismet Pasha, Tewfik Rushdi Bey and Shukri Kaya Bey, the Minister of the Interior, to Rauf Chadirchi Bey, Minister of Justice in Irak, who has just paid a visit to Angora.

4. The ostensible object of his visit was to discuss with the Turkish Minister of Justice certain technical questions, such as the service of writs, but it seemed reasonable to afford him an opportunity of making the acquaintance of some of the leading members of the Turkish Government. Mr. Knox reports that, in the course of long conversations, they all expressed irritation with French policy in Syria, which they said was in sharp contrast with that of Great Britain in Irak. They do not appear to have given any specific instances, but they no doubt had in mind the fact that a number of proscribed Turks are comfortably installed at Aleppo, where they produce a newspaper violently hostile to existing institutions in Turkey.

5. Rauf Bey was assured that Turkey had no expansionist aims and desired nothing more than to have the best possible relations with Irak. Shukri Kaya Bey spoke spontaneously of the recent frontier incidents, for which he expressed great regret. He had given orders for a strict investigation and for the punishment of the guilty. He would take all possible measures to put a stop to frontier incidents, and he hoped, as soon as he had passed through the Assembly various urgent measures affecting his Department, to visit the eastern vilayets and look into frontier questions himself. Rauf Bey replied that he had hoped his Excellency would be able to extend his journey to Baghdad, a suggestion which appeared greatly to please the Minister. I had previously ascertained from Sir H. Dobbs, when he passed through Constantinople, that he would welcome such a visit.

6. In all his conversations Rauf Bey appears to have heard nothing but good of Great Britain. Turkey's advice to Irak — Ismet Pasha was especially emphatic on this point — was to avoid idealism and to attach herself to Great Britain in a sensible and realistic policy. It should always be an easy matter to satisfy the very moderate British desiderata.

7. It seemed almost churlish, in view of all these fair words, to close this report by stating that in spite of frequent representations since Sir G. Clerk reported his conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Angora telegram No. 8 of the 22nd November last) regarding the Arish and Nerva incidents it has proved impossible to obtain any definite reply and that I have just learnt from Sir H. Dobbs, whom I had requested to furnish me with the names of the Arish captives, that they have "escaped" into Irak, but not until the 13th December, over eight weeks after the incident occurred.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/267, p. 126, No. 74

No. 69

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 640

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 27, 1927
(Received January 2, 1928)

Sir,

In his despatch No. 560 of the 9th November last, and in previous despatches, His Majesty's Ambassador reported on a plot against the Ghazi conducted from Greek territory by one Haji Sami. There is reason to suppose that, since discovering that plot, the Turkish Government have been pressing the Greek Government to keep a closer watch on the many Turkish exiles now in Greece, and, according to news which has been received from Athens, the Greek authorities have now required half a dozen Turks who were living in the neighbourhood of Gumuljina in Western Thrace, to move to the safer sphere of the Archipelago. The chief of these persons is the former Sheikh-ul-Islam Mustafa Sabri Bey, one of the first names on the list of the proscribed 150. The press records this measure of the Greek authorities with some satisfaction.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/268, p. 1, No. 1

No. 70

Mr. Hoare to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 649

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 28, 1927

(Received January 2, 1928)

Sir,

No little stir has been caused here these last few days by the announcement that the Government proposes to impeach the last Minister of Marine for peculation. It does not seem that such a thing has ever been done before. It is true that from time to time officials have been made to retire when their depredations were felt to have become intolerable. Such was the case with the last prefect of this city, and such appears to be the case at this moment with the treasurer of the Grand National Assembly, who is charged not merely with advancing Deputies' salaries at arbitrary rates of interest, but also with accommodating himself with monies belonging more strictly to the Assembly. But tradition may be broken in the case of the treasurer too, and he may be prosecuted, as he should be. In any event, what is proposed for İhsan Bey, the late Minister of Marine, is a formal impeachment before a High Court to be set up in accordance with the hitherto unused authority contained in article 61 of the Constitution. This is a thing which comes to men as a shock and makes them wonder whether they should not revise their ideas of the possibilities of high public function. Such a surprise is it, indeed, that in the end no one believes that there will be any impeachment at all or that, if there is, its object will not be something much more understandable than the mere encouragement of official integrity.

2. The scandal in which İhsan Bey is involved arises out of the perennial difficulty of the repair of the "Goeben" or "Yavuz", on which His Majesty's Ambassador last reported in his despatch No.469 of the 7th September, 1927. The later facts are that the "Société des Cinq Chantiers de France" had a long wrangle over the contract, which was made after the accident to the "Goeben" and the dock. By the original contract, the société had agreed to pay the salary of an expert to superintend the safety of the ship and dock during the refit, and had also undertaken to pay the premiums for insuring the ship and dock over the same period.

3. The terms of payment by the Turkish Government to the société also provided for a considerable interval elapsing between the commencement of work and the first instalment. After the accident to the dock had occurred in December 1926, the underwriters raised the premium for insurance from 1 per cent. to 5 per cent. In view of this increase and the long delay in repairing the dock, the société approached the Minister of Marine with a request that the contract should be modified in their favour by -

- (i) Arranging that the Turkish Government should share cost of insurance.
- (ii) The expert should be dispensed with or paid by the Turkish Government.
- (iii) Accelerating the date for first payment.

The request was submitted to the Cabinet, who rejected these proposals, and decided that the société should be held to their original contract. The grounds on which, on the 24th instant, Ismet Pasha asked for the impeachment of his late colleague were that despite the decision of the Cabinet, a fresh contract embodying these modifications was entered into with the société, and hurriedly concluded on Ihsan Bey's last day of office. The Assembly has set up, by a unanimous vote, of course, a committee to report in a fortnight.

4. There have naturally been many explanations of an incident which is felt to have been only partially revealed. It has been suggested that the new Cabinet, convinced at last of the folly of spending money on the "Yavouz," wants to wriggle out of the contract, and that Ihsan Bey, having a thick skin and being an old friend of the Ghazi, does not mind the loss of public repute (if indeed such a thing would not enhance it), is assured of favour in high places, and has no objection, therefore, to being pilloried in order to oblige his late colleagues. As against this, it is said that the final contract made with the French combine was countersigned by the new Minister of Finance and, therefore, presumably approved by the new Cabinet. It is not unlikely, to quote another suggestion, that bickerings between the Turkish adherents of the rival French and German groups have had their echo in high quarters. According to one theory, at any rate, Ismet Pasha's attempted immolation of Ihsan Bey indicates a revival of a rivalry which there was between the Prime Minister and Ali Bey, "the hanging judge," said to be Ihsan Bey's patron. But we need more evidence before believing in a serious split among the guiding spirits of Angora.

5. In his speech of the 24th instant, Ismet Pasha stated that his brother had been approached by a representative of the société to intervene in their favour, but had indignantly refused and reported the affair to himself. Rumour has it, however, that the brother does not come out of the affair with clean hands, and hence the decision to fix attention on Ihsan Bey, who will subsequently be cleared by a scapegoat being found in some minor official of the marine.

6. Ihsan is stated to have declared that he did not receive a piastre. This is believed to be true, as all bribes (£T.70,000) are said to have been paid to his wife.

7. It is said again that the Ghazi was displeased to find that Ihsan Bey had taken workmen away from the arsenal to build himself a sumptuous villa at Angora, and that he had robbed the old Admiralty garden of its best trees. Impressed with the luxury of Ihsan Bey's new home, the Ghazi is reported to have made to him the

remark addressed by an English sovereign to a greater Minister, namely, that he only needed a crown to be the king. This story may be true, but, for the moment, the only thing which is certain is the uncertainty as to the real cause of the trouble.

I have, &c.

R. H. HOARE

F.O. 424/268, p.2, No.2

No. 71

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austin Chamberlain

No. 3

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 4, 1928
(Received January 9, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit, with reference to my despatch No. 581 of the 23rd November last, copy of an article, written by Mahmud Bey, Deputy for Sert, and generally believed to be among the Ghazi's confidential advisers, on Turco-Soviet relations*.

2. The writer reiterates the friendly sentiments of mutual esteem that animate the two neighbouring Governments — probably as a reminder to Greece and other foreign nations that Turkey still has Russia as a potential ally despite the recent action taken by the Turkish Government against the Communists of this country.

3. At the same time he ingeniously manages to remind that Government that it has no right to complain of this anti-communist campaign, even if the Third International is affected by it, by quoting the old story that the Soviet Government habitually disclaims responsibility for the actions of the Third International.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p. 4, No. 4

* Anılan makale örneği arşiv cildinde yok. -B.N.Ş.

No. 72

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 4

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 4, 1928

(Received January 9, 1928)

Sir,

I had hoped that more light might be thrown on the conspiracy led by Merjan Altunian and described in my despatch No. 486 of the 21st September, 1927, but the trial has now ended with the condemnation of certain of his accomplices, Turkish and Armenian, to terms of imprisonment and without any revelation of his real motives. During the trial some of the accused and of the witnesses stated that Merjan Altunian was in touch with the Soviet consulate-general here, and that he had exhorted them in the name of Bolshevism, to make the attack on Yildiz, which was the supposed object of the gang. But these statements, easy to make when Merjan Altunian was dead, do not appear convincing. If Soviet agents had been at work, it would have been for something more serious than an attack on the Yildiz casino. Nor does the theory of an attack on the casino hold water any better, for, at the time when the conspirators were caught, the casino had already been closed and the cash removed.

2. It seems probable that the police believed that they were nipping in the bud some political plot, possibly a project to make an attempt on the Ghazi's life. If this be not so, it is curious that no more plausible explanation of the incident is forthcoming. The only conclusion established with certainty is that the policemen killed were shot by their own colleagues by mistake in the scuffle which ensued in the dark. It was announced during the investigations that there were signs of the complicity of Rahmi Bey, the Committee of Union and Progress leader who was for many years Vali of Smyrna, but all hopes of interesting revelations in this direction were dashed by the examining magistrate's decision of *non-lieu*.

3. In usually well-informed local circles it is freely stated that the whole "plot" was made up by the police at the behest of the Minister of the Interior, who desired to convince the Ghazi of his faithful service at a time when he was in danger of falling out of favour. For this purpose they turned a band of malefactors into a dangerous political gang seeking the Ghazi's life.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.5, No.5

No. 73

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain*No. 16
ConfidentialCONSTANTINOPLE, January 11, 1928
(Received January 16, 1928)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 27 of the 18th January 1927, I have the honour to transmit herewith notes on the leading Turkish personalities which have been brought up to date by Mr. Helm.

2. I beg leave to bring to your notice the industry displayed by the latter in compiling this useful work of reference and the comprehensive manner in which he has obtained details about the personalities dealt with.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.7. No.7

ENCLOSURE IN No. 73

*Notes of Leading Turkish Personalities**Abdul Halik Bey, Mustafa.*

Born at Yanina about 1870. Educated at Yanina and at Mulkie College, Constantinople. In 1908 appointed member of the Council of State. Uncle by marriage of the late Talaat Pasha. 1910-11, Vali of Uskub. 1914-15, Vali of Van. For a short period in 1915 was Under-Secretary for the Interior. 1915-16, Vali of Bitlis, and 1916-17 of Aleppo. Again became Under-Secretary for the Interior, holding post until the armistice. Arrested in May 1920 and deported to Malta on charge of atrocities committed at Aleppo during the war. Learnt to play tennis and bridge there. In 1923 was Vali of Smyrna, when he got on well with Europeans. In July elected Deputy of Changri. In January 1924 succeeded Hassan Fehmi Bey as Minister of Finance and held post till March 1925. Resigned on fall of Fethi Bey and became director-general of the Agricultural Bank and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Finance. In July 1926 again became Minister of Finance. He soon showed himself aware of the weakness of Turkey's financial position abroad and visited Europe in the summer of 1927, when he was identified with an arrangement for the settlement of the "Coupons" question. In September he was re-elected Deputy for Changri, and in November, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, became Minister of National Defence and Acting Minister of Marine.

Abdul Halik Bey knows Greek and speaks indifferent French. He owed his early advancement to his relationship with Talaat Pasha, though he was never a prominent Unionist figure. Though not possessed of brilliance, he has considerable administrative capacity. Is essentially a moderate and was the only member of the Cabinet to fast during the 1927 Ramazan. Is a keen gardner, a good bridge player and agreeable in conversation.

Adil Bey.

Born at Smyrna in 1880. Son of Abdulla Pasha, known as Tatar zadé. Attended Turkish High School. 1902, Secretary in Smyrna Tax Office. 1909, finance inspector, a post which he held till 1922. In 1923 became Government Commissioner of Ottoman Bank and Bourse, and in following year went on a financial mission to Paris and London. From November 1924 till September 1927 was Director-General of Customs. Resigned on his election as Deputy for Samsun, and is a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly.

Adil Bey was not a success as Director-General of Customs, and was described by a Turk as "a good financial official but not a customs expert." During his tenure of the post he showed himself very inaccomodating towards foreign interests.

Adnan Bey, Dr.

Born about 1880. Trained in Germany as physician, and was formerly medical adviser to Talaat Pasha. During the war was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 became secretary-general of the Red Crescent Society and a Deputy for Constantinople. In January 1920 went to Angora and threw in his lot with Mustafa Kemal, and in May became Minister of Public Health. In August became temporarily Minister of the Interior, and in March 1921 Vice-President of the Assembly. In June 1922 became Minister of Public Works, but resigned in July. Was again for a time Vice-President of the Assembly, but in December was appointed to Constantinople as delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which post he held until June 1924, having previously opted for the Deputyship for Constantinople, to which he had been elected in the previous year. Proceeded to Europe and gradually became associated with Refet Pasha and Reouf and Jambulat Beys in their opposition to Mustafa Kemal. In November he resigned from the People's Republican party and became vice-president of the Executive Bureau of the new reformed Progressive party. In February 1926 he resigned his Deputyship, nominally on grounds of ill-health, having been resident in London in the previous year. In August 1926 he was tried by default for participation in the plot against the life of the President, but was acquitted. Throughout 1927 he continued to reside in London and followed medical courses at St. Thomas's Hospital. Is understood to be rather strained circumstances.

Adnan Bey is a tall, pleasant man with a delicate constitution. Is cultured and speaks French well. Moderate in his views and owes much to his reputation for honesty and to his being the husband of Halidé Edib Hanum, the well-known Turkish novelist. Was a strong supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the early stages of the Nationalist movement, but his moderate and anti-Bolshevik sentiments made him suspect.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff (Aga Oğlu Ahmed Bey).

Born about 1864 in Azerbaijan. Educated at Moscow and started life as a journalist. Became an agent provocateur to the Russian Secret Service. In 1903-5 published two newspapers in Baku, but then fell into disgrace; went to Turkey and became a Turkish subject in 1908. Threw in his lot with the Committee of Union and Progress. Later, published a pro-Russian paper in Turkish and became editor of the "Terjümani Hakikat." In 1916 became Minister of Education, and at this time was noted for his anti-British articles. In 1918 received £T. 100.000 from the Committee of Union and Progress funds. 1919-21, interned at Malta. In June 1921 he became director of the Press Bureau at Angora, and from then onwards has been a close friend of Mustafa Kemal. Has been the chief worker for closer Russo-Turkish relations.

In the 1923-27 Assembly he was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and of the Foreign Affairs Commission, as well as reporter of the Constitutional Commission. Was re-elected Deputy for Kars in September 1927, and in November became a member of the party's executive bureau and of the Constitutional Commission.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff is a short, most unprepossessing man, with heavy eyebrows and wears dark glasses. He is seen occasionally in society, accompanied by his English-speaking daughters, who are no more attractive in appearance than their father. He is artful, sly and dangerous and speaks Russian, French, Persian and Turkish. He has certain affinities with Oxford. Since the summer of 1926 his articles have become less and less hostile to Great Britain.

Ahmed Ferit Bey.

Born at Broussa in 1875. Passed through Harbié Military College in 1898 with rank of staff captain. Later went to Paris and studied at School of Political Science. Only returned to Turkey after 1908. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became Deputy for Kutahia. In 1910 joined the *Entente libérale* party and was exiled by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1913. He made his peace with Talaat Pasha in 1915 and became consul-general at Kiev in November 1917. Recalled in December 1918, he resumed attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 was Minister of Public Works and Finance under Damad Ferit Pasha. He resigned in July owing to his desire to reach an understanding with

Mustafa Kemal. Joined the Nationalist cause in April 1920, was immediately elected a Deputy in the Angora Assembly, and soon afterwards became Minister of Finance. In September 1920 attended the Baku Congress and soon afterwards appeared rather pro-Bolshevik. In November 1921 was appointed representative of the Angora Government at Paris, which post he held till February 1923, when he was recalled because of certain offensive remarks made regarding the Allies. In spite of opposition in the Assembly, he became Minister of the Interior in October 1923. Was the subject of many attacks both in the Assembly and the press, but continued to hold the post till May 1924. Appointed Ambassador at London in June 1925.

Ferid Bey speaks good French and Arabic. A thorough opportunist and rather unscrupulous. Wife is attractive and has helped him to make something of a success of the London Embassy.

Ahmed Muhtar Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1871. Studied at French school and Military College in Constantinople. In 1891 received a post in the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in due course became its sub-Director-General. In 1909 consul-general at Budapest. In 1912 Minister at Athens. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and in 1913 was for a short time Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1917 Minister at Kiev. Returned to Turkey in March 1919. Became Deputy for Constantinople. Escaped to Anatolia in June 1920 and joined the Nationalist movement. In June 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and in the same year appointed Ambassador at Moscow. In October 1924 he opted for his Deputyship and returned to Turkey. From 1923 till 1927 was Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In June 1927, his appointment as Ambassador to Washington was announced and in November he took up his duties.

Ahmed Muhtar Bey is a man of the world and his long official career has given him at least all the outward characteristics of a diplomat. He strikes one, however, as being somewhat sinister, though he is very agreeable in conversation. Speaks French fluently. Is credited with strong Russian sympathies.

Ali Bey.

Born about 1875 at Afion Kara Hissar. Educated at the Stamboul Military School. Commanded a battalion at Chatalja during the Balkan war and served in the Great War as a colonel. Organised resistance to the Greeks at Aivalik in 1919. Was elected a Deputy for Constantinople in December and remained there to attend the debates till March 1920, when he was deported to Malta. Released a year later, he at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. After his re-election in 1923 he became one of the chief organisers of the People's party, and in November 1924

was elected vice-president of the administrative council of the party, a position which he still fills. In March 1925 he was appointed president of the Angora Independence Tribunal, soon afterwards shot with impunity a fellow Deputy in the Chamber and unconcernedly passed death sentences till the Independence Tribunals were abolished early in 1927. 1925-27 was president of the Defence Commission of the Assembly and in November 1927, on his re-election as Deputy for Afion Kara Hissar, became a member of the Budget Commission.

Ali Bey, known as the "bald headed", is a curious phenomenon, for, in spite of his record, he is attractive. He speaks only Turkish and a few words of English, which, however, he reads with a certain facility, has an engaging smile and was once very aptly described by a British visitor to Angora as resembling "a benevolent Scotch elder." During the past summer, rumour was busy with his name as a possible successor to Ismet Pasha. It is doubtful if he could have filled the bill, though his surprising honesty could not fail to be an asset, and now one only sees him occasionally playing his not too expert game of bridge at the club. He is not a conversationalist.

Ali Fethi Bey.

Born at Ochrida, Macedonia, in 1877. Graduated from military school in Constantinople in 1903, and saw service in Macedonia. Became an ardent Committee of Union and Progress adherent and took charge of Abdul Hamid on the expulsion of the latter to Salonica. 1910-13 military attaché at Sofia and 1913-17 Minister there. Was for a short time Minister of the Interior in autumn of 1918, and soon after was deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in April 1921, he proceeded at once to Anatolia and became Minister of the Interior. In July-August 1922 proceeded on a mission to Paris and London. In 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and during two months was President of the Council of Ministers, which post he resigned on emergence of Republican issue. In November became first President of the Assembly. In March 1924 was regarded as being identified with the Opposition when the question of the President's powers was under consideration. In May, chief Turkish delegate for Mosul discussions in Constantinople. Represented Turkey before the League of Nations in September and later proceeded to Brussels again in connection with the Mosul question. Became President of the Council for the second time and in November also held the Portfolio of Defence. His period of office was marked by moderation and he had the support of the Oppositionist Progressive party. In March 1925 on the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt, his Government fell because of his alleged lukewarmness in dealing with the rebels and in the same month was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Paris.

Fethi Bey has Mongol features. He is pleasant to talk to, speaks good French and is essentially a moderate. He has an attractive wife.

Ali Fuad Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1882. Graduated from the military school in 1905, and since then has followed a military career. 1908-11 military attaché at Rome. During the war fought on the Caucasus and Palestine fronts. Was one of the first Turkish generals to join the Kemalist movement, and was one of Mustafa Kemal's most trusted leaders, until his tendency to take an independent line in the field led, late in 1920, to his appointment as Kemalist Ambassador at Moscow, where he was chiefly instrumental in securing the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty of March 1921. Was recalled in April 1922 owing to an incident in the Embassy in Moscow, and resumed his military command. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Angora and Vice President of the Assembly. Later became inspector-general at Konia, but resigned his post in October 1924, by which time he had become completely associated with the Reouf-Adnan-Refet Opposition group. In November he resigned from the People's party and became secretary-general of the new Progressive party. In 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for alleged participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but was acquitted. His reception by the President in November 1926 and again early in 1927 gave rise to a rumour that Ali Fuad was returning to the Kemalist fold, but this was not confirmed and he ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927.

Ali Fuad Pasha has a reputation for honesty. During the war was not on good terms with the German commanders, and during the armistice period was believed to be violently anti-British.

Ali Jenani Bey.

Born in 1885 at Aintab, which he represented in the Constantinople Parliament. Was deported to Malta in 1919. On being released he joined the Kemalist movement, and has been Deputy for Aintab since 1921. In November 1924 became Minister of Commerce. In 1925 his commercial legislation showed that he was leading the ultra-Nationalist movement against Christian employees and foreign capital. In May 1926 he resigned owing to reported differences with the Minister of Finance. He nevertheless continued to be very influential and, in particular, has for the last two years been chief Turkish delegate in commercial negotiations with foreign countries. As such he signed the Turco-Russian Commercial Treaty in March 1927.

Ali Jenani Bey is the leading business man in the Aintab area, and in business circles is considered as honest and go-ahead. Is rich and influential, but a poor speaker, and has also been described as active, resourceful and wily. He plays a vigorous, but not very good, game of bridge. His two daughters have received an American college education, but his wife is rarely seen. His small son is at the English High school.

Ali Said Pasha.

Born near Panderma in 1874. Graduated from the Military College in 1898 and held several minor staff appointments till 1907 when, with the rank of major, he was sent to the Yemen. Returned to Constantinople in 1909, and in 1913 was in charge of the lines of communication. Was then for a time control officer on the Anatolian Railway until January 1914, when he was promoted colonel and posted to Sana, in the Yemen, where he remained until some time after the 1918 Armistice, when he was finally induced to surrender to the British authorities at Aden whom he had fought for four years, during most of which he was out touch with his Government. Interned in Egypt for a short time, Ali Said Pasha, who had now been promoted general, returned to Constantinople early in 1919 and was Military Governor of the capital till March 1920, when, on the occupation of the town, he was deported to Malta. Immediately after his release in October 1921 he joined Mustafa Kemal, and in the following year he succeeded Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha as General Officer Commanding the Eastern army. In October 1924 he was appointed Inspector-General of the First (Western) Military Area, and still holds this post. Was promoted to be a general of the first class in August 1927.

Ali Said Pasha is pleasant, courteous and has a well-modulated voice. Was probably at one time decidedly pro-British, and still is, as he says, "in the interests of his country," but he chooses to forget rather than to forgive his treatment at the British hands. Not a strong personality and takes no part in politics, but is interested in Iraq oil to such an extent that on an Angora ball-room floor he produced to a member of the Embassy a largish map on which the position of his wells was clearly shown. Speaks a little English, a consequence of Malta, where he also learnt to play tennis, at which he is said to be the Angora champion, though his appearance at a British tennis party in bowler hat, frock coat and tight boots, and his subsequent play after a hasty change behind a hedge into more suitable garb, rather belie the fact. Both he and his somewhat massive wife are much seen in Angora society and are deservedly popular.

Behij Bey.

Born about 1880. An ex-colonel. In 1924 was chief administrator of the Anatolian Railway, in which post he showed considerable ability and energy. Since December 1925 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople, and in January 1926 became Minister of Public Works, retaining the portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. As a Minister, Behij Bey has been a pronounced success and is showing great capacity in dealing with the somewhat grandiose railway projects of the present Turkish Government.

Bekir Sami Bey.

A Circassian, born in the Caucasus in 1868. His family later settled in Amassia. Educated in Constantinople and at the law school in Paris, where he remained for twelve years. Joined the Young Turks on his return to Turkey in 1898. Was given a Government post in Tripoli. Vali of Tripoli in 1908, of Trebizond in 1910, of Broussa in 1910, of Beirut in 1910-11, and again of Trebizond 1911-12. Vali of Aleppo from 1914-16. Proceeded to Angora in April 1920, and was immediately appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Later in the year, made several visits to Russia, and in February 1921 headed the Angora delegation to the Peace Conference. Visited London, Paris and Rome. Resigned on his return to Angora. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Tokat. In the following year his Opposition tendencies became pronounced, and in November he left the People's party to join the newly-formed Progressive party. In 1926 he was tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, but was acquitted. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Got share of opprobrium in Mustafa Kemal's great speech of October 1927. Is a colossally built man, tall and stout, with a slight impediment in his speech. Liberal and energetic, and, apart from his violent Russophobia, moderate in his opinions.

Edib Servet Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1879. Son of Servet Pasha. Left the Military College in 1898. Served with the Salonica army and in Thrace till he entered the Staff College in 1909. In 1911 was attached to the Yanina Regiment and in 1913 promoted major. Held a staff appointment during the Balkan war and was on the military staff of the Turkish Delegation to the 1913 Peace Conference in London. Later in the year was for a few months chief A.D.C. to the heir apparent. Served during the Great War at the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and in 1917 was director of the Military Press Bureau. In March 1918 was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Roumania to conclude peace. During the armistice was a member of the Armistice Commission and director of the Prisoners of War Section, and joined Mustafa Kemal in June 1920. Was afterwards chiefly engaged in arranging the supply of munitions, and in 1922 was for a time member of the Turco-Syrian Frontier Delimitation Commission. In November became Military Commandant of Constantinople and Acting Governor of Pera. Since November 1925 has been Deputy for Constantinople. Is a leading member of the board of the *Ish Bankassi*, and is now member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In 1926 he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress at Mecca and made history by appearing in a bowler hat.

Edib Bey is short, stout and jovial, with a face like the rising sun on the rare occasions when, in the early hours, it has approached its zenith. He shows a taste for opera and old Turkish songs and has a good voice. Though not involved so

deeply in politics as are his companions, he is in great favour with the Ghazi and is influential. While not appearing bright, he is shrewd and sharp and probably does more hard thinking than any of the coterie. Speaks French, Italian and German. Is hospitable, with a naïve courtliness of manner and a passion for doing things right and urging his friends to do likewise as, for instance, when after a lunch at the British Embassy last summer he interrupted Dr. Tevfik Rushdi Bey in the middle of a discourse to whisper to him that it was time to go.

Fahreddin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at the military school, where he was a class-mate of Enver Pasha. 1909, in command of troops against the Kurds, near Derzim. Later became an active Committee of Union and Progress adherent, and in 1910 chief aid-de-camp to the War Office. Held various staff appointments before becoming Under-Secretary for War in 1915. In 1916 commanded the Turkish division in Galicia, and in 1918 served on the Palestine front. Joined the Nationalist cause in January 1920. Later in the year secured the command of the XIIIth Army Corps, which he retained until the final success of the Turks over the Greeks. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and became commander of the Vth Army Corps. In October 1924 resigned his Deputyship on opting for military duties. In November 1924, on the resignation of Ali Fuad Pasha, became one of the three military inspectors-general, and in August 1926 was promoted divisional general of the first class, thus holding a higher rank than any of the Opposition Pashas.

Fahreddin Pasha has been described as a rough diamond, though honest.

Falih Rifki Bey.

Born in 1894 at Constantinople, where he was educated. Was secretary to Jemal Pasha in Syria during the war, after which he took up journalism and for a time wrote articles for the *Ententist* "Aksham". In 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal and wrote for the Nationalist press. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Bolu, and in the 1923-27 Assembly was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Is now a member of the commission, a chief editor of the "Hakimietü Millié" and director of the Anatolian Agency. In the summer of 1927 he went to Rio de Janeiro as chief Turkish delegate at the International Parliamentary Congress, and returned deeply impressed by the advantages to be derived from an Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to a Latin education.

Falih Rifki Bey is at the same time the youngest of the wildest of the President's boon companions. He is frank, has a fair knowledge of French, and is an ardent westerner. Is a heavy drinker, and this and other excesses are unfortunately already beginning to tell their tale. An excellent bridge player. Wife is undistinguished and lives in Constantinople.

Fevzi Pasha, Mustafa.

Born in Constantinople in 1874. Graduated from the Military College in 1898. Saw service in Macedonia. From then until 1913 held numerous staff appointments. During the war fought at Gallipoli, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and was Chief of the General Staff, 1918-19. In November 1919 was sent on a mission to Anatolia by the Constantinople Government and established relations with Mustafa Kemal. Held the portfolio of War in the Constantinople Government during February and March 1920. He was throughout in close touch with Mustafa Kemal, and on his resignation he went to Anatolia and was at once appointed Minister for National Defence. Played a large part in building up the Kemalist army and in organising transport and the production of ammunition. In 1921 he became for a time rather a back number, but later re-established his position and became Chief of Staff. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople, and since then has been annually reappointed Chief of Staff. Resigned his Deputyship in October 1924 on opting for military duties. In the autumn of 1927 was suffering from diabetes and went to Europe for a cure.

Fevzi Pasha had the confidence of Enver Pasha during the Great War, and is now understood to have that of Mustafa Kemal. Reputed to be a capable officer, especially in matters relating to administration. Regarding by Halidé Hanum as a good soldier, but nothing more. Has considerable influence with the army. Was in his time a pan-Turanian as well as a pan-Islamist, and on the abolition of the Caliphate was regarded as the only rival of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, of whose manner of life he is understood strongly to disapprove. Was regarded as the leader of the war party at Angora during the Mosul crisis. Old-fashioned. Keeps his womenkind secluded.

Hakki Shinassi Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1868, the son of a foreign Ministry official. Studied first at the naval and afterwards at the medical school. Followed medical courses at Berlin, Heidelberg and Munich. While a doctor at the Hamidié Hospital in 1904 was expelled to Anatolia. On his return in 1906 was reinstated with rank of colonel, and later promoted general. Retired in 1918, and from then till 1924 occupied himself with municipal affairs. Since November 1924 has been a Deputy for Constantinople, and is now chairman of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly. In September 1925 was Turkish Red crescent delegate at the International Red Cross Conference at Geneva.

Hamdi Bey, Mehmet.

Born about 1880. During the armistice was head of the Refugee Section of the Ministry of Interior in Constantinople. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Erzinjian. In 1924 was assistant Turkish delegate for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations.

and in 1923 became chief delegate on the appointment of Tewfik Rushdi Bey as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Negotiated the Turco-Greek agreement of 1925, and in June was appointed Minister at Vienna. Short and stoutish, Hamdi Bey speaks French moderately well and is intelligent and moderate.

Hamdulla Subhi Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1881. Educated at Galata-Serai College. In 1901 entered Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a clerk. Remained there till 1908, occupying himself in writing poetry. After the Constitution continued his literary efforts, and was the founder of a society of young poets which developed into the Turk Ojaghi. In 1910 appointed Professor of Turkish Literature at the Stamboul University. Was for a time in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, but after the Balkan war was on good terms with the Unionists. Later became the leading propagandist of pan-Turanism. Travelled in Germany during the war. In the early armistice was anti-British and pro-Italian. In April 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal at Angora. Later in the year was for a time head of the Kemalist Intelligence Service. January-April 1921 Minister of Public Instruction. In April became Vice-President of the Assembly, and occupied himself chiefly with the pan-Islamic Congress then held in Angora. Was again Minister of Public Instruction during the later half of 1921, and was one of the first of the Angora leaders to make a speech against the Sultan. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople and later president of the Turk Ojaglari, to which he devoted most of his time and energy. During 1923 was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and from March till December 1925 was again Minister of Public Instruction, resigning finally on grounds of ill-health. September 1927 re-elected for Constantinople, and is a member of the Constitutional Commission of the new Assembly.

Hamdulla Subhi Bey is an idealist of the pan-Turanian school, and is the moving spirit of the Turk Ojaglari. He is a keen moderniser, and does not believe that the Turk is a religious person. Is not possessed of means, and his honesty is above reproach.

Hassan Bey.

Born in Trebizond in 1884. Educated in Constantinople and in Paris, where from 1909-14 he studied at the School of Political Science. During the war was head of the Economic Section of the Food Supply Directorate, and in December 1919 became Deputy for Trebizond. Joined the Kemalist movement in March 1920, and in May 1921 became Minister of Finance, holding the post till April 1922. By this time he was apparently very pro-Bolshevik in sympathy. From May till July 1922, Minister of Economics and Public Works. In November was appointed member of the Turkish Delegation to the Lausanne Conference, when he acted as financial expert. September 1923 was again Minister of Economics. In March 1924,

Minister of Commerce, and in March 1925 again Minister of Finance, resigning in July 1926 ostensibly on grounds of ill-health. Continued however, to play an important part in Turkish financial matters. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November, when it was rumoured that he would re-enter the Ministry, he became first Vice-President of the Assembly.

Hassan Bey fancies himself as an expert in matters pertaining to finance. Knows French fairly well; is a man of private means, wily and has a sense of humour. Not an attractive personality. Probably a bully, has been described as something of an "apache," and most nearly answers the description when playing bridge, which he does very well. Has a young and attractive little wife.

Hassan Fehmi Bey.

Born in Gumushhané in 1877. Educated at Constantinople, and from 1902 to 1910 held various posts in the Turkish Civil Service. In 1910, Governor of Kerasund, and in 1912 of Gumuljina. 1913-18 Deputy for Gumushhané. Joined Mustafa Kemal in April 1919. In 1920 Vice-President of the Assembly. In April 1922 was Minister of Finance. In 1923 elected Deputy for Gumushhané. August 1923 till January 1924 again Minister of Finance, resigning because of a dispute over the Anatolian Railway question. November 1924 till March 1925 Minister of Agriculture. December 1925 became one of the Government delegates on the board of the Ottoman Bank. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November became Chairman of the Assembly Finance Commission.

Hassan Fehmi Bey is not regarded as a strong man, and during his occupation of ministerial posts was little more than a nominee of Mustafa Kemal.

Hulussi Fuad Bey.

Born in 1885 in Constantinople. Member of the Turkish Diplomatic Service. Was employed at Berlin and Vienna during the war, and at Christiania in 1923, when he received an appointment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora. May 1924 became "chef du cabinet" of Adnan Bey, delegate at Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In October went to London as a member of the Turkish delegation to the Congress of the League of Nations Societies. Resigned in March 1923 for reasons unknown, though suggested that (1) he had outshone Nusret Bey, (2) he was not fully sympathetic with Angora. In May appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo.

Hulussi Fuad Bey is a son of "Deli" Fuad Pasha, and his wife, who is a pleasant woman, is an excellent linguist, and is a daughter of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. He is pleasant to deal with, accustomed to European ways, enjoys a good cigar, is very clever and believed to be fairly straight.

Husrev Bey.

Born in 1884. A soldier *de carrière*; was military attaché at Athens at the outbreak of the Great War, and later served on the staff of the Caucasus army as an intelligence officer. During the early part of the Nationalist struggle, was private secretary to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. February 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's mission to Paris, London and Rome. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Urfa. May 1924 became Minister at Budapest. Later resigned his deputyship on opting for his Legation. In August 1926 was appointed Minister at Sofia.

Husrev Bey is tall and good-looking, and is a friend of the Ghazi.

Hussein Jahid Bey.

Born at Constantinople 1876. Took up the teaching profession, but in 1908 went over to journalism and became, till 1912, editor and part proprietor of the "Tanin," the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. From 1908 was one of the Constantinople Deputies in the Chamber, of which he became one of the vice-presidents during the war. Before the war was representative of the Turkish bondholders on the Public Dept. Played no great political part during the war, but at the armistice was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in April 1921, he spent the following year in Europe. On his return to Constantinople, he recommenced publication of the "Tanin," and for a time supported the Kemalist régime. Nevertheless, he kept in close touch with the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders and gradually began to take a more independent line in his writings. By 1923 the "Tanin" had become the chief organ of the Opposition, and in December Jahid Bey was tried and acquitted for the publication of the Agha Khan letter. In April 1925 he was again arrested for his publications, the "Tanin" was suppressed and Jahid Bey was sentenced by the Independence Tribunal to life-time confinement in a fortress (Chorum). He was again brought before the tribunal in August 1926, for alleged participation in the Smyrna plot, but was acquitted. He was soon afterwards released, and is now living quietly in Constantinople.

Tall and slight, Jahid Bey was remarkable for his biting satire, and was feared by his enemies. Has written several poems and produced a number of scholastic books. His former power was doubtless derived partly from his association with Javid, and for the moment, the Government seem to have brought him to terms.

Hussein Jevad Bey.

Born in Constantinople in 1886. Educated at Galata Serai College, and entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1898. Appointed to Vienna (1899) Athens (1901), Cetinje (1905), St. Petersburg (1907), London (1909); Minister at Cetinje (1911) and at Belgrade (1913). 1917-19 was Minister at Stockholm; 1920-

22 at Bern. In 1923 was appointed by Angora to Bucharest. Transferred to Paris in November 1924, his speech on presenting his credentials in February 1925 was much criticised in the Assembly, and he was recalled. In April was appointed Minister at Athens.

Hussein Jevad Bey is fat, affable and very popular. Believed to be honest and well-intentioned. Is rich and unmarried; knows French and German excellently, speaks English, plays golf and was responsible for its introduction into Montenegro.

Hussein Reouf Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1877. Educated at the Halki Naval College. Was for some years on the staff of Bucknam Pasha, and in 1910 became commander of the "Hamidieh," whose activities were famous during the Balkan war. At the outbreak of the Great War was in England supervising the building of the "Reshadieh," of which he was to have had the command. Endeavoured to prevent Turkey's entry into the war. Was for a time chief of the Naval Staff, but spent most of the war period in Switzerland and Berlin. Was one of the Turkish signatories of the Mudros Armistice, and for a month (October 1918) was Minister of Marine. During 1919 was in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Returned to Constantinople early in 1920 as the leader of the Kemalist Deputies in the newly elected Chamber, and in March was arrested and deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in November 1921, he immediately proceeded to Angora, becoming Minister of Public Works, but resigned two months later, probably owing to differences with Mustafa Kemal. March 1922 became Vice-President of the Assembly, and soon showed himself to be the leader of the Moderate party. In May he showed strong anti-Bolshevik sympathies, and his prestige rapidly growing, he was in July elected by the Assembly to be President of the Council. At this time Mustafa Kemal was understood to be very jealous of Reouf's power. In November he became Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople. Resigned the presidency of the Council in August because of reported differences with Mustafa Kemal. On the Caliphate question arising in 1923, Reouf Bey showed increasing signs of opposition, and by October was the real leader of the opposition. In November he resigned from the People's party and was elected vice-president of the new Progressive party, which was abolished in March 1925. In the spring of 1926 he went abroad, and in June was in London in the company of Adnan Bey. In August was tried by default on charge of participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal and was sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress. In the autumn it was understood that he was still engaged in Opposition activities. Throughout 1927 Reouf Bey remained abroad and he ceased to be a Deputy in September. He was, however, the subject of most bitter attacks in Mustafa Kemal's lengthy review of the Turkish revolution in October, attacks which made it clear that he is still feared by the President, whose efforts to discredit him were so patiently overdone.

Hussein Reouf Bey is the leader of the Opposition to Mustafa Kemal. Speaks excellent English, and also French and German. Is essentially a Moderate, and prior to his deportation to Malta was decidedly pro-British. As a result of his treatment, however, his feelings became very bitter, but this phase has now passed and he has reverted to his pro-British sympathies.

Ibrahim Tali Bey.

Doctor by profession, and served in that capacity during the Great War. Later became Turkish Consul at Batoum. In February 1924 it was rumoured that he would succeed Adnan Bey as representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, but, instead, he went to Salonica to investigate alleged abuses on the part of the Turkish consul there. In April was appointed Minister at Warsaw. January 1926 elected Deputy for Diarbekr, and returned to Angora in the following month. In May became inspector-general of the People's party in Constantinople, and as such had very extensive powers. Took a prominent part in the 1927 elections and was himself again returned for Diarbekr. In October became vice-president of the council of the People's party, and in November a member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. In December resigned his Deputyship on being appointed Inspector-General of the Eastern Provinces, with extensive powers. Is reported to have pronounced Bolshevik sympathies.

Ihsan Bey.

Born about 1880. Is an ex-army officer, but nothing is known of his early history, which is probably undistinguished. Deputy for Jebeli Bereket since 1921. In December 1923 was president of the Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople in connection with the publication of the Agha Khan letter. Throughout 1924 he was one of the leaders of the extreme section of the People's party, and his speeches gave rise to much comment. In December he became Minister for Marine, holding that post till November 1927. Is now a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly.

Ihsan bey is a rough and disagreeable type. He speaks no European language.

Ismet Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Smyrna, where his father was a small landed proprietor. Educated at the Military College, and from 1906-12 saw service in Thrace and the Yemen. Joined the General Staff in 1914. 1915-16 Chief of Staff of the Caucasus Army. 1917-18 in Palestine, and became Under-Secretary for War in the autumn of 1918. Early showed Nationalist sympathies and joined Mustafa Kemal in March 1920, at once becoming Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces. Assumed command of the Western Army in December 1920, and was chief Turkish delegate at the Mudania Conference in October 1922. In the same month was appointed Minister

for Foreign Affairs, and in November went to Lausanne as chief Turkish delegate. Signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of Turkey in July 1923, and in October became Prime Minister, retaining the portfolio for Foreign Affairs. At the same time Mustafa Kemal delegated to him the functions of president of the People's party. During 1924, owing to his ill-health, his Administration became more and more unpopular, and he resigned in November. On the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt in March 1925 he was again summoned to power by Mustafa Kemal, and has since been Prime Minister, though, in August 1925 it was rumoured that his relations with the Ghazi had become strained owing to his opposition to the divorce of Latîfê Hanum. This rumour proved unfounded and his position still appears as strong as ever. In August 1926 he was promoted general of the first class, and in November 1927, after the general election, at which he was re-elected for Malatya, he reconstructed his Cabinet on more moderate lines.

Ismet Pasha, in his army days, was regarded as an exceptionally capable staff officer, an indefatigable worker, and was, to a large extent, responsible for the final Nationalist success against the Greeks in 1922. At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator. Is courteous, and never shows signs of being ruffled, but suffers from deafness, which however, he probably finds convenient at times. Is the only one of the prominent early Nationalist leaders who has retained the confidence of Mustafa Kemal, and remains, as he has been for the last five years, the President's right-hand man. According to Halidê Hanum (July 1926): "He subordinate himself entirely to the Ghazi, and only wants to hang everybody."

Jafer Tayar Pasha.

Born in 1883 at Prishtina of poor parents. Educated by the charity of an Albanian, who sent him to the military school. Saw service in Macedonia, and in 1907 became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Served at the Dardanelles, and in 1918 had command of the forces in Northern Caucasus. Early in the armistice he showed himself violently anti-British, and formed a military organisation at Adrianople, with which, in 1920, he threatened to resist the occupation of the town by the Greek army. From then onwards was known as the hero of Adrianople, for which, since 1920, he had been the senior Deputy. In 1924 he commanded the troops in the eastern vilayets, but his enthusiasm for Mustafa Kemal began to cool, and in October he resigned his military duties to take up those of a Deputy. In July 1926, along with Ali Fuad, Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas, was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted, largely, it is understood, owing to the fear of the authorities of his influence with the army. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927, and is for the moment little heard of.

Jafer Tayar Pasha is a strong patriot, just and honest, and, as a result of his Adrianople experiences, is violently Graecophobe.

Jelal Nuri Bey.

Born about 1880. A journalist; manager of a Young Turk newspaper in Constantinople in 1906. Expelled shortly after and only returned after the Constitution when he commenced publication of his paper, "İleri," which continued to appear till 1925. Was subventioned by the Germans during the war. In the early armistice ran his paper as a Kemalist organ until he was deported to Malta in March 1920. Shortly before, he had been elected Deputy for Gallipoli. Was released in March 1921 and at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. Has since been a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly, in 1922 being president, and reporter from 1923 till 1927. During the constitutional crisis in March 1924 he was a warm supporter of the proposal to accord dissolution and veto powers to the President of the Republic, but the proposal was defeated. In September 1927 was elected Deputy for Rodosto, and in November, while still retaining membership of the Constitutional Commission, became reporter of the Drafts Commission of the Assembly.

Jelal Nuri Bey is one of the extremists of the People's party and has very pronounced Communist leanings.

Jemil Bey.

Born about 1885. Has followed a military career. About 1906 was "commandant de la place" at Salonica and at that time saved Mustafa Kemal from arrest by Abdul Hamid's secret police. During the armistice, when he held the rank of staff lieutenant-colonel, was in command of the defence forces against the Greeks at Chatalja. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Rodosto. In May 1924 appointed general secretary of the People's party, and in January 1925 became Minister of the Interior. Though for a time he did well and exercised considerable influence, his position became weakened early in 1927 owing to alleged irregularities in connexion with Government contracts, and though re-elected Deputy in September, he ceased to hold ministerial rank on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in November 1927.

Jemil Bey is reserved and intelligent and speaks only a little French.

Jemil Bey, Professor.

Born about 1880. Has followed a legal career and specialises in international law, on which he is now the recognised Turkish authority. Was chief adviser to the Turkish delegation before the Hague Tribunal in 1927 in connexion with the "Lotus" incident, in which judgement was given in favour of Turkey. From 1922 to 1924 was one of the chief movers in a Turkish association for supporting the League of Nations, and in October 1924 attended the congress of League of Nations Societies in London.

Jemil Bey is quiet, reserved and almost entirely absorbed in his studies. Is good-mannered and cultured, and his family have received a European education. Is a keen gardener.

Jevad Pasha.

Born in Constantinople in 1873. Educated at the Galata Serai College and at the military school. In 1893 aide-de-camp to the Sultan. Later, sent to Germany to complete his military studies, and on his return secured rapid promotion owing to his father's influence at the palace. In 1913 appointed General Officer Commanding the Dardanelles Defences, and was in command of the Palestine army at the time of the Turkish collapse in 1918. In November 1918 became Chief of General Staff, and in December was Minister of War. Obstructed the Allies during the early armistice, and from the first was one of the strongest and cleverest of the Nationalist supporters in Constantinople. From October 1919 till January 1920 was again Chief of the General Staff. In March 1920 was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in October 1921, he at once proceeded to Angora, and in January 1922 was given the command of the Turkish troops near the Iraq frontier. Elected Deputy in July 1923, he at first took no part in the proceedings of the Assembly, having in the meantime been appointed military inspector-general in the eastern provinces. In October 1924 was in supreme command of the Turkish forces on the Iraq frontier when the *statu quo* difficulty arose. Later in the month he resigned from his military duties in order to take up his deputyship. Resigned from the latter two months later. In January 1925 was attached to the Iraq Frontier Commission in the capacity of assessor and showed himself petulant and irascible. In September and December was attached to the Turkish Mosul delegation to Geneva. In April 1926 became a member of the Supreme Military Council, and in August was promoted to the rank of general of the first class.

Jevad Pasha knows French and German well. Is very Germanophil and something of an opportunist. Has good manners, is well educated and is a capable administrator. He is old-fashioned, drinks little and says his prayers, but is stated to be jealous of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who served under him at the Dardanelles.

Jevad Abbas bey.

Born about 1890. Early in 1919 became aide-de-camp to Mustafa Kemal, and at the same time was elected Deputy for Bolu. Had control over the activities of the Nationalist secret agents throughout 1920. In July 1921 went on a mission to Bulgaria with a view to organising trouble in Thrace, and in December became unofficial Kemalist representative at Sofia. He returned to Angora early in 1922, and in the autumn was one of the instigators of the Turkish insurrectionist movement in Western Thrace directed against Greek rule. In 1923 was re-elected Deputy for Bolu, and at the end of the year there was much talk and intrigue in

regard to his proposed definite appointment as Turkish Minister at Sofia. In 1924 was president of the Turkish aeroplane Association, in the interest of which he showed great activity. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Maintains close contact with the President of the Republic.

Kiazim Pasha.

Born at Diarbekir in 1879. Educated at the military school. 1904-8, employed at the Ministry of War. 1909-12, and again 1913-14, military attaché at Rome. 1915, Chief of Staff of the 1st Army at the Dardanelles, under Liman von Sanders, whom he accompanied throughout the war, and finally to Palestine. In November 1918 became director of the Military Council. Showed no violent anti-Ally feelings during the armistice, and in June 1920, after joining in an effort to secure a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople, joined Mustafa Kemal, though at the time expressing the continuation of his sympathy with Great Britain. In October 1920 was appointed Director-General of Administration of the Kemalist Western Army, and in October 1921 Under-Secretary of National Defence. In 1922-23 was in command of the Turkish troops on the Chanak front. In October 1924 succeeded Jevad Pasha as an inspector of the IIIrd Army. In the spring of 1925 was in charge of the troops for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt, and in June resigned his military inspectorate. In August 1926 became Vali of Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha was highly esteemed by Liman von Sanders and is an industrious, well-trained and efficient officer. He is not a political intriguer, had moderate views, and has never expressed a preference for any particular party. At Samsun he has earned a reputation for energy and efficiency. He is friendly with foreigners and is held in high esteem by the foreign colony at Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha Keuprulu.

Born at Veles about 1884. Has followed a military career, and was early a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress. Held various commands in the eastern vilayets, and during the war was Director-General of Administration to Ali Fuad Pasha. In July 1919 was in command of troops at Balikesser, and there worked for the Nationalist cause. In the autumn raised irregular bands round Panderma to support Mustafa Kemal, who appointed him Governor of the Balikesser area in January 1920. In June was given command on the northern front, and after the battle of Sakaria was promoted Pasha, becoming in the following month, January 1922, Minister of National Defence. Held this post till November 1924, when he became President of the Assembly. In August 1926 was promoted to be divisional general of the first class. Following the general election in September 1927, at which he was again returned for Karassi, he was in November re-elected President of the Assembly.

Kiazim Pasha is fairly well educated and speaks little French. He is considered to be tenacious though reasonable, but he does not strike one as a strong character. Has poor health. Is anti-German and anti-Bolshevik, and during the nationalist struggle made it clear that he was anti-Greek as distinct from anti-Ally. Is believed to be influential, but is not an attractive personality. A keen poker player.

Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha.

Born at Monastir in 1878 of poor parents. Has throughout of his life followed a military career. Held numerous staff appointments during the war. Immediately after the armistice was given command of the XVth Army Corps at Erzerum, where in 1919 he established contact with Mustafa Kemal, joining definitely the latter in September. In 1919-20 was responsible for the consolidation of the Nationalist position in the eastern vilayets and for the repression of the Armenians. At the same time was closely in touch with Bolshevik agents. Was throughout inclined to act independently of Angora, and for a time his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained. In September 1921 represented Turkey at the Kars Conference, when he incurred the displeasure of Angora by adopting too conciliatory an attitude towards the Bolsheviks, and also probably because of his great influence in the eastern provinces. In 1922 was given full powers in the eastern provinces, and for a time was in touch with Enver Pasha. Finally arrived at Angora in October 1922, and after being for a time unemployed - probably owing to the jealousy of Mustafa Kemal - became one of the military inspectors. Elected Deputy for Constantinople in 1923, he resigned his military duties in October 1924. Joined the Opposition, resigned from the People's party in November, when he became president of the new Progressive party, which was suppressed in March 1925. He continued his Opposition activities, and in July 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the plot against the Ghazi, but was acquitted, probably owing to his influence with the army, which it was later stated wished to make him the leader of an opposition movement. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Colonel Rawlinson says: "Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha is the best example of a first-class Turkish officer that I have met. Any army under him will be well commanded." Possessed of a naturally quick and bright intelligence, he is master of every branch of his profession and most conscientious in the performance of his duties. Is straightforward, and much of the nationalist success is due to his competent handling of the Eastern Army. In the past has been described as "Mr. Kiazim facing both ways." There is however, no doubt of his still having considerable influence with the Turkish Army.

Kilij Ali Bey.

Born about 1882. Before and during the war was an n.c.o. In 1919 he organised a tough lot of bashi-bozuks at Balikesser. Next heard of Cilicia in 1920-

21, when he acted with great energy against the Armenians, thereby earning the sobriquet of Kilij (sword). At the same time changed his real name from Assaf to Ali and became Deputy for Aintab, which he still represents in the Assembly. In July 1924 assaulted Jelal Nuri Bey with impunity in his office, and two months later accompanied Mustafa Kemal in his tour of the eastern provinces, an association much criticised at the time. Continued however, to be one of the chief associates of the Ghazi, and in March 1925 became a member of the Angora Independence Tribunal. In February 1927 wounded Salih Bey in a brawl arising out of the Swedish railway contract. The Independence Tribunals being suppressed in March, Kilij Ali then devoted himself to his numerous commercial activities till the summer, when he was in attendance on the Ghazi at Constantinople. In November was a member of a Turkish mission sent to Moscow in connection with the Russian revolution anniversary celebrations, and in the same month became a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party and of the Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Kilij Ali Bey's character is clear from his record. He is a brute and bully, with no apparent compensating features. He is however, influential, owing to his friendship with the Ghazi.

Mahmud Bey.

Born about 1880. At one time before the war was tutor to one of the Imperial Princes. An army officer, he occupied his spare time in writing or translating military text books. Was an A.D.C. to Mustafa Kemal in the Independence War. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Sert. By 1926 had become chief editor of the semi-official "Hakimieti-Millî" (Angora) and "Milliet" (Constantinople), was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and president of the fifth section of the Assembly. In November 1927 he became reporter of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Went on to Paris and London, and was much pleased with his reception in London.

Mahmud Bey is the leading journalist in Turkey and the President's man of business. Is very influential, but not much seen in public. Speaks French very well and is capable. Appearance is very oriental, of an almost negroid type.

Mahmud Essad Bey.

Born at Smyrna in 1886. Studied law in Constantinople and Switzerland, obtaining his degree in Freiburg in 1911. In 1912 established himself in Smyrna as a lawyer and remained obscurely there till 1919. In May 1920 went to Angora and in the following month was appointed Deputy for Smyrna and still retains this seat. In May 1922 published a violent article against the Sublime Porte and the

Sultan, and in June became secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In July became Minister of Economics, holding the post till September 1923, when he retired to Smyrna and was understood to have become an Oppositionist. In March 1924 opposed the grant of veto and dissolution powers to the President of the Republic. In November became Minister of Justice, retaining this portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In August-September 1926, Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Tewfik Rushdi Bey at Geneva. In 1926 and 1927 he made several visits to Europe in connexion with "Lotus" question, and was chief Turkish delegate before the Hague Tribunal in the summer of 1927 when the Turkish case was upheld.

Essad Bey speaks French and German as well as Turkish and Greek. He is considered to be one of the best Turkish specialists in Constitutional Law. He showed great energy in the introduction of Penal, Commercial and Civil Codes based on Western models, the latter of which has revolutionised Turkish family life.

Mehmed Rejeb Bey.

Born about 1880. An ex-army officer. In 1922 became secretary-general of the People's party and as such had considerable power. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Kutahia. In May 1924 became Minister of Interior and resigned from the secretaryship of the People's party. In the autumn of 1924 was considered one of the leading men of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet and a likely candidate for the premiership, but was maintained in his post on Fethi Bey becoming Prime Minister in November. In January 1925 resigned owing to his objections to the Cabinet proposal to appoint prefects by election, and resumed his post as general secretary of the People's party. In March, on the return of Ismet Pasha to power, became Minister for National Defence. Early in 1927 his influence was said to be on the wane. He was re-elected Deputy for Kutahia in 1927, but ceased to hold Ministerial rank when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November, and a few days later became chairman of the Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Mehmed Rejeb Bey was unknown until the later years of the nationalist struggle, and owed his position to his friendship with the President of the Republic. A big, burly figure, he is said to be ambitious, with a perpetual desire to become Prime Minister. He is however an extremist, and the present tendency towards moderation has produced a slump in his stock, though it is possible that he may be heard of again.

Munir Bey Mehmed.

Born about 1875. Educated at the Mulkié College and Law School at Constantinople. After obtaining his diploma of doctor of law, was appointed one of the assistant legal advisers of the Sublime Porte, holding this post till 1916, when

he became chief legal adviser. As such attended the conference of Brest Litovsk. Accompanied İzzet Pasha on the reconciliation mission to Anatolia in December 1920. At once placed his services at the disposal of the Nationalist Government, and became legal advisor. Was Turkish legal adviser at the Lausanne Conference, and returned to hold the post at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs till February 1925, when he was appointed Turkish Minister at Berne.

Munir Bey is a pretty good lawyer and rather the simple good old-fashioned kind of Turkish official. He has a reputation for honesty, and created a good impression on the British delegates at the Lausanne Conference.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Salonica, was educated at the Mulkié school at Salonica and at the Military College in Constantinople, from which he passed out with the rank of captain in 1905. In 1907 he was for a time exiled to Damascus. Receiving a staff appointment at Salonica, he early joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and was at Salonica when the Constitution was proclaimed. Soon after quarrelled with the Committee of Union and Progress. 1910-11 served in Tripoli; 1913 became aide-de-camp to the Heir Apparent and military attaché at Sofia. In October 1914 was given a command at Gallipoli and distinguished himself at Anafarta in 1915, when he alone saved the situation in defiance of von Sander's orders. Later in the same year he fell foul of Enver Pasha and remained unemployed till 1917, when he was given a Caucasus command. In 1917-18 had twice command of the VIIth Army on the Palestine front, but quarrelled in turn with von Falkenhayn, Liman von Sanders and Enver Pasha. In May 1919 was sent to Anatolia to stem the rising tide of Nationalism, and on his arrival at Samsun immediately assumed leadership of the movement. On the 18th July announced his resignation from the army and devotion to the Nationalist cause, and on the 27th summoned the first Nationalist Congress at Erzerum. In November summoned the second Nationalist Congress at Sivas and in December at Angora. During the following months he tried to dictate to the Constantinople Government and in April 1920 established an independent Government at Angora. In May became President of the First Assembly and proceeded to organise the Nationalist army. In 1921 received Russian and Afghan Ambassadors at Angora, and in November was vested with absolute authority for the prosecution of the war. Early in 1922 had some difficulties with the Assembly, but his dictatorship was successfully prolonged for limited periods, and with the Nationalist victory over the Greeks in August-September his ascendancy was complete. In November secured from the Assembly the abolition of the Sultanate. This step gave rise to opposition in the Assembly, and he dismissed it in April 1923. In the following election Kemalist nominees were to a large extent elected, Mustafa Kemal himself becoming one of the Deputies for Angora. In August was re-elected President of the Assembly, and in

October, on the emergence of a Cabinet crisis, had a republic proclaimed with himself as President. Early in March 1924 decreed the abolition of the Caliphate, though in the same month the right of veto was refused to him, while in April the supreme command of the army in time of peace was vested in the chief of General Staff. Since that time the President has inspired the policy of the Government, and in all essentials controlled the Administration through his nominees. Though in many respects his policy is but a continuation of that of the Committee of Union and Progress, the drive which has put the recent great innovations through has been mainly his own. In August 1925 he divorced his wife, Laüfê Hanum, whom he had married in 1922, and in the same month he decreed the abolition of the fez. During the summer of 1926 a plot to assassinate him was discovered at Smyrna, and as a result a number of Opposition leaders were hanged. Early in 1927 his health showed signs of giving way, and he moderated his manner of life. He was also seen much more in public and his behaviour became more decorous. In the summer, after an absence of eight years, he at last visited Constantinople, and from there controlled the general election in September at which only his nominees were returned. In October he made further history by delivering a six-day speech before a party congress, in which he reviewed the whole history of the Turkish revolution. In the following month he was unanimously re-elected President of the Republic.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is about 5 feet 7 inches tall, with a sallow complexion and steel grey eyes with a fixed expression. Has strong regular features and is now inclined to stoutness. Possesses an impressive delivery in speech-making. From his early days he has been an excessive drinker, and is still given to frequent excesses. Is however, possessed of an iron will and constitution.

Nejati Bey Mustafa.

Until recent years was a small lawyer in Smyrna. From 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Saruhan in the first Angora Assembly. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna and in October became first Minister of Reconstruction in the Angora Government. In March 1925 was appointed general prosecutor of the Independence Tribunal formed in connexion with the Kurdish revolt, but resigned owing to the wide powers which it was proposed to confer on the court. In December became Minister of Public Instruction, retaining this portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. Early in 1927 he made a tour of European countries for purposes of study and in London created a bad impression by his manner of life and disinclination to visit educational institutions. Of very limited intelligence, he knows no French, is probably not over scrupulous, but has something of the energy and forcefulness of a brute. A keen moderniser and a companion of the Ghazi.

Nureddin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1875. On leaving the military school in 1894 became an aide-de-camp to Sultan Abdul Hamid, remaining at the Palace till 1909. During the war fought at the Dardanelles and commanded in Iraq, where his success is said to have aroused the jealousy of Enver Pasha. Became Military Commandant of Smyrna in 1918 and Vali of the town in February 1919, but only held this post for one month. In May 1920 offered his services to bring about a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople. Joined Mustafa Kemal in the following month. In command of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas in April 1921, but was dismissed in November for hanging certain Kurdish chiefs. In September 1922 was in command of the 1st Army, which captured Smyrna, and as Governor-General of the town can hardly escape responsibility for the burning of it. At this time was opposed to the extreme section of the Nationalists, who favoured radical dynastic changes and by the end of the year he had become unpopular with Mustafa Kemal. Throughout the winter however, he had command of the Turkish troops in the Ismid sector. In July 1923 was dismissed from the command of the IIIrd Army and owing to his Opposition tendencies failed to secure election as a Deputy. He retired to Broussa and remained there till December 1924, when he was elected Deputy, even though standing as an Oppositionist. In the following month his election was invalidated on technical grounds, but at a new election he was returned almost unopposed. In November 1925 he spoke strongly in the Assembly against the law making the wearing of the hat compulsory, but thereafter took no part in its debates and in September 1927 ceased to be a Deputy.

Nureddin Pasha is extremely deliberate and dignified in his manner. Is somewhat vain, but a capable soldier, straightforward and honest. Is one of the best Turkish chess players, old-fashioned, reactionary and out of sympathy with the President's modernising tendencies in Turkey.

Nusret Bey.

Born about 1878 of South Albanian origine. Educated at the Mulkié College at Constantinople, after which he followed a course of jurisprudence at the law school. In 1903 became a clerk in the Legal Adviser's Department at the Sublime Porte, and rose to be one of its assistants. In 1916 became director of this department. In 1921 accompanied Tewfik Pasha's delegation to London, in the capacity of legal adviser. Was in the Turkish delegation at Lausanne. Continued to share with Munir Bey the duties of legal adviser of the Angora Government until 1924, when he was appointed representative in Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. As such he was always ready to take reasonable views and in so far as his limited powers allowed him, he was helpful. In June 1927 he resigned his Constantinople appointment on being appointed president of the newly-

constituted Council of State, and visited Europe for a cure preparatory to taking up his new duties in the autumn.

Nusret Bey gives lectures at the law school on international law, on which he is regarded as something of an authority. Is of a very quiet and studious disposition and his chief pleasure consists in the perusal of legal works in French. Is personable and courteous, but in Constantinople his bugbear was social functions in Pera. His womenfolk remain in seclusion.

Nusret Saadullah Bey.

Born about 1875, the son of Saadullah Pasha, at one time Ambassador and Minister for Foreign Affairs. Studied at Galata Serai Lycée, Constantinople and at Vienna. Entered the Diplomatic Service and served at Berlin and Vienna until, about 1900, he became Assistant Legal Adviser at the Sublime Porte. Owing to bad health, was for some years unemployed, but in July 1913, after having been a Deputy for a few months, he became Minister at the Hague and remained there until 1921. In 1925 he became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry, but resigned in 1926 for reasons of health. In September 1927 became Deputy for Samsun, and two months later, member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission.

Nusret Saadullah bey is cultured and very popular both in European and Turkish circles. He is also capable, but his poor health — a hereditary weakness, both his father and brother having committed suicide during fits of temporary insanity — has prevented him from attaining the distinction to which he would otherwise appear entitled. Is of independent means, having married an Egyptian Princess, the daughter of the late Halim Pasha, and has probably thought it politic to seek an Embassy via the National Assembly. Is not a politician.

Rahmi Bey.

Born at Salonica in 1874, his father being a rich Macedonian landowner. Studied at the Military College at Constantinople and at the schools of law and political science in Paris. While in French capital he became in close contact with the Young Turks, and at the Constitution was elected Committee of Union and Progress Deputy for Salonica. A close friend of Talaat Pasha and a most influential member of the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1914 was appointed Vali of Smyrna, holding the post right through the war. Fanatical in his hatred of the Greeks. Made a show of his anti-German feelings throughout. His treatment of better-class foreigners was good and Armenians suffered less at Smyrna than in any part of Turkey, but he gave the Maltese colony a bad time. Sent out of Mitylene with peace overtures in 1915. In 1919 was arrested for political reasons and deported to Malta, and on his release in 1921 proceeded to Europe. Returned to Smyrna in 1924 and took a retaining fee from British firms,

but was unable to secure election as a Deputy there in December owing to his pronounced Opposition sentiments. Continued to be identified with the Opposition movement and in the spring of 1926 proceeded to Russia. In August was tried by default for complicity in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic and was sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress.

Rahmi Bey is extremely clever. He is specious, but untrustworthy. At Smyrna he showed himself to be a man of energy and his position was so strong that he was able to act in almost complete independence of Constantinople. Gained large sums from profiteering at Smyrna. Must still be regarded as one of the leading Oppositionist, and would almost certainly take a prominent place in the event of the overthrow of the present Turkish régime. Bitterly resentful of his internment at Malta. Well known to the British colony at Bournabat.

Rahmi Bey, Mustafa.

Born about 1880 at Smyrna. Nothing known of his early history except that for a time he was a finance official. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Smyrna. Became Minister of Commerce in May 1926 and in November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, retained that portfolio, combining with it that of Agriculture.

Rahmi Bey is a big burly man, who speaks nothing but Turkish. He rarely shows himself in public but officially is courteous and helpful.

Refet Pasha.

Born in 1877 at Tirnova. 1898-1908 was employed in the gendarmerie in Macedonia. Commanded the gendarmerie battalion of the Army of Liberation in 1908. Went to staff school in 1911, and was sent to Damascus in 1912. Became famous as the defender of Gaza in 1916, and in 1918 received the command of the XXIIIrd Army Corps in Palestine. At the armistice was appointed commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie, and in May 1919 commander of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas. Landed at Samsun with Mustafa Kemal and immediately became one of the latter's chief lieutenants. In September commanded the Nationalist forces at Konia, and in March 1920 was appointed general officer commanding on the Aidin front. In September was appointed Minister of the Interior, holding the post till April 1921. After holding various commands, was Minister of National Defence from July 1921 to January 1922. After the Mudania Conference was appointed Governor of Thrace, but remained in Constantinople, where he rapidly overthrew the Sultan's Government and established Nationalist authority. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople, and soon afterwards resigned his appointment, which no longer had any *raison d'être*. In the autumn began to show Opposition tendencies over the proclamation of the republic, and was in close touch with the Caliph and Reouf Bey. Resigned his Deputyship in May 1924 and thereafter lived

quietly in Constantinople, though maintaining close touch with Reouf and other Opposition leaders. In October withdrew his resignation of the Deputyship, publicly joined forces with the Oppositionists, resigned from the People's party and became one of the leaders of the new Progressive party. In July 1926 was tried at Angora for participation in the plot against the life of the President of the Republic, but was acquitted supposedly because of his prestige with the army. In October he announced his abandonment of political life and in November finally resigned his Deputyship.

Refet Pasha is one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders and of considerable political ability. In 1922 at Constantinople, showed himself to be an extremely keen and clever tactician. Though his private life is now above reproach, he can hardly fail to play a prominent part in any future Opposition movement in Turkey.

Refik Bey, Dr.

Born about 1878. Studied at Stamboul medical school and in Germany, and later practiced medicine. Was an early supporter of Mustafa Kemal, and from 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Bayazid in the first Angora Assembly. Since 1923 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople. Except for the period November 1924-March 1925, when Fethi Bey was Prime Minister, Refik Bey was Minister of Health since October 1923. He has discharged the duties of his post with marked ability, and the great improvement in Turkish sanitary conditions and the successful draining of the Angora marches are outstanding tributes to his ability and energy. His Ministry is easily the most efficient of all the Turkish official departments. Is chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Turkish Red Crescent.

Generally known as "Doctor Bey," Refik Bey is universally popular. Not much seen in public, he is particularly fond of bridge, at which he is an indifferent player. Speaks fair French. Is unconcerned with politics and is almost exclusively taken up with his work. Is probably a martinet in his Department. Thanks to his considerable reputation as a successful Minister, he was, in 1927, understood to be exercising considerable influence.

Reshid Ghalib Bey, Dr.

Born about 1887 in Rhodes. Studied at the Medical School, Constantinople, and later followed medical courses in France and Switzerland. Joined the Young Turk movement on his return and afterwards held numerous posts as an official doctor. Was municipal doctor at Mersina during the French occupation. Has been Deputy for Aidin since January 1925, and from March 1925 till its suppression in March 1927 was a member of the Angora Independent Tribunal. Was understood in 1926 to have insisted on the hanging of Javid Bey against the opinion of his colleagues. Is a member of the Central Committee of the Turk Ojaks and of the

executive council of the People's party, and is Secretary of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly.

Reshid Galib Bey is of a rather a good type and pleasant in conversation, but is now showing signs of coarsening. He is a brother of Hussein Raghib Bey, the Turkish Minister in Bucharest.

Rushen Eshref Bey.

Born about 1890 in Constantinople. Before the war taught in the English boys' school in Constantinople. Was associated with Mustafa Kemal from the inception of the Nationalist movement, and was a member of the first Angora Assembly. Has been a Deputy for Afion Kara Hissar since 1923. Has never occupied any prominent official position but has for years been one of the Ghazi's most intimate friends. 1925-27, was secretary of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission, and for the last two years has been the chief secretary of the Assembly. In the summer of 1927 he represented the Turkish press at an international congress in London, whence he returned deeply impressed by English education, industry and culture.

Rushen Eshref Bey is an attractive personality. He is cultured and speaks remarkably well. Has read extensively and is extremely intelligent, but is probably constitutionally lazy, and though fond of writing in practice produces little. While accused by some of insincerity, he is excellent company, is very fond of bridge, and has a pleasant wife, whose good looks and other attractions place her well ahead of other ladies in Angora society whose conversational powers are non-existent.

Sabri Bey Mehmed.

Born about 1883. Before the war was a small Post Office employee. During the war was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress, and for his activities in this connexion was deported to Malta in 1919. He returned and became in 1922 Director of Posts and Telegraphs at Angora, and went to Germany, where he studied wireless. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Saruhan, and in August became first Vice-President of the Assembly. In March 1925 became Minister for Agriculture, and still holds that post, though during the Committee of Union and Progress trials in August 1926 his position was weakened by revelations regarding his association with the Committee of Union and Progress leaders in 1922. He was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, but ceased to hold office in November on the suppression of the Ministry of Agriculture as a separate department. In the same month he became a member of the Assembly Budget Commission.

Sabri Bey is of a rough but genial manner. He has great ideas about developing agriculture in Turkey. In November 1925, during a visit to Moscow, he gave evidence of strong pro-Russian sentiments.

Safvet Zia Bey.

Born about 1885. A former staff colonel. Was on the staff of Izzet Pasha in the Yemen in 1912. During the war served at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia. In 1920 was military attaché at Moscow. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Ismid. From March 1925 till November 1927 was secretary-general of the People's party, and as such exercised great influence. Was responsible for the arrangements for the complete success of the Kemalist nominees in the General Election of September 1927, he himself being returned for Erzinjan. In November he became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month headed a Turkish mission to Moscow for the celebrations in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Soviet revolution. From there went on to Paris and London.

Safvet Bey is probably a *deunme*, and is extremely capable, but is possibly just as untrustworthy. He is however, friendly and sociable and a good bridge player. A close friend of the Ghazi, he is extremely ambitious and may be expected to go far.

Shakir Bey.

Born about 1882. Educated at Constantinople, and early entered the service of the Ministry of Interior. Was for a time *mektubji* (clerk) of the Adrianople Vilayet and later became Kaimakam of Ardahan. Became Deputy for Gallipoli in 1920, and throughout the armistice was the moving spirit of the Kemalist movement in Thrace. In 1921 was the unofficial Kemalist agent in Sofia, but continued to devote most of his attention to the Thracian movement. In October 1922 he was appointed Vali of Adrianople and established the Kemalist administration there. Early in the following year he transferred his activities to Constantinople, of which he was for a time Vali. Has been Deputy for Adrianople since 1923 and for the last two years chairman of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. He is also a member of the executive bureau of the People's party.

Shakir Bey is a man of wide education and speaks several European languages. He has some reputation as an administrator, and for the last two years has taken a prominent part in Turkish financial and economic matters.

Shevki Bey Ali.

Born in Constantinople about 1884, the son of a majordomo of Tewfik Pasha, who saw to the education of his retainer's son at the Galata Serai Lycée and in 1905 secured him a post in the Foreign Ministry. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha on a mission to Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg in 1909. Returned to the Ministry and in 1914 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding this post throughout the war. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha to the Paris Peace Conference in 1920 and was later in the year appointed Minister at Stockholm. In 1922 was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Izzet Pasha in the last

Constantinople Government till the collapse of the latter in November. Angora having need of his services, he was summoned to the capital; in 1925 was head of the Commercial Section of the Foreign Ministry and in August 1926 became Under-Secretary, holding this post till September 1927, when he was elected Deputy for Tokat. In November he became a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly.

As his record shows, Shevki Bey owes everything to his venerable patron, Tewfik Pasha. He is short and uninspiring. Probably has Russian sympathies. Has become much more expensive and affable since his election as a Deputy.

Shukri Bey Sarrajoglu.

Born about 1885. Nothing known of his early history. Since July 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. December 1923 became president of Foreign Affairs Commission of Assembly. November 1924-March 1925 was Minister of Public Instruction in Fethi Bey's Cabinet. In July 1925 became chief Turkish delegate on the Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity visited Geneva in December 1926 and in the same month signed the Turco-Greek Convention. In May 1927 he was given charge of the negotiations for the purchase of the Anatolian railway, and in November, when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet, he received the portfolio of Finance.

Shukri Bey is delicate in appearance, and is probably a moderate. Does not appear unduly capable, but is popular, and was on excellent terms with his Greek opposite number in exchange matters. In the last two years his position has become strong, and at one time he was regarded as a probable future Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Shukri Kaya Bey.

Born about 1884 at Kos, where he still owns property. Before the war was an official of the Ministry of Justice, and in 1914, as a civil inspector, accompanied the Embassies' delegates who enquired into the Greek deportations around Smyrna. Was then of advanced ideas and a protégé of Talaat Pasha. Was deported to Malta in the early armistice, and on his liberation identified himself with Mustafa Kemal. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the first Lausanne Conference. Mayor of Smyrna in 1923, when he was a failure. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Monteshe, which he still represents. Negotiated the Turco-Albanian Treaty in December. In March 1924 charged with deposit of the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, and went to Paris and Berne. In the same month became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In August became Minister of Agriculture, and in November Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in March 1925, and was reappointed president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, holding this post till the autumn of 1927. During this period he

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exercised considerable influence over Turkish foreign policy. In November 1927, on the reconstruction of İsmet Pasha's Cabinet, he became Minister of Interior, and quickly effected drastic administrative changes, more particularly in the Eastern Provinces, where he caused the military régime to be suppressed in December.

Şukri Kaya Bey is a coarse but refreshing personality, and is by no means unintelligent. A moderate, he is a disciple of Fethi Bey rather than İsmet Pasha, though the success of his complete reversal of his predecessor's policy in the East has yet to be proved. Some time ago he showed signs of succumbing to drink, but moderation in this direction also has been noticeable of late.

Suad Bey.

Born in 1878. Studied law in Paris, and in 1912 became secretary at the Sublime Porte. Was a protégé of Talaat Pasha, and quickly became head of the Consular and Commercial Department. During the armistice was Director-General of Administration at the Porte, but resigned on the fall of Ferid Pasha. In 1923 became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Angora and in 1924 representative at Rome. Appointed Ambassador there in April 1925.

Suad is a somewhat aggressive and tiresome person to deal with.

Tewfik Bey, Colonel.

Born about 1880. Mother a Bagdadi, father a Turk. Left the military school in 1908, and in view of his marked intelligence proceeded direct to the Staff College, whence he graduated in 1912. In 1914 he was appointed to the staff of the 19th Division, where he served under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Later he served in the Caucasus, and was on the staff of İsmet Pasha in Palestine. Joined the Nationalist movement at the beginning, and was appointed to the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence, with rank of colonel. Was Turkish military adviser at the Lausanne Conference, 1922-23. In June 1924 became secretary to the President of the Republic, and held this post till November 1927, in spite of İsmet Pasha's efforts to appoint him to various missions abroad. He represented Turkey at the Arms Traffic Conference at Geneva in the early summer of 1925. In November 1927 was appointed Ambassador at Moscow and proceeded to his post in December.

Tewfik Bey is tall, fat and pleasant, and is completely identified with Mustafa Kemal. He speaks German, Russian and French; always affable, his relations with the British delegates at Lausanne were very cordial. He is married but keeps his womenkind in seclusion.

Tevfik Kiamil Bey.

Born about 1880. A career diplomat, but nothing is known of his early history. He was secretary to the Turkish delegation at the Second Lausanne Conference in 1923, and on his return to Angora became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As such he was charged with the negotiation of friendship treaties with several foreign countries, and gradually exercised increasing influence. Resigned in October 1925 on his election as Deputy for Constantinople, which he still represents. In 1926 he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and by his expert knowledge made his influence felt. In 1927 he was responsible for the drafting of a new law on Turkish nationality which, however, has not yet taken final shape. Represented Turkey at a Cattle Plague Conference at Adana in November 1927. Is now a member of the Administrative Council of the Assembly.

Tevfik Kiamil Bey is without doubt very capable. He is, however, shy and reserved, but when better known is pleasant in conversation and ready to express his views on questions which interest him.

Tevfik Rushdi Bey.

Born about 1885 in Macedonia, of Turkish parents. Doctor in the sanitary service. In 1909 was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress Congress then held. Served as a doctor during Balkan War, and was made prisoner by the Serbs. In 1920 was a member of a mission to Russia, and later, during the Nationalist movement, was the director of an Angora newspaper. Elected Deputy for Smyrna in July 1923, was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission which considered the Lausanne Treaty. Later in the year was appointed president of the Turkish Commission for the Exchange of Populations, and early incurred criticism because of his alleged failure adequately to protect Turkish interests. Resigned in September 1924 over the *établissements* issue, but subsequently withdrew his resignation and resumed negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Greek agreement. In March 1925 became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Proceeded to Europe on various missions, particularly in connection with the Mosul question, and signed the Angora Treaty in June 1926. During the summer of 1926 his position was weakened owing to his relationship (brother-in-law) with the late Dr. Nazım, whose death sentence he endeavoured to have commuted, but this effect was apparently only temporary, and he again seemed fairly established when he met M. Chicherin at Odessa in November. During the following months rumours of his impending resignation were current, but these proved unfounded, and he retained his portfolio when İsmet Paşa reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927.

Tevfik Rushdi bey is dishevelled and repulsive in appearance. He is so volatile and voluble that he appears inane. Is supposed to have Communist leanings, but probably is an utterly cynical opportunist. Is an incessant talker, whose real

influence on Turkish foreign policy is difficult to determine, though his subservience to İsmet Pasha in public lends colour to the theory that he is content for the most part to take his orders from his superior.

Yunus Nadi Bey.

Born in 1878, at Macri, of poor parents. Educated in Rhodes. Became a protégé of Abidin Pasha Dino, who put him in charge of his farms but dismissed him after two years because of abuses. Emerged from obscurity in 1908 and became one of the Committee of Union and Progress members for Smyrna in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1911 became editor of the Committee of Union and Progress "Tasviri Efkar," and in 1916 started the "Yeni Gun." In 1908 received £T. 30,000 from secret Committee of Union and Progress funds. Was imprisoned soon after the armistice, but was soon released and published attacks on the Allies in his newspaper. On occupation of Constantinople in March 1920 he escaped to Angora, having for some time previously been in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Commenced publication of his paper there and became Deputy for Smyrna. In February 1921, was a member of the Angora Peace delegation to Rome, Paris and London. In the autumn he fell foul of Mustafa Kemal because of his sympathy with Enver Pasha, but in 1922 was received back into the fold and for some time was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Throughout this period he wrote many Russophil articles, and was a bitter Anglophobe. Became Deputy for Monteshe in 1923. In 1924 started the "Jumhuriyet" in Constantinople, and soon after the "Yeni Gun" ceased publication. Since 1923 has been president of the Constitution Commission of the Assembly, and, 1926-27, was also a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Early in 1927 his influence was considered to be on the wane, but was re-elected Deputy in September.

Yunus Nadi Bey is short and stout and wears pince-nez. He is intelligent, but is ready to tack to any wind, is an excessive drinker and an unscrupulous scoundrel whose general behaviour disgusts even the Turks. Chosen to preside over the parliamentary enquiry into the alleged peculations of the former Minister of Marine in December 1927 — a curious selection.

Yussuf Hikmet Bey.

Born in Constantinople about 1882. Educated at Galata Serai Lycée. Entered the Turkish Diplomatic Service and served as a secretary at Paris and Berlin. Returned to the Sublime Porte early in the armistice, but in 1920 went to Angora, where he at once became Political Director at the Foreign Ministry and accompanied the Nationalist mission to Europe in 1922. In 1924 was counsellor in London, and in January 1925 again became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry. In the summer of 1925 he became Minister at Belgrade, holding the post till November 1927, when he succeeded Colonel Tevfik Bey as private secretary to the President of the Republic.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey is short, dark, and somewhat insignificant in appearance. He is, however, intelligent, and more will probably be heard of him, particularly in view of his present close association with Mustafa Kemal. He has agreeable manners, and in spite of slight deafness, was generally popular in Belgrade, where His Majesty's Minister found him pleasant to deal with. He might, nevertheless, turn out to be something of a mischief maker.

Yusuf Kemal Bey.

Born in 1878 at Sinope. Entered the military school, but transferred in 1901 to the school of law, from which he graduated in 1905. Practised in Constantinople and was for a short time Deputy for Castamuni, but in 1909 joined the Opposition. In 1910 resigned his seat and spent the following two years in Paris studying law. Throughout the war practised as a barrister in Constantinople. October to December 1919 was Under-Secretary for Justice, and on being sent on a mission of reconciliation to Anatolia, was won over to the Nationalist cause and did not return to Constantinople. Became Minister of Economics early in 1920. In 1920-21 proceeded on mission to Moscow and Tiflis and attended the Baku Congress. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in May 1921, and throughout his tenure of office was in close touch with Moscow. Proceeded to Paris and London as head of the Angora Peace delegation in March 1922. Resigned in October, nominally on grounds of ill-health. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Sinope, and in the following month was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, which examined the Lausanne Treaty. In January 1924 became Turkish Ambassador in London, but resigned in May on opting for his deputyship. In November was a rival candidate to Kiazim Pasha for the presidency of the Assembly, but was defeated, and since then has taken no prominent part in political life, being understood to be out of sympathy with the President of the Republic. From 1925-27 he was however, reporter of the Justice Commission of the Assembly, and in 1927 accompanied the Minister of Justice to the Hague in connexion with the "Lotus" affair. He was re-elected Deputy in September and is now a member of the Commercial Commission of the Assembly. Yusuf Kemal Bey is a good speaker and nourishes Bolshevik sympathies, but only in so far as these do not clash with his ideals of Turkish Nationalism.

Zekiaî Salih Bey.

Nothing is known on his early history. Was Deputy for Adana in the first Angora Assembly, and in 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Peace delegation to London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Elected Deputy for Aidin in July 1923, he became Minister for Agriculture in March 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to London, but was recalled early in 1925 owing to his having, on his own account, proposed a direct deal over Mosul, which he was instructed by Angora to withdraw. In May was

appointed Ambassador at Moscow, and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned in September 1927 on his election — possibly not on his volition — as Deputy for Diarbekr and was succeeded by Colonel Tevfik Bey.

Zekiai Bey is anti-British in sympathy, and when in London alienated Turkish sympathisers by his lack of courtesy towards them. On the make.

F.O. 424/268, p. 7-30, No. 7/1

No. 74

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 57
(Confidential)

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 25, 1928
(Received January 30, 1928)

Sir,

In his despatch No.649 of the 28th ultimo, Mr. Hoare reported on the earlier phases of the scandal in which the ex-Minister of Marine is involved over the repairing of the "Goeben" and of a floating dock. Since that date public attention has become more and more drawn to this question and, although the probable outcome is still doubtful, it is now clear that the whole matter is one of first-class internal political importance. The charge of corruption, although justified, is only a pretext. The Ghazi is really trying another fall, and the forces against him are far from despicable.

2. Since Committee of Union and Progress days Ihsan Bey, the late Minister of Marine, has been a friend and fellow Jacobin of "Bald" Ali, the hanging judge with the benign face of a Scotch elder. For some months relations between "Bald" Ali and Ismet Pasha have been strained. Ali wanted to get a more liberal element into the new Assembly. Ismet insisted on confining it to trusted nonentities. Ali wanted to be Minister of the Interior. Ismet refused to have him. Ali wrote Ismet a threatening letter of which the gist was that, if misfortune befell the Ghazi, he, Ismet, had better look out. This brought Ali into conflict with the Ghazi and one evening when all present were in congenial mood, Ali, it is reported, exhorted the Ghazi to bethink him of the fate of Danton and Robespierre. About the same time the Ghazi's attention was attracted, as reported in the last paragraph of Mr. Hoare's despatch No.649 by the luxuriousness of Ihsan's style of living. When the Ghazi commented on it, Ihsan said in the usual phrase: "It is thanks to your bounty," to which the Ghazi replied sarcastically: "You mean to your father's bounty!" everyone present knowing that Ihsan had not inherited more piastres than a small maker of native ink in the Scutari bazaar would be likely to leave to his son. Shortly after this, the story goes, Nuri, Falih Rifki, Rushen Eshref, an aide-de-camp and one or two

other cronies were supping with the Ghazi when Ali Bey was announced. He came in a little drunk and started at once to plead for Ihsan. The Ghazi turned him down sharply, saying that he ought to know better than anyone that the law was the law and must stand. After that Ali went on drinking and started a fierce quarrel with Falih Rifki. The Ghazi intervened angrily and for a moment peace was restored, but the squabble broke out again and this time all but the Ghazi set upon Ali to turn him out. In the course of the struggle he drew his revolver, whereupon he was thrown into the hall and vigorously beaten up. A moment later the Ghazi came out and told the others to leave him alone and give him a guard to see him home safely — which was done. Next day Ali came to Chan Kaya to apologise, but the Ghazi refused to see him and there is no doubt that he is in complete and permanent disgrace.

3. The present position is that under the chairmanship of that scurrilous journalist Yunus Nadi —one of the worst blackguards in Turkey—the special commission has held a preliminary enquiry, questioned Ihsan and his associates in plunder, heard Ismet Pasha and numbers of officials, and finally ordered the arrest three non-Deputies and demanded the impeachment in appropriate form of Ihsan and another Deputy. (Incidentally it is already rumoured that a similar charge of peculation is being brought against Yunus Nadi.)

4. One of the three speculators already arrested is, like Ali and Ihsan, an old Committee of Union and Progress man, by name Sabanjali Hakki, and herein seems to lie a good deal of significance. In letting Ismet Pasha try to oust Ihsan the Ghazi has pitted himself not against a mere individual but against a definite clique of old Committee of Union and Progress men who until recently were in his most intimate entourage. It has happened before now that during convivial nights the Ghazi's cronies have had their revolvers out and winged one another, but hitherto Mustafa Kemal has always made them kiss and be friends again. This time things seem to have gone beyond a possibility of reconciliation, and although it cannot be supposed that the organisation of the old Committee of Union and Progress still exists, "Bald" Ali can probably count on the support of a good many other old adherents thereof.

5. It is interesting to estimate the elements in the Turkish political world which the Ghazi now has against him. Firstly, there are the old adherents of the Palace, the most important of whom are on the list of the 150 exiles. Secondly, there are the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders, some of whom — like Rahmi— are in Paris or elsewhere abroad, while others like Jahid, the journalist, or Azmi, the policeman, have been cowed into submission, though none too pleased with retirement and poverty. Thirdly, the Ghazi has not managed to come to terms with certain survivors of the old Opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, such as Colonel Sadik, who is in Egypt, and Lutfi Fikri, who is

practising as a lawyer here. Fourthly, there are the members of the Opposition party, which developed at Angora, and is now excluded from the Assembly — notably Rauf and Adnan, who are abroad, and the generals Kiazim Karabekir, Ali Fuad and Refet, who are here. Lastly, comes this split among the Ghazi's own "gunmen." This is a formidable list. The Ghazi's policy of employing only second-class men has the unfortunate effect of making the Opposition not only big but superior in ability.

6. According to present indications it is quite possible that Ihsan will not submit without a struggle. That struggle may be decided with revolvers, and no one can foresee how far it may extend first. Authority depends ultimately, of course, on the army, but I am not sure how completely the army would be with the Ghazi over the present issue, and even if the army were solid with him, things might be decided before it could intervene. Without wishing to be alarmist, therefore, I cannot say that I view the immediate future with entire confidence. If misfortune were to befall the Ghazi, it is doubtful whether the man to hold the country together could be found among his supporters and would not rather emerge from his adversaries. If so great an internal change were not to invite any aggressive move on the part of Italy, Greece or Russia we might consider ourselves fortunate.

7. In conclusion, I would repeat that I do not wish to cause unnecessary alarm. Everything will, I trust, pass off quietly. On the other hand, it is no use blinking the fact that the whole position here hangs on a slender thread. On good authority I heard the other evening that not long ago, Salih Bey, a boon companion of the Ghazi, heard a thud at a moment when his back was turned, looked round and saw the Ghazi on the ground. He thought the Ghazi was dead, but it was a heart attack and Mustafa Kemal came round —and forthwith had two more glasses of "douzico." That sort of thing can hardly last.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p. 34-35, No. 14

No. 75

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 102

Confidential

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 15, 1928

(Received February 20, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey.

2. With the practical closing down of the delegation of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Constantinople, direct intercourse between foreign missions and the capital has become closer. Practically all diplomatic business is now conducted at Angora, and it is not only unnecessary, but confusing, to continue to divide the Diplomatic Body, for the purpose of this report, into residents at Angora and Constantinople.

3. As regards progress made with the construction of Embassy and Legation houses at Angora and with the taking up permanent residence at the latter place, this may be said to have been steady but not sensational.

4. The programme of the German Embassy is still to take up residence in the capital in the autumn of this year. Seven buildings, large and small, are in course of erection, but Herr Nadolny's ideas on the subject of office accommodation are such that the secretaries will have to find houses or lodgings in the town. Moreover, although after many efforts water has at last been found at a depth of over 100 metres, the prospects of anything like an adequate supply are gloomy.

5. The Polish Legation is slowly completing its building, but the new Chargé d'Affaires does not seem in a hurry to take up his residence, which perhaps accounts for the delay in the supply of funds necessary to keep the work going.

6. The French and American Embassies are negotiating for parcels of land on which to build, and the Roumanian, Austrian and several other Legations have taken flats in order to avoid the inconvenience and discomfort of the local hotels when the Ministers or their representatives have to be in residence at the capital. These occasions are noticeably more frequent than last year, partly, no doubt, because of the need of renewing, at six months' intervals, the commercial and other agreements that the Turkish Government has concluded with their several countries.

7. On the whole, an increasing tendency to move to the capital is in the air, though the normal conditions for modern civilised life and permanent residence are as far to seek as ever.

8. In order to avoid undue length in the enclosed report, I have not included any extracts from my report of last year.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13095/E, 840

F.O. 424/268, p.36-41, No.17

ENCLOSURE IN No. 75

Report on the Heads of Missions

AMBASSADORS

Russia.

M. Jacques Souritz, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 13th June, 1923. Since the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic I have had no intercourse with M. Souritz, beyond the exchange of polite greetings when we meet on official occasions.

Germany.

Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31st March, 1925. Herr Nadolny's enthusiasm for Angora goes far beyond that of his staff, who, already arbitrarily treated and needlessly overworked by their chief, will not take up life at the capital next autumn with any enthusiasm. Herr Nadolny's staff are doubtful of the wisdom of his policy of inducing German industry and finance to embark upon large commitments in Turkey, and it is believed that, in private letters to the financiers and industrialists concerned, they contradict their chief's reports. In fact, the German Embassy seem to have retained the special features of many German Embassies before the war. The counsellor is thought to be here to check and comment upon his chief's reports, and the opposition of his first secretary, whose political connexions and character might make him dangerous, is notorious.

To me Herr Nadolny remains as friendly as ever, but my trust in him refuses to grow, possibly, in part, because he is always trying to foist upon me work which properly belongs to him as *de facto* doyen, the actual doyen, M. Souritz, being admittedly useless in this capacity.

Italy.

M. Luca Orsini Baroni, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 3rd November 1925. My hopes of finding M. Orsini Baroni an agreeable and level-headed colleague have been amply fulfilled. He is always ready to give me any information either about his own dealings with Tewfik Rushdi or about matters Turkish in general.

Japan.

Mr. Y. Obata, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 23rd November 1925. Owing to Court mourning and the inaccessibility of the Embassy, I have not seen much of my Japanese colleague during the past year. It is

rumoured that when he takes accumulated leave at the end of this year, he will not return to Turkey.

The subjects and manner of Mrs Obata's conversation have suffered no change since the last report.

France.

M. Emile Daeschner, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 28th October 1926. M. Daeschner continues to impress me as a loyal and friendly colleague, but I do not yet feel that I have penetrated his reserve. Through an accidental chain of mutual friends, I learnt that M. Daeschner finds the same difficulty with me, and though I have since done my best to dissipate this sentiment, I fear that I have not yet completely succeeded.

United State of America.

The Hon. Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th October 1927. The agreement signed between the American and Turkish Governments during the course of the year led to the replacement of Admiral Bristol by Mr. Joseph Grew. The latter was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, one of whom is grown up. Like him, they are pleasant and good to look upon and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society.

Mrs Grew's initial enthusiasm for Angora was cooled to freezing-point by her utter inability to find even her most elementary wants in the way of furniture and other accessories for the Embassy building in the capital, and she is understood to have made up her mind that her visits there shall be as short as possible. Mr. Grew is an amateur musician of some talent and misses the good concerts to which he is accustomed. He is already popular with the American community.

Mr. Grew has frankly expressed his hopes for the most open and cordial relations with myself, a sentiment that I have told him I warmly share.

Persia.

Sadik Khan Tabatabai returned to Persia in June of last year and has not as yet been replaced, though popular rumour has it that when Mohammed Ali Khan Faruki has completed his complicated negotiations with Turkey he will be appointed as Ambassador at Angora.

To judge by the conversation of this pleasantly-erudite asiatic envoy, there is nothing in the world he would like less than to be condemned to spend some years among a people for whose Turanianism he, as a true Tabrizi, has little use, and whose lack of literary tastes and uncomfortable capital are alike abhorrent to his nature.

MINISTERS

Roumania.

M. Georges Filality, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 20th April 1924. M. Filality has finally had to overcome his openly expressed dislike of Angora and to pay occasional visits to the capital for the purpose of carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Roumania and Turkey. His jovial comments about the capital have lost none of their pungency.

Hungary.

M. Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May 1924. M. de Tahy's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish. His immediate preoccupation is the necessity for preventing Hungarian workmen from coming to Turkey, because those already at Angora have seemingly been won over to Communism by propaganda put about by the Soviet Embassy, and have had, in consequence, to be sent back to their native land under escort.

Austria.

M. Auguste Kral, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th November 1924. I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kral, who, with his wife and grown up daughter, are pleasant enough colleagues, though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first, have ceased to enjoy themselves.

Belgium.

Baron J. de Villenfagne de Sorinnes, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 4th April 1925. Baron de Villenfagne is leaving Turkey shortly on appointment to Sweeden. His wife is unfortunately subject to mild fits if she gets too excited, but is pleasant and well-spoken.

Sweden.

M. Wallenberg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 1st August 1925. M. Wallenberg has lost no opportunity of airing his Turcophil views or encouraging his countrymen to enlarge their connexions with the country he appears to admire so much.

His wife's homeliness is to some extent made up for by her unheralded and extensive charity.

Spain.

Don Juan Servet y Vest, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 3rd August 1925. I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of

Buyuk-Déré, but, at such times as I have seen him, M. Servert has appeared to be pleasant and jovial.

Netherlands.

Baron de Welderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th August 1925. Sir R. Lindsay reported on Baron Rengers in the following terms:

"(Baron Rengers's last post was at Rome. Unlike the majority of one's diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople, he bears the hall-mark of a diplomatist *de carrière*. He does not approve of Constantinople as a post. He is fond of wine and after dinner can be very diverting. Owing to the Dutch Legation being in charge of Austrian interests he has a certain amount of work to do, otherwise, most of his time is spent in frequenting places where he can get the opportunity of a drink or of seeing a pretty woman. 1923.)

"(A lascivious fellow; a light weight. Mme Rengers talks too much about her domestic difficulties. 1924.)

I agree with my predecessor's estimate.

Czechoslovakia.

M. Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 18th January 1926. M. Kobr was rumoured while on leave to be desirous of divorcing his wife, but he returned to Angora without doing so and without any apparent intention to do so. Apart from his love of a showy horse and physical fitness, he has few subjects of conversation and probably little to keep him occupied.

Afghanistan.

General Gulam Djeilani Khan, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 24th February 1926. I have once met my Afghan colleague at a dinner at the Austrian Legation to which he was invited because, when the Minister asked if he now spoke French, he replied "oui." It transpired subsequently that "oui" and "non" was the extent of the knowledge he had acquired, and I fear that I have therefore no more knowledge of him than I had last year. Perhaps the forthcoming visit of the King of Afghanistan will provide an occasion for closer acquaintance.

Albania.

M. Raouf Fitso, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 30th March 1926. Raouf Bey Fitso has continued to be friendly with the Embassy at Angora, but his statements have occasionally to be taken with some reserve, as he is fond of sensationalism.

Denmark.

M. Oldenburg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th April 1926. The Danish Government has decided to appoint an independent Minister or Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, and M. Oldenburg has therefore presented his letters of recall. M. Malthe-Bruun is also to leave shortly for Rio de Janeiro. The new Minister will, it is said, be appointed for Greece, Bulgaria and Roumania, as well as Turkey, and will reside, while in this country, mostly at Angora.

Egypt.

Abdul Aziz Rashed Pasha, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 21st March 1927. Mohammed Hedaya Pasha was succeeded by Abdul Aziz Rashed, a friendly and well-disposed little man, punctilious about matters such as farewell calls before his every departure for Bucharest or elsewhere.

Bulgaria.

M. Theodore Pavloff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in his task.

Yugoslavia.

M. Vladimir Taditch, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on 23rd January 1928. M. Popovitch has been replaced by M.T.VI. Taditch, with whom I have not as yet come into contact, as he has only just presented his letters and has taken up residence for the time being at Angora.

Greece.

M. Tsamados was apparently recalled by his Government in somewhat mysterious circumstances at the end of the year. His replacement let loose the usual flood of Pera rumours, some of which were connected with the honour of his Constantinopolitan wife, but little concrete evidence in support of these tales has as yet transpired. He is to be succeeded by M. Pappas, the chief Greek expert on matters concerning the Mixed Exchange Commission, who previously served on that body with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Vatican.

At such times as I have met Mgr. Rotta he has shown himself to be affable and friendly. He is shrewd and credited with a good insight into Turkish affairs and character.

CHARGES D'AFFAIRES

Switzerland.

M. Henri Martin, Chargé d'Affaires, presented his credentials on the 6th June 1926. Throughout the summer M. Martin was an object of amusement to the Diplomatic Corps at Angora by reason of his voluminous, liberally-sealed and decorated correspondence with Berne, which he entrusted daily to anyone taking the train for Constantinople. The one hundred or more pages a day he found it necessary to send home in connexion with his negotiations for a commercial treaty appear so to have worn him out that he was seriously ill in hospital at Angora for a time and has now had to take a long leave. His secretary and typist is said to be inconsolable.

Poland.

M.C. Papée, Chargé d'Affaires. Constantinople society, as well as the Polish Government suffered a considerable loss by the sudden death in the early autumn of M. Kowalski who, with his wife and family, had made himself popular in all circles, although he was fearless in his representations to the Turkish Government about such vexed questions as the recognition of the Polish Nationality to a large section of former Russian subjects now resident in Poland. It is feared that his patriotic disregard of his own purse has left his family in straitened financial circumstances. He has been succeeded so far only by a counsellor, M. Papée, who has the temporary rank of Chargé d'Affaires. I have not yet met him.

Iraq.

Sabih Bey-el-Nishat, Chargé d'Affaires. At the beginning of 1928 Sabih Bey-el-Nishat was sent from Bagdad to take up his duties as Chargé d'Affaires. His appearance does not belie his past reputation, but he is evidently proud of his country and expresses a keen desire to receive guidance from this Embassy. His Turkish education and connexion with many of the present leaders of Turkey may be of some assistance not only to Iraq but also to His Majesty's Government, but at a first glance he appears to be a man to be treated with discretion.

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 15, 1928

F.O. 371/13095/E.840

F.O. 424/268, p.36-41, No.17/1

No. 76

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 112

ANGORA, February 21, 1928
(Received February 27, 1928)

Sir,

The Minister for Foreign Affairs gave a ball last night in his house, to which were invited all the heads of missions and senior members of the Diplomatic Body, the Turkish Ministers and other high officials and some ninety of the principal Deputies.

2. Normally such an event would scarcely warrant recording in an official despatch, but Angora is not as other places. Apart from the fact that the ball was the first attempt of Tewfik Rushdi at official entertainment on any large scale—and as such can fairly be called a great success—these occasions have an importance of their own in that they are a sort of barometer of Turkish progress in the outward graces of civilisation. In this respect a great advance was noticeable, taking as a standard for comparison the similar ball given a year ago by the President of the Council, which in his turn was hailed as the perfection of decorum by comparison with the bear-fights of previous years.

3. Last night everything was admirably done, and the guests, even the Turkish ladies, gave the impression of genuinely enjoying themselves, while there was neither the forlorn stiffness nor the offensive drunkenness which has characterised former festivities. In fact, in so far as such events have any value as a measure of a country's civilisation, one could fairly describe it as marking a great step forward. I can perhaps best express it by saying that, had my wife been present, I should not have had a moment's uneasiness, whereas a year ago I thanked Heaven during the whole evening for her absence.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p. 42, No. 20

No. 77

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 113

ANGORA, February 21, 1928

(Received February 27, 1928)

Sir,

The ball last night at the house of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which I have recorded in my despatch No.112 of to-day's date, gave an occasion for a noticeable demonstration of friendliness on the part of the President of the Republic.

2. It would seem that Sabih Bey-el-Nishat, the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires, whose arrival I reported in my despatch No.69 of the 31st January last, had been confused with another Sabih Bey, and it was only last night that the Ghazi, seeing him in person for the first time, realised that it was his old comrade-in-arms. Such was the Ghazi's pleasure at the meeting that he kissed Sabih Bey on both cheeks, as the latter proudly informed me with tears of joy still running down them. The President, who, contrary to prevalent rumour, seemed to be in good health, then sent for me to tell me of his gratification at finding his old friend and to recommend him to my most benevolent care.

3. As is often the case with the Ghazi, he started from this simple basis to build up a long and admirably phrased speech. I think that the circle of admirers and inquisitive diplomats that inevitably clusters thickly round on these occasions inspires him to eloquence. The gist of what His Excellency said was that he knew Sabih Bey as an honourable man, honourable alike as a friend or as an enemy, just as himself and his country had been honourable enemies and were now honourable friends. These sentiments were in the English nature also, and therefore we could all of us let bygones and work together for peaceful progress. The policy of Turkey under his direction had no hidden or ulterior aims; it was solely directed to the development of the country and the prosperity of the inhabitants. England worked on those lines, too, and the two countries—and here he caught the eager faces of the Italian counsellor and the French military attaché peering over the shoulders of the interpreter—and France and Italy, whose policy was similarly peaceful and honourable, could and should collaborate in harmony. Were he to die to-morrow there were a thousand men as good to replace him—"not," said the Ghazi, turning to Colonel Sarrou, the French military attaché, "that I have any intention of dying to-morrow, as your lying papers say. You must telegraph at once that I have not died, that I am not dying and I am not going to die. You like Sabih Bey, are a man of honour and an old friend of mine, so that I can ask you to tell your papers to write the truth." And thereupon the four of us,

the Ghazi, Colonel Sarrau, Sabih Bey and myself, adjoined hand in hand to the buffet and pledged each other in a glass of Angora's favourite champagne.

4. As will be seen from the above summary of over half an hour's discourse, there was nothing much said beyond somewhat platitudinous generalities. The interest of the incident lay in the sincerely friendly tone of the Ghazi's references to England, his statement of belief in the honesty of our policy and its accordance with that of Turkey, the way in which he took me as the natural guide and protector of the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires and the marked friendliness of his manner to me personally.

5. I made what I trust was, in the somewhat embarrassing circumstances, a suitable reply. I find it difficult to deliver impromptu a speech of which every word is being noted by avid colleagues, while the Head of State, to whom it is being addressed, clasps my hand in an unrelenting grip. I did at least try to convince the Ghazi that the admirable sentiments he had expressed were fully shared by my Government, and that the aims which inspired his Excellency were those we also consistently followed.

6. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O.424/268, p.43, No.21

No. 78

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 126

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 27, 1928
(Received March 5, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the general report on Turkey for 1927, which, except for the brief general observations with which it opens, has been prepared by the members of my staff at Angora and here.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13096/E.1149

ENCLOSURE IN No. 78

TURKEY

ANNUAL REPORT, 1927

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I- GENERAL SURVEY

The divorce between Constantinople and Angora makes it difficult to form a just estimate of the progress of Turkey during a year's working. The atmosphere and the outlook of the two places is totally different. In the keen air of Angora plateau the President and his advisers work out their great schemes for the modernisation and development of the country. Railways are projected all over the map, port are to be constructed at the termini of the lines, schools are to be created throughout the land, and Angora itself is to be developed into a model of present-day capital cities, with an opera house, race-course, Ritz hotels, and every other luxury complete. And all this will happen naturally as and when the two essential preliminary conditions are established — freedom from external preoccupations, and capital, or its equivalent, credit. To do the present Turkish

régime justice, the first of these requisite conditions is steadily coming into being. Few countries are so free from any spirit of external adventure or of desire for territorial expansion as Turkey. Moreover, it is made quite clear that Turkey is not going to complicate its foreign policy by associating itself directly with any one Power or group of Powers. For instance, the handling of Turkey's relations with Russia and with ourselves is conducted with great skill, and, as I believe, with sincerity.

2. The effort to obtain the other essential factor for development is less successful. In the first place, there is no Turk in the country really qualified to be a Minister of Finance, and the principles on which the country's revenue is extracted are still too much based on such beliefs as that the creation of a monopoly automatically provides a large income, or that to double the tax doubles the yield. Add to this the ignorance, inefficiency, and venality of the Government service, and it is evident that it will be many years before the Ghazi's ideal can be reached. Still, in Angora, partly perhaps because there is nothing else to do, people do work hard, and confidence and enthusiasm are still alive.

3. But in Constantinople the atmosphere is totally changed. Here, where the soft air of the Bosphorus still has its languid effect on work of mind and body, one is not so much moved by the great schemes of Angora as by the lamentable results of the endeavour to put them into force. One sees the Turk trying to run before he can walk, one sees him stifling industry and choking prosperity because he fears that the foreigner or the non-Moslem Turkish subject might share therein, one sees him applying his laws and regulations in the manner best calculated to defeat their object, and one sees the full width of the gulf between grandiose intention and practical incapacity, a gulf which is easily bridged by the Angora idealists, but which, in the more matter-of-fact atmosphere of Stamboul, is realised to be, for years to come, impassable.

4. But although all this is gloomy enough, one must bear in mind that much of it is inevitable in such a process of abrupt readjustment as is now taking place in Turkey. Angora certainly wants to get ahead too fast; equally certainly, it makes costly mistakes; but the will to develop and progress is still there, and the end aimed at is not ignoble. If the spirit can last, the founders of modern Turkey may yet be justified of their descendants. And, on the whole, it is fair to write down the past year as a good one in the early history of the republic.

5. The atmosphere of Angora, political, moral, and social, has the peculiar characteristic that it is the undisguised emanation of one man. The adage "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," which St. Paul addressed in the 1st century to the primitive Church of Angora, has rarely had a more complete illustration than to-day, when Mustafa Kemal Pasha infuses deeply into an ever widening circle his own conception of Turkey's development and destiny, and provides a source of

abundant energy, inflated with a fine disregard of facts, tempered by no sense of the ridiculous, but bent to the forcible and immediate conversion of a poor and primitive Eastern people into a flourishing Western State.

6. It is inevitable that in Angora the larger aspect of this activity should attract and, to some extent, obscure the view, and it is impossible here to forget, however absurd or disturbing many of its manifestations may be, that the President's determined ambition is based on a broad foundation — a foreign policy that shuns adventure and aims at normal relations on all sides without commitments and an internal policy that seeks, above all, discipline and consolidation. Three essential elements of this policy should perhaps be of particular satisfaction to us: Renunciation of Islamic propaganda; cessation of a traditional playing-off of one European Power against another, and cultivation of internal strength and stability in order to discourage foreign aggression and its concomitant perturbations that are otherwise inevitable.

7. It is the pervading sense of these fundamental principles and of the vigour with which the development of Turkey is being pursued that in Angora fills the fore-ground and marks most strongly the divorce with Constantinople. Little is directly visible here of the persistent persecution of foreign interests that is daily manifested in Constantinople. In Angora European enterprise on the whole labours under few disadvantages — beyond the endemic plagues of corruption and bad debts. This is natural enough, for the European here is almost always engaged on work which is indispensable to the general scheme of Turkish development, and even Turkish logic ordains that he must, within limits, be humoured. At the same time there is no doubt that the ripples that go out from Angora to become threatening waves of xenophobia in Constantinople are the more often deliberately provoked, and herein lies the most disconcerting anomaly of the Turkey of to-day — on the one hand a policy of elaborate development rendering vitally necessary the attraction of foreign capital, and, on the other, a steady persecution of foreign interests which seems devised to discourage all but the most speculative markets.

8. It is beyond the scope of this report to attempt an analysis of the cause and nature of this movement. Suffice it to enunciate one or two salient points that strike one in this distant perspective or that emerge from conversation with Turks whenever occasion offers to point out the folly of their ways. The movement is not, in Turkish eyes, directed against foreign enterprise as such (though certain of the Government's recent measures will hardly bear another interpretation). The avowed object lies near the heart of the Ghazi's programme — to give to Turks every opportunity for commercial education and development. This aim coincides with another equally, if not more, desirable to the Turk, namely, the elimination of the Greek employee and trader and the consequent undermining of the Greek

irredenta of Constantinople. To be able to displace, together with the Greek, members of the other minorities and Levantine, affords an added attraction. The Turk has probably little, if any, liking for the authentic foreigner, but he sometimes sees his utility; for the local-born he has an inveterate hatred and contempt, and no amount of argument will induce him to class the two in the same category. The average Turk of Angora will thus admit readily enough that his countrymen in most departments still need European tuition and help, but not, he is careful to emphasise, Greek or Levantine.

9. There is yet another main factor that tends to perpetuate this persecution. Although no country possesses an elected Parliament so representative of its Government as Turkey, there are still occasional signs that the chauvinism of the Assembly and the press is in advance of that of the Government. It is probably a safe conjecture that this potentially useful force is being kept in reserve by diverting it from political manifestations, which might prove gravely embarrassing, to the congenial and immediately profitable sport of baiting the foreign trader. It is also, perhaps, unfortunate that the argument the most often produced on behalf of foreign and minority interests has been, not so much the illegality of the pressure exercised on them, as the incompetence of the Turk. However true the contention, it is one that can only exasperate and confirm him in his determination to persevere.

10. Such, very broadly viewed, are the main causes as seen from Angora of a situation that is rapidly becoming intolerable. The only enduring remedy would be for the Powers to combine, so long as this oppression endures, to place an embargo on all credits to Turkey, but to hope for unity in such a matter is utopian. Russia, certainly, and the United States of America, probably, would for their own reasons stand aloof from such a combination, whilst Germany and some of the more important minor Powers are too deeply committed to schemes for the development of Turkey to participate. Similarly, the unanimity necessary for imposing on the Turkish Government a strict observance of the Minority Clauses, which would bring a great measure of relief, is not likely to be reached, even at the cost of marking a cleavage of the Powers into the old belligerent groups, and, it may safely be conjectured, no Power would individually assume the task. There seems to remain therefore no course but to play a lone hand, to exercise all possible pressure where British subjects or British interests are affected, and thus to secure such palliatives as we can, in the hope that time, education and constant remonstrance may eventually bring the Turk to realise the folly of his present ways.

11. The chief events at Angora marking the year under review were the opening of the "all-Turkish" railway line from Angora to Caesarea, the President's illness in June, followed by his first visit to Constantinople, his six days' speech to the General Congress of the People's party in the autumn, and the Presidential

election and reconstruction of the Cabinet which accompanied the opening of the newly elected Assembly. These matters have been dealt with in other sections of this report. There remains thus, little to note beyond the general development and atmosphere of the capital.

12. Material progress has been considerable. Building and road-making have continued actively; even art has not been neglected. Two colossal, and one life-size, statues of the President have been added to the relics of the Roman Empire, which had hitherto been the only adornments of the capital, and foundations on an imposing scale are being laid for a national opera house. Characteristically enough the city is not yet endowed with an inn, a laundry or a barber's shop of which a European could make use without nausea and even the most primitive necessities of life have still to be obtained from Constantinople. In spite of such drawbacks the Turkish Government's ambition of attracting the foreign missions to Angora has received considerable satisfaction in the course of the year. Two or three of the Legations that were previously unrepresented, save by cursory visits of the Ministers, have now taken houses at Angora, the Embassies generally are tending to establish their counsellors at the capital, whilst the Germans are building on a large scale and at very heavy expense, and Herr Nadolny has announced that he hopes to transfer the Embassy *in toto* to Angora in the autumn of 1928. It remains to be seen for how long his nerves will put up with its multiple privations and the strain of daily intercourse with Turkish statesmen. Unless he can transfer the task of ultimate establishment here to some unfortunate successor, both he and the Turks with whom he has to deal will probably live to regret this rash bid for popularity.

13. In all matters of manners and dress the Turk of to-day takes himself very seriously, and it is perhaps in this sphere that a constant development is most visible. A conscientious work on etiquette, written, presumably by command, by the "chef du protocole," reached a sale of 15,000 copies within a few days of its appearance, and is symptomatic of present tendencies. The mirror of fashion is the National Assembly itself. Members are now one and all carefully shaved and dress uniformly in short black coats with the corner of a white handkerchief protruding from the breast pocket. To see 300 Moslem Deputies, who still include a few veterans of the Hoja class from the Parliament of 1908, exposing to the public eye a bare head, a shaven upper lip and — ultimate refuge of Islamic decorum — the seat of their trousers, brings home more than anything else the full extent of Mustafa Kemal's revolution. It is perhaps not too much to hope that such discipline will in the end have a balancing and beneficial result. It may well be that in the future, should occasion arise, these same Deputies will hang each other after summary trial with as little compunction as in the past, but with the growing influence of a civilising uniformity, anything so indecorous as assassination in the precincts of the Chamber should pass permanently out of fashion. Indeed, in spite

of restrictions recently introduced which prohibit Deputies from holding office in any public company in which the Government is interested, to be a Member of Parliament is now in Turkey the happiest estate, and generals, senior officials, and all who, outside the fold, are of any eminence, wait impatiently for by-elections.

14. It is encouraging to note that many leading Deputies, all intimate associates of the President, have, during the year, undertaken extensive journeys in Europe. Three of them have visited England or made long voyages on British ships. They have brought back strong impressions and are attempting with vigour to transfuse something of the atmosphere of reality they have imbibed abroad into the cloud-cuckoo-land of Angora.

15. The spirit of reform has even touched the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in which a few derelict officials and traditions of the Sublime Porte still linger, and a general reorganisation into territorial departments on European lines has taken place. The change does not yet show very happy results. Tewfik Rushdi Bey still pours forth rhapsodies on world politics, whilst concrete questions are met, with the rarest exceptions, by courteous but complete inertia. Sympathetic obstruction remains in all matters, except the broadest policy, the soul of Turkish diplomacy.

16. Socially the Turk has unbent remarkably since His Majesty's Embassy has been permanently represented at Angora and the members of the staff resident there now enjoy with Ministers, Deputies, and more particularly the President's closer associates, relations as extensive and as intimate as the innate caution of the Turk admits.

II- RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

A- Great Britain

17. There is little to say on the subject of Anglo-Turkish relations; viewed broadly they are satisfactory enough in that the Turkish Government takes no part so far as we are aware in the Asiatic activities of Soviet Russia, with which country Turkey is, ostensibly at least, still the closest of friends. The Minister for Foreign Affairs goes so far as to call our relations excellent and is slow to see, in spite of frequent efforts to bring it home to him, that "excellent relations" normally connote a readiness to settle cases, to grant innocuous facilities when application for them is made and generally not to view the nationals of the country with which these happy relations exist with so general a suspicion that its very Ambassador is refused permission to take his launch somewhere near the approaches of the fortified zone of the Gulf of Ismidt, and British motorists endeavouring to reach India via Anatolia are expressly forbidden to take the ordinary road to Angora. In some cases the Ministry for Foreign Affairs probably does its inefficient best; but it is severely handicapped by having a chief who never goes to his office before 5 p.m., and who conscientiously lives up to his claim that he knows nothing about

current work. The Ministry therefore has little prospect of obtaining redress if some other Department of State has ridden rough-shod over a foreigner's rights and is reluctant to make amends, or if legislation has been passed in cheerful disregard of the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, or if legislation rendered necessary by provisions of that treaty has not been introduced and foreign interests have been prejudiced thereby.

18. In spite of these untoward conditions a few satisfactory results have been obtained: maps of the Gallipoli war cemeteries have been officially accepted by the Turkish Government as showing the areas ceded to Great Britain under the Treaty of Lausanne; there have been no difficulties regarding the visits of British subjects to Gallipoli, the Turkish Government having eventually accepted, and evidently also acted on, detailed suggestions submitted by the Embassy in 1926 for eliminating the troubles in respect of visas and other facilities previously experienced; even in the matter of British property in the burnt area of Smyrna some concrete progress has been made, and in a number of cases owners have recovered their property on fairly satisfactory terms; such partial satisfaction has been the result of endless representations against local obstruction and ill-will, and much remains to be done before this admittedly difficult question can be regarded as settled; other minor successes could be recorded. Against them must be set a number of cases where the action of the Turkish authorities can only be ascribed to ill-will and where redress has hitherto been unobtainable; the most serious has been the systematic persecution of the representative of the Imperial War Graves Commission on Gallipoli. Various incidents occurred throughout the year, but the main trouble has been the refusal of the Turkish Government to allow him to use the commission's launch on the childish pretext that its use constituted a breach of the Cabotage Law, and that the Ministry of Commerce could not sanction it. In an unguarded moment, however, the Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs clearly indicated the real authors of the obstruction by telling Mr. Knox that he had discussed the question in detail with the General Staff; it had long been evident that the General Staff, the most suspicious as well as the most powerful body in Turkey, was the cause of trouble, but the admission is significant. Kellia, where Captain Rule-Jones, the Imperial War Graves Commission representative, lives, is the only spot on Gallipoli with a jetty on which military stores can be landed conveniently, and the presence there of an ex-officer of the Australian army might in certain circumstances prove embarrassing. The train of thought is not very clear in so far as the launch is concerned; it may be that it was hoped to make Captain Rule-Jones's position so uncomfortable that His Majesty's Government would eventually withdraw him in disgust. By the end of the year the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, who had gained much time by frequently hazarding the opinion that a settlement was in sight, had been brought to realise that the matter was serious, and when His Majesty's Ambassador visited Angora in the first days of January on

his return from leave, the Minister for Foreign Affairs promised an early settlement.

19. Various nationality cases have furnished additional evidence of the intractability of the Turkish authorities; the details of them are of no importance, but they are of interest as illustrating the profound dislike which is felt here, where the Capitulations linger in the memory, for foreign subjects who have definite affiliation in the country; the crude view is evident that as members of the minorities they are more easily repressed than as foreigners, who, when driven to desperations by the persecution of Turkish officialdom, may make trouble by appealing to their diplomatic representative. Evidence of the same outlook is to be found in the somewhat harsh provisions of the Nationality Law passed during the year.

20. Of another nature is the Ipranosian case, in which there appears to be little doubt that for the sake of £180,000 sterling the Turkish Government has consciously and flagrantly weighted the scales of justice. The facts are simple enough: the firm of Ipranosian Brothers owed some £180,000 sterling to the Bank of England, the sum representing various payments made by the bank on behalf of the Manchester branch of the firm in virtue of the moratorium legislation at the beginning of the war; after the war the firm began to discharge this liability, but the head and virtual owner of the firm having died, the Turkish Government seized his entire property on the ground that he died intestate; the debt was disallowed because it was claimed that the two members of the firm who actually negotiated the advances had no proper power of attorney, and evidence on this point was rejected on a question of procedure. It is possible, though questionable, that by straining the rules of procedure the court could technically justify this course, but it is known that its foreign legal advisers have reported to the Turkish Government that the case constitutes a grave denial of justice. The position now is that since August last the Embassy has been making incessant endeavours, under instructions from His Majesty's Government, to obtain a copy of their report; every note on the subject has remained unanswered.

21. This rather embittered review of the year should not give rise to the impression that the Government of Turkey has any special aversion to Great Britain or to British activities provided they take place outside the great wall of Turkish nationalism; thus, British official participation in the centenary celebrations of the Battle of Navarino caused practically no emotion, and even the persecution of members of the "Friends of England Association," under a law passed in 1926 to remove from public functions all those who had acted against the Nationalist movement, hardly constituted an exception to this generalisation. The "Friends of England" was originally founded by Kiamil Pasha in the early days of the revolution of 1909; naturally enough it did not flourish long; but it was revived

during the occupation and passed under the control of mainly shady and self-interested persons whom the High Commission was careful to keep at arms length. Whatever their private characters, they were not the only sinners, even against nationalism, in Turkey, and it looked ugly when a long list of officials and others penalised under the law of 1926 was published with the annotation against almost all of them "friend of England." Whatever the original intention may have been, little more was heard of the matter after the Foreign Office had communicated to the Turkish Ambassador a carefully worded remonstrance pointing out the possible effects on British public opinion, which is not prone to make subtle distinctions, of this apparent selection of "friends of England" as the victims of persecution.

22. As a third example, the proceedings instituted before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by various prominent Malta deportees for damages against His Majesty's Government may be cited. Roughly speaking, one-half of these unfortunates have been hanged by the other half and the surviving half number several Ministers and ex-Ministers. A half-hearted attempt at blackmail was met with the required combination of firmness and politeness, and the tribunal duly declared itself incompetent to deal with the issue. This inevitable decision was accepted with a complete calm which further reinforced the view that xenophobia is a matter of policy. Turkey for the Turks — and that in encroaching on vested British interests the Turk is fighting "neither with small nor great but only with the King of Israel," that is, with the predominant position of the foreigner in Turkey's commercial life.

A 1- Iraq

23. The first meeting of the Turco-Iraq Permanent Frontier Commission having taken place at Zakho in October 1926, the Iraq Government began the year with hopes that the promises of co-operation freely expressed by the Turkish delegation would at least in part be fulfilled: that the Turkish military detachments along the frontier would respect the provisional line established by the Angora Treaty pending its definite demarcation by the League of Nations Commission; and that good neighbourly relations would in some measure be restored between the districts north and south of the frontier.

Tribal Migrations.

24. Economic circumstances compelled the bulk of the Goyan and Artoshi refugees, who had fled from Turkey some time before, to make what peace they could with the Turkish Government and to return to their villages. But the Turkish Government refused categorically to receive back or to pardon in any way the refugees whom it chose to consider as rebels and insurgents, and these were left to find what subsistence they could within Iraq. So determined, indeed, was the Turkish Government to give no shelter to the Kurdish elements against whom it

had declared war in its own country that it closed its frontiers to the migration of the Kochar nomads as well as to the gypsies and villagers who from time immemorial had been wont to pasture their flocks north of the frontier in summer and south thereof in winter. Deaf to any arguments based on humanitarian grounds, they could not be moved by the alternative suggestions for the gradual discouragement of this nomadic movement put forward by the Iraq Government, or by the categoric refusal of the latter on grounds of expense and fear of disorders to co-operate in this heartless decision.

25. Kochar, Artoshi and Doshi tribes alike, therefore, found themselves, at the beginning of the hot season, compelled to find what little pasture they could in Iraq, where the hill country is altogether insufficient for their needs and the heat too great for their flocks to endure, or to force their way into the Turkish uplands — an impossibility on account of the ease with which the passes could be closed to their flocks. The resultant suffering to men and beasts alike is not difficult to imagine.

26. Some of these tribes have of late years altered their summer migrations and have made their way to Persia so as to avoid Turkish territory, while nomads further south have always done so in large numbers. The present negotiations between Persia and Turkey, which concern the desire of the latter to bring Persia into line with her anti-Kurdish policy, are, consequently, of considerable importance to Iraq. The question of disarmament of Iraq tribes, such as the Jaf and Pizdar, who pass in summer into Persia, has already been broached informally by the Persian military authorities with His Majesty's Legation at Tehran, and the desire of the Persian Government to disarm its own Kurdish tribes makes it probable that, in theory at least, the Persian Government may agree with the Turkish Government to close its frontiers to Iraq nomads; in which case, the latter must eventually choose between a sedentary life or at least partial extinction.

27. The Iraq Government, despite its refusal of any responsibility for the prevention of migration to or from Turkey by nomad tribes, informed the latter, in their own interests, of the Turkish notification that those crossing into Turkey would be treated as having transgressed the frontier, and at the same time enjoined them not to carry arms.

Frontier Delimitation.

28. As a preliminary to the actual delimitation of the Turco-Iraq frontier by delegates of each country, presided over by a Suisse president appointed by the League of Nations, the Turkish and Iraq Governments, as well as His Majesty's Government, exchanged notes for the purpose of rectifying a slight textual inexactitude in the annex to article 1 of the Treaty of Angora.

29. The Frontier Delimitation Commission met on the 19th March at Zakho, and had concluded its labours by the 23rd September.

30. The line marked out was briefly as follows:

(a.) From the Tigris, at its junction with the Khabur River, along the thalweg of the latter and of the Haizil River, to a point near Dasht-i Takht.

(b.) A line running roughly eastwards across the Khabur River and south-east to the Greater Zab, leaving Sinat in Iraq and Merga and Arouch in Turkey.

(c.) A line running approximately east and west as far as Herki, leaving Tchal in Turkey and following the Rudbar-i Chin for some distance.

(d.) Southwards across the Shamsdinar River to the Hadji Beg River, and north-eastwards along its thalweg to the Turco-Persian frontier a little south of Tchii-i Dalamper.

31. This agreement was not signed without some difficulty, and the somewhat intractable attitude adopted by the Turkish delegation, when sacrifice of territory erroneously shown on the original small-scale map as within Turkey was concerned, necessitated several unsatisfactory compromises.

32. For instance, the houses in Arish, Shiliku, Herkash, Janmanda and other villages are in Turkey, but the surrounding cultivation mostly in Iraq. The Iraq delegation was prepared to sacrifice the cultivation in some of these cases in return for the villages in others; but no such compromise could be reached, and M. Baeschlin, the Swiss president, as well as Colonel Nalder, the Iraq delegate, were compelled to complain of the tone of the Turkish delegate, Dury Bey, and of the manner in which the Turkish delegation, after securing a not inconsiderable surrender of territory from Iraq, refused to honour its promise to make a similar sacrifice when the latter was actually required.

33. Turkish frontier regulations, already referred to, make the lot of the villagers cut off from their lands a hard one, and may necessitate a slight rectification of the frontier at some future date when the Turkish Government is in a less intractable mood.

Frontier Incidents.

34. In consequence of this frontier separation from their lands, the villagers of Arish, whom the Turks had treated with great harshness, migrated into Iraq territory. They were followed by twelve Turkish soldiers, who took six women and three children prisoners within Iraq territory, and fired at the fugitives, as well as committing other illegal acts in surrounding villages. The captives were apparently allowed to escape when a strong protest had been lodged by the Embassy, but neither in this case, nor in the subsequent and somewhat similar pursuit of a

fugitive near Nerva, could the Turkish Government be brought to admit the transgression officially or to make reparation for the wrongs committed by its soldiery. Reouf Bey Chadirchi, the Iraq Minister of Justice, mentioned later in this report, was therefore advised, during his visit to Angora, to bring these incidents to the notice of the Turkish Government, which may be hoping that it can save face more easily with the Iraq representative than with His Majesty's Government.

Permanent Frontier Commission.

35. It had been agreed between the Governments concerned that incidents occurring in the above frontier districts should be referred by the local authorities to the Turco-Iraq Permanent Frontier Commission.

36. Only in more serious cases, or in the event of a settlement not being arranged by these means, was reference to be made to the Governments concerned through diplomatic channels.

37. When the second meeting of the commission was convened at Jazira, it was found that very little progress had been made by the Turkish Government in investigating the Iraq complaints. The Turkish Government, or, at least, the Turkish General Staff, appears to be obsessed with the idea that the remnant of a once prosperous people, composed largely of Assyrian and other Christians who have been all but wiped out, is assembling bands within the frontier zone for the purpose of carrying out reprisals against Turkey, and no amount of proof to the contrary will shake their belief.

38. Nor will the Turkish Government give credence to the frequent assurances given that Sayid Taha, a Kurdish chieftain, now in charge of the district of Rowanduz, in Iraq, is not plotting with his fellow Kurds in Turkey for the overthrow of the régime set up in Turkey. Consequently, the Permanent Frontier Commission is in danger of losing much of its utility as a clearing channel for such questions of minor importance, and the Turkish delegation was mostly busy during the Jazira meeting in pressing for the removal of Sayid Taha from office and of all "harmful persons" from the frontier zone of 75 kilom. on either side of the line. Distrust of "hostile" elements had led the general staff to give credence to endless tales brought to them by interested persons or misinformed spies. These "complaints" were solemnly put forward at Jazira as well as by the Turkish Embassy in London, and have had with equal solemnity to be refuted. They are of importance only in so far as they predispose the Turkish Government not to give ear to genuine complaints by the Iraq Government, such as have been instanced above. Moreover, British officers are wrongly thought to transgress the frontier in the course of their aeroplane reconnaissances and to encourage anti-Turkish propaganda among the Kurds. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that the local Turkish authorities, if not the general staff itself, have at times given

encouragement, and perhaps even succour, to Sheikh Mahmud, the rebel chieftain who has given the Iraq Government much trouble in past years and is still at large.

Intercourse.

39. These mutual suspicions, and the coercive and restrictive measures applied by the Turkish Government to local inhabitants and foreigners alike, have naturally prevented, to a large extent, the traditional intercourse between Mosul and the eastern districts of Turkey. Small merchants, pedlars and raftsmen have in numerous instances been accused of spying, prevented from pursuing their journeys and even maltreated and returned to Iraq in a destitute condition and bereft of their passports. These cases have been referred to the Permanent Frontier Commission with varying results. Iraqis are further required to conform with the "Hat Law" when on such visits to Turkey, and to produce photographs of their womenfolk; two "progressive" measures abhorrent to the old-fashioned Moslem. In common with all other foreigners, they are excluded from the forbidden zones east of the Euphrates.

Legalisation of Documents.

40. Difficulties having arisen over the legalisation of legal documents drawn up on either side of the Turco-Iraq frontier for presentation to the tribunals in the neighbouring country, the Iraq Minister of Justice, Reouf Bey Chadirchi, was sent by his Government to discuss the problem with the Turkish Government at Angora.

Diplomatic Representation.

41. Reouf Bey was well received as the forerunner of the Chargé d'Affaires whom the Iraq Government had decided to send to Angora. Hitherto all matters concerning Iraq had been dealt with through His Majesty's representatives in Turkey, but the Iraq Government, despite the decision of the Turkish Government to send only a consul-general to Baghdad, were insistent upon sending a diplomatic representative to the Turkish capital. In agreeing to this request, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Baghdad stipulated that the Iraq Government and its representative must, in accordance with the terms of the Anglo-Iraq treaty, be guided by the advice of His Majesty's representatives at Baghdad and Constantinople respectively and use the latter as their channels of correspondence with foreign Powers, including Turkey, at least to the extent of acquainting them with the text of all notes or the sense of oral communications exchanged between Iraq and Turkey.

42. The difficulties that might arise from this procedure caused His Majesty's Government to accept the proposal of this Embassy that the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires should be the sole channel of communication between the two Governments,

although he would be free to consult His Majesty's representatives in Turkey, who would make all possible representations on his behalf whenever the need arose. Direct correspondence between His Majesty's High Commissioner and His Majesty's Ambassador on all matters concerning His Majesty's Government in their relations with the Iraq State would, nevertheless, continue as heretofore. By this means it is hoped to guide the Iraq representative in matters concerning the policy of the neighbouring Governments towards the Kurdish tribes, Nestorians and other Christians.

43. The representative finally chosen by the Iraq Government was Sabih Bey El Nashat, formerly Inspector-General of Turkish Lines of Communication through the Balkans, and a close friend of Enver Pasha. It is true that he had been dismissed from his post for dishonesty during the war, but these slight blemishes did not prove a bar to his recognition by the Turkish Government. Talaat Bey, Kaya Alp, formerly Turkish consul-general at Tabriz, was simultaneously recognised as Turkish consul-general at Bagdad, whither he proceeded forthwith. The Turkish Government hinted that he might at some future date be given the diplomatic rank of *Chargé d'Affaires*. Sabih Bey had not reached Angora by the end of the year.

Iraq Nationality Law.

44. The Iraq Nationality Law, which came into force on the 31st December, 1927, has the effect of turning a large category of former Ottoman subjects into Iraq nationals. The Turkish consul-general therefore asked for an extension of the period of opting for Turkish nationality on the ground that the notice given was insufficient. This request was not entertained, it being pointed out to him that as yet only one person had chosen so to opt — a striking proof of the incorrectness of the claims put forward by Turkey at the time of the Mosul controversy.

45. The law allows considerable latitude to those resident in Iraq who had previously maintained their own nationality other than Ottoman.

46. In connexion with this law, it may be noted that the Turkish Government has hinted on more than one occasion that it resents the fact that Iraq law does not place Turkish subjects on the same footing as Europeans as regards judicial rights. Iraq does not however, propose to grant such privileges to Turkish citizens, and an informal Turkish proposal for a Turco-Iraq Residence Convention has therefore not been pursued.

Iraq Registers.

47. At the request of the Iraq authorities, arrangements were made to enable Midhat Bey, an Iraq official, to photograph a large number of pages in the Turkish land registers, referring to Iraq, which the Turkish Government had refused to

surrender. Midhat Bey also carried out similar work for the Palestine and Transjordan Governments until he had trained their own representative in the work.

48. A case of forgery and removal of certain pages in the registers referring to lands in Iraq came to light during the course of the work, but no satisfaction could be obtained from the Turkish Government.

A 2 - Palestine

49. The refusal of the Turkish Government to allow goods imported from Palestine to benefit by the fivefold coefficient of customs dues led to a series of protests by the Embassy on the ground that, as a British mandate, Palestine was entitled under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne to benefit by the coefficient applied to British goods. The protests, however, were left unanswered and unheeded, and Palestine oranges, in particular, were therefore at a disadvantage in entering Turkey.

50. Reference has been made in the section on Iraq to the photographing of Palestine land registers which was completed after some unavoidable delay.

B - France

51. On the 4th January the French and Turkish representatives at the Hague formally handed to the Permanent Court of International Justice the Special Agreement concluded in the previous October for submitting the "Lotus" case to that tribunal, and on the 7th September the tribunal found "Turkey, by instituting criminal proceedings in pursuance of Turkish law against Lieutenant Demons, officer of the watch on board the "Lotus" at the time of the collision, has not acted in conflict with the principles of the international law, contrary to article 15 of the Convention of Lausanne of the 24th July, 1923, respecting conditions of residence and business and jurisdiction," and consequently rejected the claim for damages advanced on behalf of Lieutenant Demons. The judgment was, in the main, based on the opinion reached by the majority of the judges that "there is no rule of international law in regard to collision cases to the effect that criminal proceedings are exclusively within the jurisdiction of the State whose flag is flown, and, further, that the alleged negligence, while having its origin on board the "Lotus," had its effect on board the "Boz Kurt" (the Turkish vessel sunk in the collision), and therefore that it was a case of concurrent jurisdiction.

52. This judgment was only carried by the president's casting vote, though in the case of Mr. Moore his dissent was based only on the ground of the connexion of the case with article 6 of the Turkish Penal Code. This article was vigorously impugned by Lord Finlay in his dissenting opinion, who maintained that "the assertion that any State can by any law of its own assume criminal jurisdiction in

respect of alleged crimes committed abroad or on the high seas is a new one. The Government of the country of the injured person cannot make laws for the punishment of the offenders in its own courts except in pursuance of a convention with the other Power affected."

53. A perusal of the judgment and of the dissenting opinions leaves on the mind of the layman the impression that it was the wording of the special agreement rather than the merits of the case that decided the issue. If this is so, the Turkish Minister of Justice deserved the great reception accorded him on his return from The Hague. The Turks were certainly astounded at their success, the uninformed having undoubtedly believed the scales to be weighted against them, and the informed minority having probably shared the view expressed by Nusret Bey to a member of the Embassy as the train bearing the Minister of Justice left the station, that the Turkish case was unsustainable. In France the verdict was received with dismay as a blow to French prestige, and the view was expressed that the leading maritime Powers should proceed to draw up regulations with a view to limiting, if necessary, the powers of the local courts involved in such cases.

54. Apart from this, there has been nothing sensational in Franco-Turkish relations; French commercial interests have suffered with the rest of the world from Turkish methods and administrative activities, and the general impression is that the French Embassy is over tolerant towards their encroachments; it is, further, generally believed that the Union de Paris Insurance Company, working through a naturalised Armenian, has a large share of responsibility for the law for the control of insurance companies, which has caused considerable emotion.

55. The delimitation of the Turco-Syrian frontier has continued slowly; indications of varying credibility have been forthcoming that Turkey — like Germany with regard to her eastern frontier — looks forward to a substantial rectification, including even Alexandretta, at some unspecified date, but the improvement in the situation of the French in Syria must have dimmed these hopes. Another factor which must be of service to the French has been the persistent reports that Italy is making a serious effort to obtain the Syrian mandate. France may be an unwelcome neighbour, and Turkey cannot be ignorant of the fact that Kurdish rebels find Aleppo a convenient refuge, but even the shade of a possibility of seeing the Italians in Syria would suffice to check any inclination which there might be in Turkey to render France's task in Syria unbearably irksome.

C. Italy

56. Early in the year rumour was busy with an Anglo-Italian understanding under which Italy was to receive a free hand in Turkey, so far as His Majesty's Government were concerned, in return for Italian support of British policy in China. A vigorous *démenti* was issued in Rome and nothing more has been heard

of the story. Otherwise there have been no scares, and the Italian Government seems to have succeeded in convincing the Turks at long last that, if Italy has been the cause of their uneasiness, they can sleep quietly in their beds, provided that they do not place excessive obstacles in the way of Italian penetration and colonisation on an unostentatious scale.

57. During the autumn long negotiations took place to determine the fate of a barren little rock close to the Italian island of Castellorizzo. To the disinterested spectator the question had quite obviously no importance whatsoever; no agreement could, however, be reached, and it was eventually decided to refer the matter to arbitration by the Hague Tribunal.

58. The closing of the palace and park of Yildiz, which had been leased as a casino, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, to an Italian subject, is of more than local interest, inasmuch as it offers evidence that the Ghazi's will is above the law. The Ghazi objected the public gambling, and the rooms were accordingly raided by the police; the Italian concessionnaire and those present were prosecuted; an acquittal was inevitable, and the court declared that the casino could be reopened. It has remained shut and seems unlikely ever to be reopened.

59. The extradition treaty signed in 1926 has not yet come into force, and will only do so when a consular convention has been concluded; negotiations have been proceeding for some months, but are now virtually at a standstill, the Turkish Government firmly refusing to bind itself to notify the consul prior to effecting arrests on board ship; the French Embassy is also insisting on this point, and it is greatly to be hoped, in view of the cavalier manner in which the Turkish authorities are now treating foreign shipping interests, that neither the French nor the Italians will give way.

D- Germany

60. The commercial treaty and residence convention negotiated in 1926 were in the end only signed on the 12th January, 1927, the Turkish Government having at the last moment attempted to introduce a number of modifications. These instruments were very similar to the conventions of the Lausanne Treaty, but in some respects slightly more favourable to Turkey.

61. For the present, at any rate, Germany is content to play a purely commercial rôle in Turkey; there is no doubt that German specialists are arriving in Turkey in growing numbers and that German money is being invested in Turkey; it is significant that German interests are believed to be anxious to buy the Bagdad railway shares held by the Reparation Commission, and the readiness of the German Government to expend enormous sums on the Angora Embassy is further proof that Germany believes in casting her bread upon the waters of Turkey.

E- Greece

62. The very fact that neither party shows real emotion at the failure to make any sensible progress with the complicated financial and other issues arising out of the Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations is probably a sure sign that Turco-Greek relations are steadily improving; the tone of not infrequent articles in the Turkish press affords ample confirmation of this view; it may rebuke the Greeks for failing to fulfil their obligations under the agreement of December 1926, but it is almost sure to talk in frequently, if somewhat patronising, strains of the real community of interests between the two countries; the desire to be on good terms is fairly genuine, and there is no reason, now that the living emblems of Greek irredentism are safely removed to their graves or to Greece, why it should not be genuine; it is, of course, stimulated by fears of Italy and the desire to prevent Greece from being drawn into the Italian orbit, and Greece is further regarded as a valuable counterpoise to Serbian claims to be the arbiter of the Balkan Peninsula; Turkey clings passionately to her few square miles in Europe and to the "Europeanism" which she derives therefrom. In virtue of those square miles, she is a Balkan Power, and any Balkan changes, any Balkan Pact, must be submitted to her. This is all to the advantage of Greece.

63. The convention of the 1st December, 1926, mentioned in the report for that year proved, when copies were obtained, to be on the lines indicated at the time; from the Greek point of view its main importance, according to the Greek Minister, lay in the fact that it confirmed the Angora protocol of June 1925 defining the category of "établis." It was in order to obtain this confirmation that Greece accepted the considerable sacrifices which she made under the convention. Incidentally, the convention proved of use to British interests, as the question of the release by the International Financial Commission of the £500,000 sterling to be set aside by the Greek Government as compensation for Turkish property in Greece afforded a favourable opportunity of bringing pressure to bear in order to obtain the settlement of the claims of British subjects whose properties had been expropriated in Greece.

64. As already stated, a final settlement of the problems confronting the two Governments over the exchange of populations seems to make little progress; they are of a complexity which would afford a real test of any "Daniel come to judgment"; the directions of the discussions is, nominally at any rate, in the hands of a Spanish general whose smiling urbanity and patent incapacity would delay the solution of the simplest problem; but perhaps the League of Nations has been unwittingly wise in entrusting the task to him, as this open issue provides an excellent barometer for recording the atmospheric pressure between the two countries.

65. The only "incident" between the two countries was the holding up by the Greek frontier authorities of a beflagged train conveying a distinguished crowd to Adrianople to celebrate the anniversary of the liberation of the city; the Greeks were willing to let the train pass if the flags were removed, but of this the delegates would not hear, and the price they paid for their patriotism was a terrible motor drive. The press was inclined at first to believe that the national honour was involved, but Ismet Pasha made a brief statement in the Grand National Assembly which satisfied the organs of the public opinion.

66. Greece, on her part, was equally forbearing in the matter of the Organic Law for the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos, which might reasonably have been denounced to the League of Nations as violating in some important respects the special privileges guaranteed to the islanders by the Treaty of Lausanne. Hatred and contempt doubtless subsist on both sides, but both countries seem to be decided that the past may be temporarily forgotten.

F. Bulgaria

67. Apart from the negotiation of a definitive commercial treaty which has been under discussion between the Bulgarian Minister and the Turkish Government since the autumn of this year, the only question of political interest that has affected Turkey's relations with Bulgaria during the past year has been that of the influx into Turkey of Moslem refugees from Southern Bulgaria. This movement, which is apparently the result of Turkish propaganda offering such persons free lands and houses in Eastern Thrace, only began on any considerable scale in the late autumn, and the Bulgarian Government are already taking steps to check it by refusing passports to all who have not already sold their possessions and would thus, if they remained in Bulgaria, become a burden on the country. The movement is also said to have affected only the poorer Moslem elements in Bulgaria, and their condition and prospects when they arrive in Turkey is pitiable in the extreme. They seem, indeed, doomed to starvation unless funds can be raised for their alleviation from private charity or from the Turkish exchequer — an unlikely contingency.

G. Roumania

68. With Roumania, Turkey's relations have been normal during the past year. In September the Turkish Government denounced the Commercial Convention of Lausanne of the 24th July, 1923; and in accordance with article 18 of the convention all Roumanian goods imported into Turkey benefit by the minimum tariff at present in force for a period of six months from the 7th August, 1927.

H. Yugoslavia

69. During the first half of the year there were rumours of a Turco-Yugoslav Alliance, or, alternatively, of a Balkan Pact, including Turkey, but nothing resulted.

In fact, it was not until August that the great obstacle in the way of satisfactory relations between Turkey and Yugoslavia was in some measure removed by the decision of Belgrade to raise the sequester on Turkish properties in Serbia. Even after that the Turks continued to complain that when Turkish property-owners applied for the return of their land and houses they were in practice still unable to get satisfaction. When the year closed a new Yugoslav Minister, M. Taditch, had arrived in Turkey, but no Minister had been appointed to succeed Hikmet Bey, who was taken from Belgrade in the autumn to be the Ghazi's secretary.

I- Albania

70. In June the time-limit — previously extended — for local Albanians to opt for Albanian nationality finally expired. The great bulk of those concerned stayed on in Turkey, thereby tacitly choosing to become Turkish nationals. The Albanian Minister at Angora, an old Turkish official, continued to be in high favour.

J- Austria

71. No question of any interest is known to have occurred between the two countries during the current year.

K- Hungary

72. Relations with Hungary have been regularised during the past year; in the first place by the appointment of a Turkish Minister to Budapest, where Turkey had hitherto not been represented, and, secondly, by the entry into force of a commercial treaty. The former event was decided on in November, and Vassif Bey, the new Minister, took up his appointment in the last days of December. The commercial treaty, together with a residence convention, had actually been signed at the end of 1926, but its ratification was delayed in consequence of the formalities required by the procedure of the Turkish National Assembly. It was therefore not before September 1927 that it came into force. The treaty is based on most-favoured-nation treatment and on the general lines of the Lausanne commercial convention, and contains, in addition, an agreement relative to commercial travellers' samples.

L- Czechoslovakia

73. There has been nothing to ruffle the political relations between Turkey and Czechoslovakia during the past year. Negotiations for a commercial treaty with Czechoslovakia were begun in 1926, but no such treaty has yet come into force, and the commercial relations between the two countries are at present based on provisional agreements renewed every six months. The last renewal took place in October 1927. It appears, however, that the entry into force of a definitive treaty may not be much longer delayed, for it was recently announced from Angora that the Bill for its ratification has been drawn up.

M- Switzerland

74. As regards the relations between Turkey and Switzerland, the past year has been chiefly occupied with the negotiations of a commercial treaty and an establishment convention. The former was signed on the 4th May, ratifications were exchanged on the 29th September and the treaty came into force on the 29th October. The treaty, which was concluded provisionally for a period of two years, was based on most-favoured-nation treatment and included an agreement relative to commercial travellers' samples. The establishment convention was signed on the 7th August, but had not come into force before the end of the year. It, too, is based upon most-favoured-nation treatment; its most significant feature is that it admits the principle of restricting to Turkish subjects not only itinerant trade, but all other callings that may be reserved to Turkish subjects by future laws.

N- Norway and Sweden

75. Relations with Norway during the past year call for no particular comment beyond the fact that the provisional commercial agreement between the two countries was renewed for six months from the 20th February.

76. The interests of Sweden in this country are centred for the most part in constructive enterprise, which is discussed in section 4 of this report (see paragraph 159 below). apart from this, negotiations for a commercial treaty were started towards the end of 1926, but appear to have got no further, for in May 1927 it was announced that the provisional agreement then in force would be renewed for a further period of six months from the 1st June.

O- Denmark

77. Most of the history of the relations between Denmark and Turkey will be found in the commercial section of this report.

78. Through an alliance of its banks and engineering firms with the Swedish railway syndicate the country began to take a considerable interest in Turkey. Machine-gun and naval seaplane orders, as well as openings for the sale of Danish products, were followed up with assiduity by the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, who did his best to obtain contracts for his countrymen, as specialists in such professions as harbour-master for the port of Constantinople. The success achieved is, however, as yet problematic, though the Danish engineers working on the railways are seemingly well satisfied and liked by the Turks. The Danish theory is that their nationals stand to lose nothing in that the Danish capital invested in Turkey is in reality underwritten by Germany and other Scandinavian countries, and the Turkish Government is bound to pay the engineers as well as facing its engagements for more or less clandestine purchases of war material, particularly in connexion with the new arsenal at Yakchi Han near Angora. On this basis the

Danish Government sees no harm in encouraging the development of commercial and political relations between the two countries, and a resident Minister is shortly to replace the present Chargé d'Affaires, who has so far represented the accredited Danish Minister resident at Berne.

P- Russia

79. The event of the year was the conclusion on the 11th March of the endless negotiations for a commercial treaty. Speeches were made by the Turkish Minister of Commerce, the Soviet Ambassador and a special Soviet negotiator, all emphasising the fact that the signature of the treaty was a confirmation of the close political friendship between the two countries; indeed Ali Jenani Bey's speech almost suggested that in signing the Turkish Government had paid more than a fair price for that friendship. The thorny point in the negotiations had throughout been the status and numbers of the commercial agents representing the nationalised trade of Russia. The treaty finally provided that the Russian commercial representative and two of his assistants should enjoy diplomatic privileges, their offices at Angora and Constantinople to be regarded as extra-territorial, subject to a reservation as regards their offices which might be held to render their extra-territoriality nugatory. The treaty was based on most-favoured-nation treatment and contained a provision establishing a qualitative equality in imports and exports, 70 per cent. of the imports to Turkey to be handled by the Vnishtorg. The signature of the treaty was hailed by the Turkish press with all due enthusiasm.

80. Some months later the press published the text of a convention, apparently signed at Kars on the 8th January, to regulate questions affecting the use of the water of rivers constituting the frontier between the two countries.

81. Towards the end of April the "Times" correspondent here caused a stir by reporting in considerable detail on an alleged Communist conference in the Russian Embassy at Buyukdere, at which it had been decided to make Constantinople the centre of Communist propaganda in the Balkans. This message produced a denial from the Soviet consul-general, and later in the year the police became active in suppressing some tentative steps to found a Communist party in Turkey, while a number of articles appeared in the press, the general purport of which was that, while the two countries were the best of friends, they were bound not to interfere in the internal affairs of each other, and that there was no room for communism in Turkey, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs subsequently told Sir George Clerk. The pill was, however, gilded to the extent that simultaneously a number of articles appeared in the "Milliet" criticising the League of Nations and expressing pleasure in Turkey's abstention from "this instrument of the Great Powers." Further to gild the pill it was announced at the end of October that a

delegation of four prominent Turks would officially attend the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution of Leningrad.

82. Relations are good enough, but as the year grew to a close it became less and less certain whether the Turks intended to gratify the Soviet Government by expelling the anti-Bolshevik Russians in the country. They were due for expulsion on the 1st February, but representations in favour of a further delay made by a representative of the League of Nations were evidently being listened to in Angora.

Q- Hejaz

83. During the year the Turkish Government sent a Diplomatic Mission, headed by Suleiman Shevket Bey, to establish relations with Ibn Saud. The Turkish envoy appears to have carried on a little anodyne propaganda and to have consorted chiefly with his Soviet colleague. He was elected as Deputy in the Turkish Grand National Assembly towards the end of the year, and was succeeded by Abdul Ghani Bey, who was reported to have taken with him two draft treaties with the Hedjaz and the Yemen for negotiation and signature in Angora if agreed to by the respective potentates concerned.

84. The Soviet steamship "Tomp", which endeavoured with no great success to land Soviet products and officials at Jeddah, was apparently chartered by a Russo-Turkish company, and recent press notices regarding the formation of a Turco-Russian trading company with Greek participation give colour to the belief that the venture is to be repeated. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics apparently hopes to be able in this manner to carry its propaganda to the important pan-Islamic centre of Mecca under the aegis of the Turkish flag.

R- Yemen

85. The Turkish draft treaty mentioned above was apparently the result of a long visit paid to Angora by Ahmed-el-Ansi, special envoy from the Imam Yahya, who was reported to be seeking the assistance of a Turkish military mission. His envoy does not appear to have been received with any warmth by the Turkish Government. The Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in April that Ahmed-el-Ansi was to be appointed as diplomatic representative of the Yemen at Angora, but the treaty had not been signed by the end of the year.

S- Egypt

86. Other than the signature of a Turco-Egyptian commercial treaty giving most-favoured-nation treatment to the products of each country, there is little to record. Relations appear to have been cordial, although no modification by the Egyptian Government of its previous decision not to allow Turkish subjects to benefit by the Capitulations in Egypt is known to have taken place.

T- Afghanistan

87. The Afghan Government, struck no doubt by the success of the Turkish Government in "modernising" its Government and withstanding foreign "aggression", has engaged Turkish officers at various times during the year for training the Afghan army, a small number of whose junior officers and non-commissioned officers have been sent to Constantinople to learn the more modern methods of warfare.

88. The Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs also paid a visit to Angora for reasons not yet divulged, and told the press representatives that Turkey was the model on which Afghanistan was basing its reforms.

89. A Turkish lady was engaged as Mistress of the Ceremonies at the Afghan Court, and when the impending visit of the King of Afghanistan to Angora, on his way back from a tour of Europe, was announced, the rumour immediately went round that his daughter had been chosen as the Ghazi's second wife, and that such was the reason for the Royal visit.

90. Both sides, appear in short, to have endeavoured to create and maintain an atmosphere of friendship, as between distant members on the same clan. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs stated to His Majesty's Ambassador that his counsel to Allah Mahmoud Tarzi Khan had been to lean upon Great Britain and counteract Russian influence, which was very strong in his country. It might possibly have been open to the Afghan Minister for Foreign Affairs, had he been a Christian Dog, to suggest a self-cure to this eminent physician.

U- China and Japan

91. The Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo paid a visit to China and reported ill to His Majesty's representative in Japan of what he had seen of the Nationalists as well as the various other factions in North and South China.

92. Each of these factions, according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Angora, had offered to conclude treaties with Turkey, but, after seeing how confused were affairs in China, Tewfik Rushdi Bey had decided to take no action for the present, as the matter had only a vague sentimental interest for Turkey. The Japanese Government despite its insignificant interests in Turkey saw fit to maintain an Ambassador and an extensive staff in Constantinople. As one member of the latter frankly said: "we have twenty six members of the Embassy to look after six traders," and he might well have added that two of these are engaged in making heroin and morphine for export.

V- Persia

93. During the course of the repressive measures undertaken by the Turkish Government against the Kurds of Eastern Anatolia it was found that the latter

could seek a safe asylum among their kinsfolk in Persian territory. The Turkish Government, therefore, demanded on several occasions that the Persian Government close its frontiers to these tribesmen.

94. Later during the year a Turkish detachment appears to have been severely handled by tribesmen in the Bayazid district, a number of prisoners being taken into Persia. Another report says that the soldiers so captured were Kurds and put up no resistance because they sympathised with the insurgents. Be this as it may, the Turkish Government issued what amounted to an ultimatum, demanding that the Persian Government should surrender the officers and men within ten days and deny asylum to any Turkish Kurds endeavouring to enter Persia. The first part of this demand was complied with, at least in part, but the second, as the Turkish Government knows well enough, is beyond the powers of the Persian Government to carry out in the mountainous and turbulent districts that form the Turco-Persian frontier; districts over which Turkish, as well as Persian, control is even to-day precarious.

95. As a result of this peremptory demand and of the withdrawal of the Turkish Ambassador from Tehran, relations between the two countries were strained for a while, and the Persian Government sent Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Faruki as special envoy to Angora to settle the questions at issue. The former Persian Minister of War was apparently received with the usual mixture of discourtesy and lack of interest by which the Turkish Government is apt to impress upon its erring oriental neighbours the desirability of mending their ways. After more than two months the end of the year saw him still miserably lodged in one room at Angora and endeavouring to settle the thorny questions of frontier security and transgression that are the result of Turkey's "forward policy," and its stern outlawry of the Kurdish minority.

96. A permanent Turco-Persian frontier Commission is said to have been set up to settle minor disputes locally, and there is a possible danger that through this body Persia and Turkey may agree to denounce the Turco-Persian boundary marked out with the concurrence of Great Britain in 1914, and so call into question the Perso-Iraq frontier marked out by the same commission. The Turkish Government, at all events, is known to have advanced some of the boundary posts set up by the commission, and the Persian Government has made enquiries that lead His Majesty's High Commission to apprehend the possibility of this important question being raised, though as yet no definite step has been taken in this direction. In this connexion it is perhaps worth noting that, at all events, the southern 100 miles of the Perso-Iraq frontier were settled by a preliminary declaration of the 29th July, 1913, which was ratified by Great Britain and Turkey, ratifications being exchanged on the 11th November, 1913.

W- United States of America

97. The resolution submitted to the Senate at the end of December 1926 by Senator King, leader of the irreconcilables, who have for long opposed any resumption of American relations with Turkey, led once more to the rejection of the Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne by Congress.

98. A *modus vivendi* had, however, been worked out by the two Governments to guard against this possibility, and by a formal exchange of notes it was agreed that Ambassadors should be appointed forthwith, diplomatic and consular relations resumed on the basis of the rejected treaty, and the latter brought into force should it be accepted by Congress before the 1st June, 1928. The Extradition Treaty signed at Lausanne was, further, to be submitted to the National Assemblies of the two Powers for ratification, negotiations for a Naturalisation Convention were to be started within six months of the coming into force of the rejected treaty, and claims were to be settled on the basis of the notes exchanged at Lausanne in 1923.

99. Until February 1928 both countries will enjoy most-favoured-nation treatment as regards customs and other dues, and this state of affairs can automatically be extended for three months, presumably for the purpose of giving Congress more time to ratify the Treaty of Lausanne in its entirety.

100. Thus Congress had been circumvented if not outwitted, and Admiral Bristol's self-imposed task of reconciling America with a country with which she had never been at war but with whom she was the last of the Allies to make peace was for the time being complete, and he left the country at the end of May to take up the command of American naval vessels in Chinese waters.

101. Following on this agreement, Mr. Joseph Grew, Under-Secretary of State and former Minister in Berne, where he had been in charge of the negotiations for the Turco-American Treaty of Lausanne, was appointed United States Ambassador to Turkey. His arrival in Turkey was soon followed by the appointment of Mukhtar Bey to Washington as Turkish Ambassador. His Excellency had a somewhat unfavourable reception on landing, and elaborate precautions for piloting him without any delay from New York to Washington did not prevent hostile elements from making a demonstration against him and his Government. The Turkish Government was at the same time attacked with great violence in the United States press by ex-Ambassador Gerard, but the campaign was not joined by Mr. Morgenthau and appears to have met with little response. The Turkish Government emphasised this fact, and orders were evidently given to the Turkish press to make light of the incident, though hard things were said in a leading article by Agha Oglou Ahmed, a close friend of the Ghazi, about America's treatment of negroes and Red Indians and the consequent advisability for America of dropping the story of the Armenian massacres.

102. On the whole, relations between the two countries continued to be amicable, and Mr. Grew is evidently bent on continuing his predecessor's policy of conciliation, though it may be doubted whether he is quite so optimistic as was Admiral Bristol about the desirability of attacking American capital to Turkey.

103. Various financial groups, such as the Ulen Corporation, Kuhn Loeb and Co. and the Fox Corporation, sent representatives privately — among whom was Mr. Otto Khan — to spy out the land, but the only serious negotiations entered into by the Ulen Corporation broke down on the question of credits, and an attempt to persuade Mr. Henry Ford to finance the construction of a free port zone, in which was to be situated a Ford factory and distributing centre for the Near and Middle East, was equally abortive.

104. American missions, on the whole, suffered less than in preceding years from the Nationalist zeal of endless inspectors and the concurrent flood of restrictive regulations foisted upon all foreign scholastic institutions by the Turkish Government. They were non the less, compelled to increase their proportion of Turkish teachers, devote more hours to the study of Turkish, submit their curriculum, and even in some cases their school books, to the Turkish authorities for "censorship," and, finally — in case of Robert College — to take on a number of artisan boys as "students" in the engineering branch of Robert College. This innovation has so far been a marked failure owing to the inaptitude, rowdiness and laziness of the pupils, over whom the college has no disciplinary control. They set a bad example to other students as well as breaking valuable engineering appliances with unfailing regularity.

105. At the very end of the year a storm was also brewing over alleged "proselytising" by the staff of the American girls' school at Brussa, but was not considered to be at all serious by the American Embassy, whose members were apparently prepared to accept the Turkish point of view that Christian propaganda must not be allowed in modern Turkey, be the Government of the latter never so laic in its internal policy of repressing reactionary upholders of Islam.

X- Latin America

106. The Turkish Government have for some time past been slowly negotiating treaties of friendship with the more important States of Latin America. Thus a treaty of friendship was concluded with the Argentine in the course of 1926, and a consul-general of the Argentine Republic arrived at Constantinople to take up his duties in June 1927. A similar treaty was concluded with Chile in 1926, but no Chilean representative of either diplomatic or consular rank has yet arrived in Turkey. As regards Brazil, it was announced in August 1927 that a treaty of friendship was in course of negotiation between the Ambassadors of the two countries in Rome, and finally the press recently announced the ratification by the Turkish National Assembly of a treaty of friendship with Mexico.

III- INTERNAL AFFAIRS

A- General Survey

107. From the point of view of internal affairs 1927 can be considered a quiet year. The volume of legislation previously introduced was applied steadily. People perforce got used — if not reconciled — to civil marriages, as they had done to hats and caps. The new Civil, Penal and Commercial Codes worked without any noticeable reaction — possibly because so many of the magistrates who applied them had no real understanding of their principles. A Council of State was established for the settlement of interdepartmental disputes and the solution of administrative conundrums. The Ministry of Education was active. New schools were built in various centres, adult classes were started and efforts to increase the lamentably small supply of trained teachers were continued. The Ministry of health acquired for itself the reputation of being the most efficient—or least inefficient—of all the Ministries. Under its auspices a fairly competent system of guarding the frontiers has come into being, the sanitary organisation in a new larger towns is fair and efforts are being made to set up at least a doctor and a chemist in the smaller towns and villages. Congresses have been held and campaigns are in progress for combating venereal disease, consumption and malaria —the seriousness of all three of which is clearly recognised — but so far the measures taken have got nowhere near checking the evil.

108. The Government claimed to have taken an epoch-making step when, on the 28th October, they held up the life of the nation momentarily in order that a census might be taken of a country which had hitherto eluded the wiles of the statistician. The result was declared as 14 millions, and there was not wanting a feeling that this figure was a deceptive as statistics proverbially are. But the Government considered that it had a complete answer to anyone who might be seeking a sunny place in an under populated country.

109. Socially, modern manners are spreading apace in Angora and Constantinople. The number of dances got up by Turks and the number of Turks who throng the dances is astonishing. Cinemas are crowded. Patriotic prejudice does not prevent the National Academy of Acting from attempting "Hamlet" in Turkish. Concerts are frequent and tend to be presentations of European rather than Turkish music. But in the small towns and countryside manners are changing slowly. The countrywoman does not lay aside her veil, and the peasant, even if he is beginning to realise the boon of being quit of the *ûthe*, has still an uneasy feeling that he is living in a godless land and would like priests and mosque-going to be held in their former repute. The Turk "*ojaks*" or club remain in full activity as machinery for the dissemination of modernism. They work hand in hand with the agents of the Popular party, organise evening classes, take a hand in anti-malarial measures, force *valis* to get up dances and to attend with their wives, and promote

local athletics. In Constantinople, especially, football and athletics have little need of the official support they receive. National football teams have been abroad with credit. An Olympic games team is in sedulous training. The best youths in the local football teams are newspaper heroes, and a football final often is given half a front page.

B- Minorities

110. The position of the minorities as communities within the Turkish State remained much as in preceding years. The situation of the Greeks was perhaps a trifle easier, because there was a lull in Turco-Greek bickerings over the Exchange Convention. The Mixed Exchange Commission pursued its dilatory course in Constantinople, but had an efficient sub-commission at work estimating Greek properties at Trebizond. In the Armenian communities laymen were, with tacit Government approval, challenging the right of the clerics to control communal funds and properties. The Jews in the late summer passed through a period of stress. The Constantinople Jews manifested their indignation at the dastardly murder of a Jewish girl by a middle-aged Turk of good social position. Many of them were arrested on trivial charges, and the prosecution started against them was only called off after the Jewish world outside Turkey had brought pressure to bear on Angora. The Jews, as a consequence of the incident, were forbidden — as were already the Greeks and Armenians — to move about Turkey, and still remain under that ban.

111. As individuals the members of these communities are none the less suffering from a persistent infringement by the Turkish Government of almost every provision of the Lausanne minorities clauses. The minorities are debarred from political rights, from all public and much commercial employment; they are harassed in the management of their schools; they are obliged to learn Turkish there and to use it extensively in business; they may not travel in Turkey, they may not work on Fridays; and often they are obliged to work on their own day of rest.

C- Kurds

112. But the above picture of internal affairs is only half a picture. The other half is Eastern Turkey. This still remains the big internal problem, and during 1927 the Government seem to have made very little progress towards its solution in spite of the maintenance in Eastern districts of nearly half the army. The Independence Tribunal in the East — like that at Angora — was closed down in March, and Ismet Pasha claimed that this was warranted by improvement in the situation. But, little though the news is of what goes on the Kurdish vilayets, it is certain that in August a party of officials, gendarmes and others was wiped out by Kurds near Erzerum, and that in September Kurdish rebels captured the town of Bayezid, near Mount Ararat, and carried Turkish officers, men and munitions over into Persia. Such

incidents support the general belief that the Government's attempt to break up the Kurdish tribal system by the ruthless use of force left the hold of Angora over the Kurds as shadowy as ever. To the surprise of everyone İsmet Pasha's new Cabinet started a fresh Kurdish policy in November. Martial law was not renewed, deportees were to be sent back, an amnesty was offered to rebels who should come in, an inspector-general with wide powers was to supersede the military command in the south-eastern vilayets. In short, conciliation was to be resorted to. The policy was duly being inaugurated at the end of the year, and it remains to be seen whether it will be more successful than the preceding policy of use of force.

D- Grand National Assembly

113. The activity of the Grand National Assembly was not so feverish as in 1926. Its output consisted mostly of measures necessary enough for the running and completion of the administrative machine, but of primary importance. Its four years' work ended at midsummer, and in August the Ghazi — who had taken the new step of spending the summer on the Bosphorus — issued a manifesto containing the list of his nominees for the new Parliament. The nominees, who were elected without the smallest demur, were in the main the old Deputies, but the so-called Opposition and Deputies of inconveniently Liberal or Clerical tendencies were replaced by agents of the Popular party, officials tired of being underpaid, and other trusted hands. Equally as a matter of course the Ghazi was re-elected President of the Republic and summoned İsmet Pasha to form another Cabinet. İsmet Pasha got rid of three colleagues who were not quite in tune with himself and the Ghazi, and announced a programme in which the emphasis was on consolidation, and that particularly in the economic field.

E- President of the Republic

114. The Ghazi kept the country in mild suspense the whole summer by continually putting off the delivery of a great speech which he proposed to make. For one thing, his manner of life had so taxed the strength of his heart that he was not fit for the effort of speaking at length, and on medical advice he went to the lower altitude of Constantinople. While he was here the police frustrated the plot of one Haji Sami, a Circassian exile, who landed from Samos with intent to blow up the Ghazi's train. None the less the Ghazi — surrounded it is true by detectives and stalwards — went freely about Constantinople and visited the more pleasant of its cafés and restaurants, thereby increasing, rather than diminishing, his prestige. In the end he did not deliver the speech until he returned to Angora restored in health at the end of October, and addressed this record harangue for six days on end to the Deputies of his choice, just before the reassembling of Parliament. The burden of his discourse was a record of the achievements of Mustafa Kemal, a denunciation of his opponents and more particularly Rauf Bey, an implied warning to possible adversaries and an exhortation to the country to pursue the path of

republicanism as here understood. By the converted, who formed his audience, the Ghazi's speech was well received. To the incorrigible it may have seemed a testimony to the fear felt by the Ghazi of Rauf Bey and his associates in exile.

115. In spite of the Haji Sami plot and of another plot rumoured to be directed against him, in spite of the alleged discovery of Communist organisations, in spite of the conspiracies of Turkish exiles abroad, in spite of more old associates whom he threw over at home — notably the Minister of Marine who laid himself upon to a charge of peculation — and in spite of his slight regard of the counsels of his doctors, the Ghazi retained his dictatorial hold over the country, well-guarded by the police, tacitly supported by the army, and gradually finding increased favour with the bulk of the people. His principles had another year in which to take root in the country. Although the Government failed to conclude the coupons negotiations, although it failed to settle the Anatolian Railway question, although — as is shown in detail below — Ismet Pasha's railway arrangements with Belgian and Swedes became involved in jeopardy, nevertheless, the State proceeded for another twelve months fairly smoothly on the lines laid down by Mustafa Kemal, and to that extent must be considered to have tightened its grip upon existence.

IV- ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

A- Finance

116. There have been many instances during the period under review where nationalism has overridden sound judgment and moderation. The economic progress of the country has, therefore, been slow,

Supreme Economic Council.

117. A Supreme Economic Council, which was created by virtue of a law promulgated in April last, is to consist of twenty-four members elected for a period of four years, together with a permanent secretary. Twelve members of the Council are to be nominated by the Council of Ministers, and the remainder will be elected by various commercial organisations in the country. In theory the idea of establishing a centralised organisation for the examination of all matters affecting the economic welfare of the country is to be recommended, but the value of the Council as an advisory body will necessarily depend upon the qualifications and character of its members. If it is instrumental in putting a check on the prevailing system whereby economic, financial and commercial measures, hastily contrived and inadequately discussed, can be passed into law without any effective examination outside the Ministries immediately concerned, some useful purpose may be achieved.

Payment of Debts in Foreign Currencies.

118. An important feature in the economic legislation of the Government was the introduction of the new Commercial Code and the "Code des Obligations" which entered into force on the 4th October, 1926.

119. Article 84 of the "Code des Obligations" regulates in a satisfactory manner the question of the payment of debts in a foreign currency which may be contracted in the future, but no provision is made for pre-war debts, or, in fact, for any debts which may have fallen due prior to the application of the new Turkish codes, and the non-payment of debts on the date of their maturity, and the compensation of creditors for loss owing to depreciation of exchange between the date of maturity and the actual date of settlement of the debt, are also questions for which no procedure has been laid down.

120. No test case, involving the settlement of debts contracted in a foreign currency, has yet been brought before the Turkish courts, but it is believed that as the "Code des Obligations" is based on the Swiss code, the courts will follow the procedure adopted in the Swiss courts in such cases.

121. The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals have examined a number of cases involving the payment of pre-war debts contracted in foreign currencies.

122. The Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal decided in the case of the Turkish Government *v.* the Borax Mine of Sultan Tohair, that the value of goods sold in French francs should be paid at the rate of exchange prevalent at the actual date of payment. The Franco-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal went even further, and in the case of Régie Générale des Chemins de Fer *v.* Turkish Government, decided that a debt in £T. arising out of a pre-war contract should be paid at the effective value of a £T. gold at the date of payment.

Finance.

123. Some attempt has been made by the Government of recent years to establish more precise budgets and to reduce expenditure by the exercise of a stricter economy.

124. As finally approved, the revenue side of the 1927-28 budget attained £T.194,580,554 as against £T.190,158,864 approved estimates for the financial year 1925-26. Expenditure was estimated at £T.194,454,619 as against £T.190,105,544 for the preceeding year.

125. According to the statements which the Minister of Finance is reported to have made, the Government's debit balance at the commencement of the year 1926-27, amounted to £T. 20 million.

126. By the compression of departmental votes and the diversion to other purposes of the sum nominally allocated to the external debt, a portion of this deficit was reduced, but with the addition of supplementary credits during the financial year 1926-27, the debit balance with which the Turkish Government commenced the financial year 1927-28 was probably in the neighbourhood of £T. 14 million. The surplus of £T. 125,935 shown in the 1927-28 estimates is, therefore, purely theoretical.

127. The vote of the National Defence represented 36 per cent. of total expenditure as against 39.60 per cent. for 1926-27, thereby showing a tendency towards a gradual reduction in the military vote. On the other hand, there has been a steady increase in the vote for public works, owing to the cost involved by the Government's programme of railway construction.

128. A nominal and insufficient provision for the external debt has appeared in Turkish budgets during the past three or four years, but the credit has in practice been devoted to other payments.

129. The budget for the forthcoming year, as in the case of the approved estimates for the budget of the current year, shows a credit balance, but this surplus is probably theoretical.

New Paper Issue.

130. By virtue of a law dated the 30th December 1925, measures were taken for the replacement of existing paper money in Turkey by a new note issue, and early in 1926 instructions relative thereto were drawn up and a commission was instituted with wide powers.

131. The call for tenders was announced early in April 1926, and on the 28th April the tender submitted by Messrs. de La Rue was accepted.

132. In December last a notice based on a law was issued in the press, to the effect that the old issue is to be withdrawn from circulation within a period of six months as from the 5th December, and at the end of this period no further exchange will be authorised, and the old paper issue will no longer be legal tender. A total of 55 million notes have been printed, of which 28,500,000 are being put into circulation and 26,500,000 held in reserve.

Debts, Loans and Government Obligations.

133. The representatives of the bondholders, pursuing their efforts for the conclusion of an arrangement allowing the resumption of the service of the Ottoman Public Debt for the part remaining in the charge of Turkey, have resumed negotiations with the representatives of the Turkish Government. After laborious negotiations, which lasted for more than six months in Paris, an

agreement in principle was reached in July 1927. In conformity with this agreement, which will be submitted to the approval of the bondholders, the Turkish Government will make the following total annual payments— until the whole of the interest and amortisation service can be assured in the currencies stipulated in the contracts.

Period.	Duration.	Amount. £T. gold.
I 7 years	1.6.1928 - 31.5.1935	1,980,000
II 6 years	1.6.1935 - 31.5.1941	2,380,000
III 5 years	1.6.1941 - 31.5.1946	2,780,000
IV 5 years	1.6.1946 - 31.5.1951	3,180,000
	From 1.6.1951 ...	3,400,000

134. It has also been agreed that Treasury Bonds will be consolidated in one loan producing 5 per cent. interest, redeemable in twenty years, and that the coupons in arrears and the bonds drawn previously to the 6th August, 1924, date of the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne, will be reimbursed in thirty annuities without interest.

135. Long-term loans, as well as Treasury Bonds and the arrears extended as above, will receive on an average under reserve of ultimate adjustment as far as arrears are concerned— it being understood, within the limits of the above percentages, that the Unified Converted Debt will be the object of a differential treatment.

Average proportions.

Period.	Duration.	Per cent.
I 7 years	1.6.1928 - 31.5.1935	38
II 6 years	1.6.1935 - 31.5.1941	48
III 5 years	1.6.1941 - 31.5.1946	58
IV 2 years	1.6.1946 - 31.5.1948	68
IV A 3 years	1.6.1948 - 31.5.1951	90
	From 1.6.1951 ...	100

136. Under reserve of certain adjustments, the percentage of the Unified Converted Debt, approximately, comes out for the first period at 48 per cent. against 35 per cent. for the loans outside the decree, as the same differential proportion must be maintained until the full service is reached.

137. Loans for which the least depreciated currency is the French currency, will receive 100 per cent. in that currency from the first period.

138. Although the Turkish Government is only bound to furnish provisions as from the first June, 1928, the payment of a coupon will nevertheless be made to the

holders before that date out of the funds now held by the council, and by certain banks entrusted with the service of the loans, pursuant to the average percentage of the modalities indicated above for the period 1928-35.

139. The agreement in principle also provides that the sundry pledges given by the contracts be substituted by one pledge represented by the customs duties and the consumption taxes of certain territories. The product of these new pledges will be paid to the Ottoman Bank in the name of the council.

140. Other questions are still to be studied and to be solved, but it is hoped that the final agreement may be presented for ratification during the 1927-28 session of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and later, for the approval of the holders.

141. Other questions of minor importance have still to be settled, such as the future headquarters of the Debt Council and its attributions.

142. In November last the Syndicate of French Bondholders made certain proposals which were supported by the Quay d'Orsay.

143. These proposals, which continue to form the subject of discussion between the president of the French Syndicate of Bondholders and those of the British and Italian bondholders, consist of a scheme by virtue of which representative of Turkish bondholders outside the decree of Mouharrem are to be admitted into a new organisation, which is to consist of a General Council. This General Council is to be formed of delegates of all Turkish bondholders, but the existing Council of the Debt is to be maintained with control over its services and departments for the whole debt; on the other hand, it would seem from the French proposals that the nomination and dismissal of the heads of services and of agents of control are to be vested in the General Council.

144. The British committee are of opinion that under this new formation the independence and autonomous control of the Council of the Debt, as provided for in the treaty, is not maintained.

The Municipal Loan.

145. Although some progress may have been made towards the settlement of the coupon question, no progress has been made towards a settlement of the Constantinople 5 per cent. Municipal loan of 1909 issued by the National Bank of Turkey and secured, under the guarantee of the Turkish Government, by-

(a.) The bridge tolls;

(b.) The receipts of the Pacha Bagtché petroleum stores, derived from the charges levied against the storage of inflammable liquids; and,

(c.) In case of need, from other municipal resources.

146. According to the terms of the loan, the half yearly coupons were to be paid in gold, but, after the institution of the Nationalist régime in Constantinople, the municipality ceased paying the tolls into the National Bank of Turkey. Protests were lodged at the time by the High Commission and by the representatives of the bondholders, but it was only in 1924 when the half-yearly coupons were met by a payment on the basis of the French franc (paper).

147. In April 1925 another half-yearly coupon was paid, but again on a franc basis, and the Prefecture informed the representatives of the National Bank that it would continue to pay on that basis.

148. No settlement has yet been effected, but the question has been brought before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the bondholders, and, at the request of the local representatives of the bondholders, this Embassy has abstained from making any further representations to the Turkish Government because the Turkish Government is thought by them to be desirous of settling the matter out of court.

Constantinople Quay Company.

149. Another instance of the failure of the Turkish Government to recognise its obligations is that of the quay company.

150. Under the pretext that the warehouses built by the company were insufficient for the needs of the port, the Ministry of Commerce has tacitly encouraged the construction of sheds by the Sciri Sefain Steamship Company and Port Monopoly, and their exploitation by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce in direct violation of the exclusive rights of the quay company.

151. The latter has put forward proposals for additional construction sufficient to overcome the congestion resulting largely from the extensive use of the quay company's depots by local merchants as warehouses pending clearance of their goods; but they are loth to spend large sums unless assured that their rights will be respected, and this assurance has not yet been obtained despite long and complicated negotiations, in which the Embassy has been requested to take no part at present.

B- Economic Development.

Agriculture.

152. Advances made to the peasants, the abolition of the tithe and later of the tax on produce, which replaced the former tax and other measures for the agricultural development of the country enforced by the Government, have no doubt been important factors in the intensification of agriculture which has

enabled Turkey in large measure to suspend its customary importation of wheat from foreign countries.

153. Crop forecasts for 1926-27 were reported favourable, but owing to drought the cereal harvests fell short of expectations and the crop was less than that of the preceding year. Other crops approximate more or less closely to those of last year, but the general result is disappointing, as it was hoped during the spring that the crops would surpass all previous records since the war.

Industry.

154. The law for the encouragement of industry, by virtue of which certain customs and other immunities are granted in respect to the installation of factories, has given a slight impetus to the development of industry and therefore some progress has been made in this connexion.

155. In order to benefit by the advantages of this law, foreign firms as well as native must employ native labour in all cases save those of specialists, for the employment of whom special permits must be obtained from the Turkish Government.

Public Works: Railways.

156. In August of this year the length of railways in Turkey at present under exploitation was approximately as follows: -

4,296	kilom., normal gauge.
212	kilom., metre gauge.
267.5	kilom., 75 centim. gauge.
124	kilom., Russian broad gauge.

The above figures include the normal gauge line from Yenidjé to Nisibin, a distance of 834 kilom., of which the section from Yenidjé to Islahié is in Turkish territory, whilst a large portion of the section from Yenidjé to Nisibin forms a boundary between Turkey and Syria, the whole section being administered by the French Direction of the "Chemin de Fer de Syrie du Nord."

157. Lines already under exploitation:

	Length in kilom.	Gauge
Anatolian Railway (Haïdar-Pasha to Konia)	1,032	Normal (1.435 m.)
Bagdad Railway (Konia -Yenidjé)	346	Normal (1.435m.)

Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway	67	Normal (1.435m.)
Mudania-Brussa Railway	42	1 metre.
Chemins de Fer Orientaux	337	Normal
Smyrna-Cassaba et Prolongement	708	"
Smyrna-Aidin Railway	607	"
Angora-Caesarea Railway	365	"
Samsoun-Charchamba Railway	37.5	75cm.
Arpachai (Georgian frontier)-Kars-Sarakamiche	124	1.524m. (Russian gauge)
Sarakamiche-Erzerum-Maden-Yenikeuy Railway	230	75cm.
Persian Frontier-Bayazid-Karageuz Railway, with Branch Bayazid-Bayazid Agha	170	1 metre.

158. As regards lines under construction, in accordance with the programme mentioned in last year's report, the total length is as follows:

1.610	kilom.	Normal gauge
580	"	1 metre gauge
22	"	75 centim. gauge

They are as follows:

	Length in kilom.	Gauge.
The Samsun-Turhal railway line	280	Normal
The Keller-Malatia-Arghana-Diarbekir line	500	"
The Eregli-Zunguldak-Zafranboli- Changri line to a point on the Caesarea Railway	580	1 metre, but may be replaced by normal gauge by subsequent arrangement between the contractors and the Turkish Government.
The Turhal-Sivas-Caesarea line	450	Normal
The Kutahia-Tavchanli-Balikissar line	200	Normal (approximately)
The Caesarea-Ulu Kishla line	180	Normal
The Charchamba-Termé line	22	72 centim.

159. Of these lines -

(i.) The Samsun-Turhal Railway is being constructed by the Turkish Government itself and is now open to traffic as far as Amassia.

(ii.) The Swedish group mentioned last year is under contract to complete the Keller-Malatia-Arghana-Diarbekir line by the 31st December, 1932, and the Eregli-Zunguldak-Zafranboli-Tchangri line on the 1st June of the same year. On the first 115 kilom. out of Keller banking and constructional work have been begun. Between Malatia and Arghana surveys are being made. As regards the Eregli line, banking and construction have been begun from Irmak Station as far as the 25th kilometre beyond Kalidijk. The section between Eregli and Filios is being surveyed but is said to be difficult and very mountainous. Beyond Filios these difficulties seemingly grow less.

(iii.) The Belgian group carried out preliminary work and some banking and levelling as far as the 100th kilometre out of Caesarea, but it has apparently failed to find the requisite capital for the construction of the Turhal-Sivas-Caesarea line, and the concession is rumoured to have been annulled by the Turkish Government, though the latter is loth to make the announcement until others have taken the place of the Belgian group because of the possible effect on Turkey's credit abroad. German and American firms were rumoured in the press to be seeking the concession.

(iv.) Negotiations were successfully carried out with the German firm of Julius Berger for the construction by February 1931 of the Caesarea-Oulou Kishla line and the completion by August 1931 of the Kutahia-Tavshanli-Balikessir line, which had been banked and ballasted by the Turkish Government as far as kilometre 12. The contractors represent a consortium consisting of the firms of Messrs. Julius Berger and Messrs. Briske and Proll; the latter firm have already shown an interest in industrial enterprise in Turkey, having undertaken the renovation of the boot and shoe factory at Beicos, and put forward proposals for the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsun. The financial clauses of the contract are of particular interest. The Turkish Government has borrowed from a German banking consortium a sum of 60 million gold marks, which is to be placed at the disposal of the Government and lodged with the Deutsche Orient Bank in the form of a current account. As work is completed by the contractors, it is to be paid for out of this current account, which has been specially earmarked for this purpose without any apparent regard to payment of annuities by the Turkish Government to the banking consortium as these fall due.

(v.) The Charchamba-Termé line. Work is at a standstill pending the construction by the Government of the bridge over the Yechil-Irmak. The work will then be continued.

160. The cost to the Turkish Government during the current financial year of the various railway undertakings now in process of construction is £T.25,755,000. This amount, however, includes the sum of £T.2,955,000 which the Government has provisionally allocated to the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsun, and it was anticipated that the German firm of Julius Berger would include these undertakings in their contract with the Turkish Government. As the firm as either refused to carry out this work or have not yet come to any definite decision on the subject, the budget allocation in this respect need not be taken into account in the total estimates for the current financial year, and the amount to be met by the Government is thus reduced to £T.22,800,000. For the financial year 1928-29 the charge upon the budget of the Ministry of Public Works in regard to railway and port construction will be £T.26 million, this amount including the allocation for the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsun.

161. The Turkish Government was granted in December last authority to issue bonds, up to a total of £T.200 million, to cover railway and port construction. Of this total sum, the following amounts have already been covered:

- (a.) Belgian group: £T. 30,000,000, over a period of six years.
- (b.) Swedish group: £T.110,000,000, over a period of ten years.
- (c.) German group: £T. 38,100,000, over a period of eight years.

Total: £T. 178,100,000

162. The average annual charge upon the Turkish Government in respect to these undertakings, and irrespective of interest on the long-term bonds, is as follows:

- £T. 20,750,000 for the first six years, as from the 1st June, 1927.
- £T. 15,750,000 for the seventh and eighth years.
- £T. 11,000,000 for the ninth and tenth years.

163. The construction of the following lines is included in Government's general scheme of railway construction, but no contracts have yet been made with foreign groups:

- Ada Bazar-Castamuni- Havza (on Samsun-Sivas Railway).
- Afion Kara Hisar- Sparta-Adalia.
- Sivas-Erzindjan-Maden-Yenikeuy.
- Maden-Yenikeuy-Trebizond.
- Samsun-Bafra-Alatcham.
- El Aziz-Mouch-Lake Van.

Port Construction.

164. The Ministry of Public Works has been authorised to expend the sum of £T.20 million on port construction, this sum being repayable in four years.

165. In addition to the port of Heraklea, the construction of which is included in the Swedish contract, the Government's programme in connexion with port construction consists of the construction of the ports of Mersina and Samsun.

166. It was anticipated that the German firm of Julius Berger would include these undertakings in their contract with the Turkish Government, but it is said that the firm refused to carry out this work. This is evidently correct, for the local press announces that the Turkish Government is in negotiation with a French consortium, which may be the "Chantiers des Battignolles" of Paris.

Constantinople Free Zone.

167. Early in the year a Bill came before the Assembly relative to the creation of a free zone.

168. The following operations are to be carried out in the proposed zone:

- Storage in transit of native and imported goods;
- Packing or repacking of such goods, together with their sorting, classification, cleaning and modification;
- The manufacture, or part manufacture, of native or imported raw material;
- The assembly of the component parts of instruments, machinery and rolling-stock imported from abroad; and
- The repair or construction of vessels of all kinds.

169. The scheme is, therefore, very comprehensive, and is likely to prove very difficult of realisation in its present form, as the outlay necessary to give full effect to the proposals must be considerable, with no immediate and adequate return for the money expended.

170. Moreover, the selection of the site of the free zone is a matter of some difficulty, and no decision has yet been taken in this respect.

171. The site of the military depots at Tophané has been mentioned in the press on many occasions. (These depots have been temporarily converted into sheds and are being exploited by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce.) But this site has the disadvantage that its situation inside the inner port and its proximity to the town would make customs control somewhat difficult, and, moreover, the area available is not sufficiently large, whilst expropriation of the house properties adjacent to the site would be costly.

172. In the outer port the following areas have been suggested: Phener Bagiché, Beicos, San Stefano, Yedi Koulé and Lake Tchekmedjé, of which the latter appears to offer the greatest possibilities, this area being in close proximity to the railway and lends itself ready to the establishment of a customs cordon; but on the other hand, it has the disadvantage that the sea is shallow, so that vessels would

be obliged to lie some distance off the shore, and, as this area is fully exposed to the south winds, lighterage would be liable to interruption.

173. In June the Bill was passed by the National Assembly, the law not differing materially from the draft Bill.

174. A commission was then instituted to consider the whole question, and a mission consisting of the late under-secretary at the Ministry of Commerce and the Director of the Maritime Commerce Section of the Turkish Chamber of Commerce was appointed to submit recommendations after a detailed inspection of the bonded warehouses at Trieste and of free ports in Europe. The aforesaid officials were absent during a greater part of the summer season. A report of their inspection has now been submitted to the competent authorities, but no information is available at present as to the future intentions of the Government.

Roads.

175. Vilayets have made slow progress in road construction. With the exception of an innovation recently introduced into Turkey, consisting of the use of tar in road construction in certain centres, such as in the Vilayets of Angora and Constantinople, there is nothing in particular interest to report.

C. Legislation and Regulations

176. The rough corners of nationalism, which were being gradually rounded off, have of late lost their smoothness.

177. Legislation based on a renewal of nationalism is apparent and threatens to check the economic advance, which is without doubt the sincere aim of the President of the Republic.

178. Those responsible for the present economic legislation of the country cannot, or do not wish to, appreciate the fact that it will require many years experience before the Turk can acquire the business flair and aptitude of the foreigner or Christian minority.

179. In the meanwhile, foreign business firms and institutions, the Jew and Christian minority are daily finding new obstructions placed in their way. In fact, some of the obstructions are insurmountable, and, therefore, may lead in the long run to disastrous consequences for the country.

Monopolies.

180. The creation of new import monopolies has been a disturbing feature of the Government's economic programme. Considered as convenient and lucrative sources of revenue, these monopolies doubtless have an attraction to the Government, but their creation has a disturbing effect on trade and they inevitably give rise to a marked increase in the cost of living.

181. The following import monopolies are actually in existence:

Tobacco — This is of course, a pre-war monopoly now transferred to the State.

Sugar and sugared articles — Created in January 1926. Whilst a monopoly administration is in existence, it is, in practice, nothing more than a revenue-collecting agency, as the importation of sugar and sugared articles is free to any merchant provided the monopoly tax of 8 piastres per kilog. is paid on importation.

Petroleum and Benzine Monopoly — Created in January 1926. As in the case of sugar, the importation of petroleum and benzine is unrestricted, subject to the payment of the monopoly tax.

Alcohol and Alcoholic Liquors — Monopoly granted to a Polish group, but was rescinded in 1927 and a State monopoly has now been established. The importation of alcoholic liquors is, in practice, unrestricted, provided that consignees obtain the endorsement of the monopoly on their delivery orders to the customs and pay the monopoly taxes.

Salt Monopoly — Now administered by the State. The importation of salt is prohibited.

Sporting-Gun Cartridges, Firing Caps and Revolvers — Ceded to a Turkish company, and all orders must be passed through this company.

Industrial Explosives — ceded to the Turkish company specified above.

Match Monopoly — Ceded to a Belgian company. All importation is in the hand of this company, which orders its supplies on the open market, but a notice has recently been issued to the effect that no further matches are to be procured from abroad as the Match Monopoly will shortly be in a position to furnish matches of native production.

Insurance Laws

182. a) *The Reinsurance Law* — In 1926 certain political and commercial interests in Turkey were trying to pass a projected reinsurance Bill through the National Assembly. The Assembly rose without considering the Bill, and insurance agents were able to stifle the project.

183. The project was revived in June of this year, great secrecy having been maintained, and the Bill was rushed through the National Assembly during its last session in June.

184. The law is objectionable from several standpoints. It compels the cession of 50 per cent. of all reinsurance risks taken out for Turkey to the Government organisation.

185. It allows the Government to sublet its rights and article 5 allows it to underwrite its own share of the risks.

186. The combined effect of these clauses would be to enable the reinsurance consortium, to which the Government will cede its rights, to underwrite its share of the risks.

187. Article 8 makes it compulsory for private individuals and business firms alike to place all insurance risks for Turkey with Turkish insurance companies or insurance companies registered in Turkey.

188. This clause was manifestly framed to make it impossible for firms to escape compliance with the terms of the law by reinsuring with companies having no agencies in this country. Its effect would be to cut off from British and other insurance companies not registered in Turkey a considerable portion of the business they now do in this country.

189. The law allows the reinsurance consortium to take or reject various risks. In practice, the latter would therefore accept profitable risks and reject unprofitable ones. It also gives the Government the right to establish a total or partial monopoly of reinsurance in Turkey, but the creation of the reinsurance company which will administer this monopoly will entirely depend upon a subsequent decision of the Council of Ministers, and there is the possibility that the Council of Ministers will refrain from putting the reinsurance law into application. Although seven months had elapsed since the promulgation of this law, the year closed without its enforcement.

190. b) *The Law for the Control of Insurance Companies*—This law was also rushed through the Assembly at the same time as the reinsurance law. The principal features are:

(a.) Article 5. The control exercised by the Ministry of Commerce in respect to tariff rates. The effect of this control may be to fix the rates below the minimum level acceptable by foreign insurance companies. Moreover, it is virtually impossible to draw up a general tariff covering the variety of risks now included in marine policies, and it would be difficult to impose such a tariff, even if established. In marine insurance rates vary from day to day in accordance with experience and changing conditions, and the application of a fixed tariff would be impracticable.

(b.) Article 9. At present insurance companies are required to deposit a guarantee of £T.15,000 in respect of each branch of insurance business they carry out. This guarantee has now been increased to £T.75,000 for fire or life insurance, to £T.100,000 if both these branches are covered, and in the case of other branches of insurance business a deposit of £T. 25,000 must be made. In addition

to this standing guarantee, a variable guarantee is imposed which consists of 25 per cent. of the total of all the premiums encashed in Turkey during the course of each year in respect of all branches of insurance business after deduction has been made of expenses, policies paid and reinsurance. In other words, the variable guarantee represents 25 per cent. of the company's net profits in Turkey. These guarantees must be utilised in one of the following ways:

- (1.) The purchase of immovable property in Turkey;
- (2.) Loans advanced on such property,
- (3.) Bank deposits in money; or

(4.) The purchase of State bonds or the shares or Turkish limited liability companies. The money, title deeds, share certificates, &c., relative to the above operations must be deposited in a bank approved by the Ministry of commerce.

(c.) Article 23 of the law in respect to the employment of Turks is not clear insurance companies, who are authorised to appoint their own directors, might not greatly object, but otherwise they will have great difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of Moslem Turks with the experience and technical knowledge necessary to carry on insurance business. Furthermore, the meaning of the word "recruté" employed in this article is not altogether clear, but it is presumed that non-Turks at present employed may be retained, and that the terms of this article only apply to the engagement of new employees.

191. The views of insurance associations in the United Kingdom were obtained by His Majesty's Government, and were considered in conjunction with those of the local agents of British insurance companies.

192. The situation as regards British insurance companies operating in Turkey is as follows:

193. *Life Insurance*—The Gresham Life Insurance Company is the only British life insurance company working in this country. The company is accepting no new business, and is engaged solely in the liquidation of its outstanding commitments.

194. *Marine Insurance*—Marine insurance primarily concerns Lloyd's, who are not registered in this country and cannot, by the terms of their constitution, effect such registration.

195. Lloyd's protest against the provisions of article 18 of the law on the control of insurance companies, which makes it compulsory for all policies to be drawn up only with companies operating in Turkey. This will cause them to lose all the direct business they have hitherto carried out.

196. *Fire*—In this branch it was found, when the meetings referred to above were held, that there was some conflict of opinion. Whilst local agents approved in principle of the views expressed by the Fire Offices Committee, they did not wish.

for personal reasons, that any representations should be made by the Embassy, more particularly as the "Comité Central des Assurances de Constantinople" was taking up the cudgels on their behalf. In this way they felt that they would be taking a uniform line of action with their foreign colleagues. They pointed out that no British fire insurance company operating in Turkey belongs to the group of companies coming under the Fire Offices Committee.

197. There are, however, a number of British fire insurance companies not registered in Turkey, who have effected a certain amount of business in this country through the intermediary of local brokers, and these brokers, some of whom are British subjects, did not entirely share the views of agents of British insurance companies legally registered in Turkey. These brokers, not unnaturally, wished attention to be drawn to the provisions of article 18 of the law on the control of insurance companies, for if this article were to be maintained it would be impossible for their companies to carry on any further business with Turkey.

198. After due consideration had been given to the points raised at the two meetings of local agents of British insurance companies, official representations were made, with certain modifications necessary to bring them into line with the views of the United Kingdom insurance associations. The official representations of the three Allied Embassies, as well as those of the German Embassy, were completely ignored by the Turkish Government, especially with regard to articles 23 and 10 of the law. The object of the former article is to reserve to Turkish subjects all posts in foreign insurance companies, except for those of manager and general agent, whilst the object of the latter is to obtain funds on behalf of Turkish banks in the form of insurance deposit guarantees.

199. The following instances of obstruction, ill-conceived regulations and incompetent administration are worthy of note:

Certificates of Origin.

200. Difficulties in connexion with certificates of origin have been incessant. During August last an announcement was made in the local press that as from the 1st September, 1927, all certificates of origin must be legalised either by a Turkish political representative or by a Turkish consul, and that, failing such legalisation, certificates of origin would not be recognised by the Turkish customs authorities. This statement was confirmed by communications, emanating from the Turkish consul in London, to the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.

201. The Turkish Government had therefore, reversed the decision it reached less than eighteen months ago, as the result of representations, thus reopening a vexatious and troublesome question. The situation was in fact worse than it was prior to April 1926 when the Turkish Government agreed that consular

legalisation of certificates of origin was required only in those towns where a Turkish consul was posted.

202. At that time there were Turkish consuls in London and Liverpool, but the consulate in Liverpool had since then closed. Thus all certificates of origin applicable to goods to be shipped to Turkey were required to be sent to the Turkish consul in London.

203. Apart from the expense involved, the procedure was productive of great delay and an unwarrantable obstruction to trade.

204. As a result of the protests made by the Embassy, the Turkish Government, while adhering to its decision to have all certificates of origine legalised by Turkish consuls, stated that the Turkish Embassy in London had been instructed to furnish the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with a list of industrial centres wherein it was considered that Turkish honorary consuls should be posted. Suitable candidates for such places as Bradford and Manchester had apparently been found and would shortly be approved.

205. A series of complaints emanating from chambers of commerce in the United Kingdom in regard to delays caused to trade as the result of all certificates having to be despatched to London for consular legalisation have been furnished to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Protection of Industrial Property and of Literary and Artistic Works.

206. *Protection of Industrial Property*—Notwithstanding Turkey's adherence to the International Convention of Paris of the 20th March, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Washington on the 22nd June, 1911, Turkish legislation has not been revised to date to conform with the stipulations of this convention, and therefore certain Turkish tribunals continued to apply the old law relative to the protection of trade-marks. Although there have been cases tried before the courts where a foreign firm domiciled abroad has been granted protection in respect to its trade-mark registered in Turkey, other tribunals have decided that foreign firms domiciled abroad had no claim to protection.

207. There were two concrete cases of the infringement of British trade-marks:

- (1.) The trade-mark of Messrs. Kershaw Leese.
- (2.) That of the label of Messrs. Enos.

208. Messrs. Kershaw Leese registered their trade-mark for textiles, and the registration of this mark has been regularly renewed and is well known in Turkey.

209. A Turkish merchant by the name of Bouladanli, knowing that textiles shipped by Messrs. Kershaw Leese to clients in Smyrna had a great demand,

adopted the same trade-mark and was successful in placing a sequester on a large consignment of textiles shipped by Messrs. Kershaw Leese to a client in Smyrna on the grounds of illegal employment in Turkey of a trade-mark registered by him (Bouladanli).

210. After much litigation the Eski Chehir Court of Cassation gave judgment against Bouladanli and the bales were released, but the court decided that as Messrs. Kershaw Leese were not domiciled in Turkey, no protection could be granted to their trade-mark, and therefore Bouladanli could not be prosecuted for the infringement of the British firm's trade-mark.

211. Representations were made by this Embassy on several occasions, both written and verbal. It was pointed out to the authorities that Turkey, having adhered to the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, was bound to afford protection to trade-marks registered in Turkey of firms domiciled abroad, and the authorities were repeatedly urged to instruct tribunals to conform to the spirit of the International Convention in cases before the courts for infringement of trade-marks, pending the revision of existing legislation to conform with the stipulations of the International Convention.

212. As the result of these representations, Turkish translations of the International Convention have been prepared, and have already been distributed to the courts with instructions to interpret the present law in the light of the international obligation, and, therefore, recognising the rights to protection of the trade-marks of firms domiciled abroad.

213. The case of infringement of the label of Messrs. Enos (Limited) was recently judged in favour of the plaintiffs, and the representative of Messrs. Kershaw Leese is now awaiting instructions as to whether or not it is desired to sue Bouladanli for damages for the infringement of their trade-mark.

Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

214. In accordance with article 14 of section III of the Commercial Convention Turkey undertook to recognise and to protect by effective legislation literary and artistic works in accordance with the principles of the International Convention of Berne for the protection of Literary and Artistic Works, revised at Berlin in 1908, to which she had adhered.

215. A draft Bill relative thereto has been submitted to the National Assembly, but a law has not been promulgated to date.

216. The only provision of the draft law which appears to call for special consideration is that contained in article 19.

217. According to this article, the translator of a book is not required to obtain the consent of the author, who apparently has no control on the translation, nor does he derive any profit from such translation.

218. In defence of this provision the Turkish press advanced the plea that the reading public, for works translated into the Turkish language, was very limited, and that it was rare for such books to attain a sale of 2,000 copies.

219. In these circumstances the payment of fees and royalties to foreign authors and publishers was considered prohibitive, and in its desire to aid the movement of westernisation and modernisation of Turkey the Turkish Government was obliged to override the rights of the author, as, in the alternative, Turkey would be practically cut off from all contact with modern thought and literature.

Commercial Travellers' Samples Agreement.

220. Ever since the institution of the national régime endeavours have been made to conclude an agreement relative to the treatment of commercial travellers' samples.

221. Until such an agreement has been arrived at British samples continue to pay duty on their introduction in Turkey, no refund being made on re-export.

222. For some considerable time the Turkish Government, although outwardly appearing willing to conclude an agreement, delayed taking a decision, the British draft agreement being referred from one department to another. It was only when negotiations for a commercial convention with Germany had advanced that it was possible to obtain an idea of the intentions of the Turkish Government in respect to the form of agreement that they would be willing to adopt.

223. This agreement would be based on an arrangement for the treatment of commercial travellers and their samples provided for in the Turco-German Commercial Treaty. An early copy of the German arrangement referred to above was submitted to the Board of Trade, and a counter-draft, differing in some minor respects from the provisions of the Turco-German Agreement, was submitted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

224. The Director of Commerce at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to whom the British draft counter-proposals had been submitted, had few modifications to make. These have been submitted to the Board of Trade, and, if there are found to be no objections to the Turkish modifications, there should be no great delay in establishing an agreement between the two countries.

A- Shipping

Restrictions in respect to the Entry into Turkey of Merchandise carried on Vessels of less than 100 tons.

225. During the year 1926 the Turkish consul in Cyprus informed shipowners that any vessel of under 100 tons flying the British flag and carrying goods to Turkish ports would be confiscated, together with its cargo.

226. Representations were made by this Embassy to the effect that such restrictions could not apply to vessels flying the flag of those countries signatory to the Treaty of Lausanne.

227. As the result of these representations the Turkish consul's intimation to shipowners was withdrawn.

Consular Fees and Passenger Tax.

228. In the course of 1927 the Turkish consular fees were revised, and with their application minimum and maximum tariffs were abolished, being replaced by basic fees applicable to all countries on a uniform scale, and therefore the case of discrimination in favour of certain countries, hitherto benefiting by minimum rates, no longer arises.

229. With the application of new consular fees, a tax known as the passenger tax was abolished. This tax was levied by Turkish consuls upon passengers to or from Turkish ports. The onus of collecting this tax, whether in Turkey or in foreign ports, was placed upon the agents of the steamship companies. To this the agents objected, with some show of right, in that the fee was little more than an indirect method of increasing the ordinary visa fee on passports. The passenger lists also had to be taken to the consul for his visa before ships could sail, which occasioned delay.

Port Monopolies and Services.

230. The institution of port monopolies by the Turkish Government has been a continual source of annoyance to shipping, and even the Government itself appears to be disillusioned, for they had hoped that with the establishment of port monopolies a reduction of charges would follow and a better control of lightermen established.

231. Previous to the reservation of port services to the national flag and to the institution of port monopolies for port services, such as towage, lighterage, bunkering and the manipulation of cargoes, shipping agents made their own arrangements and were responsible themselves for discharge and loading of their vessels, these latter operations being carried out by competent tally clerks and labour, but under the new conditions agents were deprived of the use of their own staff of their lighters and of their organisations.

232. For some considerable time conditions in the port of Constantinople, wherein the first port monopoly was instituted, were most unsatisfactory, the port monopoly being incompetent satisfactorily to administer the monopolised services owing to insufficiency of lighters and of experienced tally clerks, defective administration and lack of necessary machinery in general.

233. One of the first difficulties arising out of these changed conditions was the question of responsibility *vis-à-vis* the Customs in respect to missing packages.

234. In the port of Constantinople, as in the case of other Turkish ports, packages are not discharged from ship's tackle on to customs wharves. They remain in lighters for several days, thereby being exposed to theft.

235. It was only natural that shipping agents, who previously handled cargoes and delivered them to the customs by means of their own organisations, such as the Levant Stevedoring Company, could no longer accept responsibility for packages taken over by the Port Monopoly from ship's tackle and found to be missing at a later date.

236. It was after repeated representations had been made that the Customs Administration and Port Monopoly were obliged to admit that in principle the responsibility of shipping agents ceased to exist from the time the monopoly took delivery of packages from ship's tackle, but some considerable time elapsed before the Port Monopoly could be induced to put this into practice and to regulate the issue and prompt delivery of clear receipts to shipping agents for packages taken over by them.

237. There are still many difficulties with which shipping has to contend, due to police measures or to the incompetence of port administration. The nationalisation of port services as interpreted by the police and port authorities almost constituted a barrier between agents ashore and their vessels afloat, the Turkish authorities going so far as to contend that no work, even in the nature of a control, can be effected by the agents themselves or by their clerks unless they are of Turkish nationality. British tally clerks, employed by a British shipping agent in Constantinople, despatched on board a British vessel to assist the master to tally cargo delivered to the Port Monopoly, were prevented by the police from carrying out their duties. An official clerk of British nationality who went on board another vessel to issue tickets to passengers embarking at the last moment was warned that he could no longer carry out these duties, not being of Turkish nationality. In fact, the agent himself was told by the police that his visits to vessels should not exceed twenty minutes.

238. Conditions are no better in other Turkish ports wherein monopolies have been instituted, agents being faced with the same difficulties as those with which agents in Constantinople had to contend, such as insufficiency of lighters, tugs and other material, responsibility for cargoes, &c. This is particularly apparent in the port of Mersina (an open roadstead), where a port monopoly was instituted some months ago. A settlement has still to be effected in respect to the shortage of lighters and to responsibility, both the Customs and Port Monopoly taking up the same attitude as the authorities at Constantinople before a satisfactory

arrangement was reached in this latter port. The attention of the Government has been drawn by this Embassy to conditions in the port of Mersina.

Pilferage and Leakage.

239. Pilferage and leakage continue to be a source of anxiety to insurance companies and to trade. Insurance rates on goods consigned to Constantinople were increased in 1927, and in some cases rates are as high as 5 per cent. The question of increased insurance rates was the subject of discussion by foreign chambers of commerce, and this Embassy drew the attention of the Director-General of Customs, and that of the Director of the Port Monopoly, to these increased insurance rates, which were attributed to lack of control of merchandise in the port. Representations were made to the Turkish Chamber of Commerce.

Compulsory Use of Turkish in Bills of Lading.

240. The Maritime Chamber, supported by the Turkish Chamber of Commerce, made representations to the competent authorities in Angora against an order issued by the Constantinople authorities by which all bills of lading had to be made out in Turkish - with an optional and not valid translation.

241. Representations were also made by this and other missions, wherein attention was drawn to İsmet Pasha's declaration made at Lausanne (p.95 of the "Lausanne Conference Hand Book") relative to shipping and other commercial documents.

242. The provisions of the circular have not as yet been enforced.

B- Iraq and Palestine

The Right of Palestine and Iraq under the Commercial Convention attached to the Lausanne Treaty

243. Although repeated representations have been made to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs relative to the refusal of the Turkish authorities to grant to the produce and manufactures originating and emanating from Palestine and Iraq the coefficients applied to the produce and manufacture of countries signatory to the Lausanne Treaty, no satisfaction has been obtained to date. The Turkish Government contended that Iraq and Palestine were not entitled to benefit by the commercial convention, since they were not subject to the authority of Great Britain in accordance with the terms of article 16 of the convention, and unofficially invoked as a precedent the case of Syria, which had concluded a special customs convention with Turkey on less favourable terms than those obtained at Lausanne. There is some reason to believe that this attitude will change as regards Palestine, but His Majesty's Government was compelled by the terms of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty to abandon this argument as applying to Iraq.

Dates.

244. Towards the end of the year the Turkish Government suddenly imposed an embargo upon all dates shipped from Basra on the score that, cholera being rampant, the dates would carry the infection to Turkey. All proofs tending to show that such carriage of infection was impossible failed to move the Turkish Government until, on the 26th December, the embargo was temporarily taken off for dates shipped after the 5th December, the ostensible reason given being that cholera had now ceased in Iraq. The Turkish Government, therefore, reserve their right to impose these restrictions whenever it seems good to the Ministry of Hygiene so to do. Amongst other arguments, an actual bacteriological test of a consignment of specially-infected dates sent by the Basra authorities to the medical authorities in Egypt failed to convince the Turkish officials concerned of the improbability of their views being correct. Like their Egyptian medical brethren, they appear to have an unreasoning fear of the disease, born of ignorance.

F- Customs

245. The Customs Administration, under the directorship of Adil Bey, might be described as one of the worst-run administrations in the country.

246. Anxious to reorganise the administration on foreign lines, Adil Bey paid several visits to European countries to study customs practice. Taking notes and collecting regulations from different customs administrations abroad, he endeavoured to reorganise his department, based on a medley of foreign legislation, thereby causing confusion through a series of instructions and counter-instructions, for, in issuing his new regulations, Adil Bey made no allowance for the standard of efficiency of his employees, which, compared to that of customs officers in other countries, is decidedly low.

247. Happily, Adil Bey has now been replaced, but, towards the close of his directorship, a retrograde step was made; this was the removal to Angora of the Direction-General of the Customs Administration, with its chaotic archives and instructions, leaving the important customs houses of Constantinople to act independently of one another, for, with the removal of the direction-general, there is no central body to co-ordinate the work. Moreover, the removal into the interior of Asia Minor of an administration directly interested in trade and commerce and port development cannot be looked upon as a sound economic move.

248. The following instances of vexatious customs legislation and difficulties have been the subject of representations during the course of the period under review:

Treatment of Nickel and Silver-Plated Goods.

249. In order to establish the percentage of silver contained in nickel silver or silver-plated articles for purposes of tariffication, the customs authorities have been

cutting large pieces out of the metal, thus ruining sets of cutlery and other articles. This practice threatened completely to stop the import of silver-plated articles.

250. As the result of official representations, the Customs Administration decided some months ago to effect a modification of the customs tariff, and, therefore, established an intermediate rate for articles containing a percentage of silver in excess of 5 per cent., which is considerably lower than the duty applicable to articles of pure silver. This was done in the hope that importers would be willing to clear all nickel and silver-plated articles on the intermediate rate, thus obviating the necessity of cutting the metal to determine the percentage of silver.

Unclaimed Goods Lying at the Customs.

251. During Adil Bey's tenure of office at the Customs, two important modifications were effected in respect of customs legislation in connexion with the treatment of unclaimed goods lying at the customs and relative to declarations for the clearance of goods.

252. Under the old regulations a year was granted to consignees or proprietors to clear their goods from customs sheds. At the expiration of this period such goods were put to auction, and from the amounts realised from the sale the customs levied the duty and all the expenses of the sale by auction, after which the balance was set aside for the payment of freight to agents, the remainder being left at the disposal of the consignees or proprietors on presentation of documents establishing their claim to ownership.

253. By virtue of Adil Bey's modifications, all sums accruing from the sale by auction of unclaimed goods are passed definitely into customs receipts, no account being taken as to claims for freight and ownership.

254. Representations have been made to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and from information recently received there is a likelihood of Adil Bey's new regulations being amended, the procedure in force *ab antiquo* being reintroduced.

Importation of Pharmaceutical Preparations and Proprietary Medicines.

255. Difficulties have been experienced by manufacturers of pharmaceutical preparations and proprietary medicines in regard to the regulations governing the importation of these products into Turkey.

256. According to the regulations in force, the importation into Turkey of proprietary medicines and pharmaceutical preparations is prohibited unless a special import permit has been issued by the Turkish Ministry of Health, and, in order to obtain this permit, it has been necessary to send to the Ministry five samples of the preparation in question for purposes of analysis. But this has proved

virtually impossible in practice, for the customs have refused to release the samples on the grounds that their entry into the country is prohibited.

257. As the result of representations, the entry into Turkey of samples of pharmaceutical preparations and proprietary medicines is now authorised, provided samples are addressed direct to the Ministry of Health in Angora.

Application to the Signatories of the Lausanne Treaty of the Preferential Rates granted to Articles of German Produce or Manufacture as Specified in Annex "B" to the Turco-German Commercial Convention

258. For a short period the customs Administration refused to apply to the signatories of the Lausanne Treaty the preferential rates granted to articles of German produce or manufacture as specified in Annex "B" to the Turco-German Commercial Agreement, notwithstanding that their attention was drawn to article 6 of section 1 of the commercial convention attached to the Lausanne Treaty.

259. An urgent protest was lodged with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in consequence of which the preferential rates have now been granted to the signatories of the Lausanne Treaty.

Restrictions Governing the Import of British Bicarbonate of Soda.

260. For some considerable time the import of British bicarbonate of soda was authorised under certain conditions only.

261. If this product was not in conformity with the French Codex, the only one recognised by the Turkish Government, clearance through the customs was only allowed on condition that the importer gave a written undertaking that the bicarbonate of soda was to be used solely for industrial purposes. As British bicarbonate of soda did not conform entirely to the French Pharmacopoeia, its import for medicinal purposes was prohibited, thus prejudicing British trade in this article.

262. After repeated protests and verbal representations, the question has been settled by the removal of the restrictions imposed on the British product.

Customs Immunities.

263. Throughout the year the Customs have interpreted the law regarding diplomatic and consular customs immunity with extreme narrowness, particularly in respect to office supplies consigned to consuls and to articles introduced on their first installation.

264. With the application of the tariff in 1916, the Turkish authorities had curtailed diplomatic and consular immunity to a considerable extent, withdrawing the immunity hitherto granted to Embassy and consular staffs and restricting the

immunity under the headings of office supplies and first installation to specified articles only. Under the heading "office supplies," only stationary benefits by exemption, whilst under "first installation," wines and provisions were no longer allowed.

265. As the result of complaints from all sides, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was responsible for the passage of a law granting it the sole right to determine to whom customs immunities are to be granted and the nature of the same. As the result of this law, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs drafted new regulations providing first installation immunity to the diplomatic staff, inclusive of the commercial, diplomatic service and the military and naval attachés, for a period of six months from date of arrival, but no provision was made for any other members of the staff. The articles falling within the immunity do not include many essential articles which should be included under first installation.

G- Commercial Treaties

266. During the course of 1927, the following commercial conventions or *modus vivendi* agreements were concluded or renewed between Turkey and foreign countries:

Switzerland	Signed May 4, 1927.
Norway	Signed February 9, 1927.
Provisional	Commercial Agreement renewed for six months, February 20, 1927.
Czechoslovakia	Signed March 24, 1927, and brought into force, provisionally, April 12, 1927. Provisional Agreement, September 15, 1927, brought provisionally into force from October 1927.
Sweden	Provisional Agreement, November 27, 1926.
Belgium	Provisional Agreement prolonged to August 15, 1927. Provisional Agreement prolonged to February 1928. Treaty signed August 28, 1927.
Bulgaria	Provisional Agreement renewed up to December 10, 1927.
Denmark	Provisional Agreement renewed up to April 11, 1928.
Egypt	Text of Provisional Agreement.
Finland	Provisional Agreement renewed.
Germany	Treaty entered into force July 22.
Hungary	Entered into force on September 26, 1927.
Roumania	Provisional Agreement up to February 1928.
Russia	Treaty signed March 11, 1927.
Spain	Provisional Agreement prolonged to January 18, 1928.
Syria	Customs Agreement signed December 23, 1926.

267. It will be observed from the above list that definite commercial treaties were entered into with Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Hungary and Soviet Russia.

268. With the exception of the Turco-Soviet Commercial Treaty, the remaining conventions adhere to the general principles laid down in the Commercial Convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne. These treaties remain in force until 1929, when the Commercial Convention attached to the Lausanne Treaty also expires.

269. Negotiations in respect to the Turco-German Treaty were protracted owing to the desire of the German delegates to avoid the insertion of certain clauses of the Lausanne Convention, but no substantial concessions were accorded by the Turkish Government.

270. This treaty contains commercial and residence conventions. As regards the Commercial Convention, the principal differences, as compared to the "Lausanne" convention, are the insertion of a commercial travellers' samples agreement and the extension of preferential tariff rates to certain articles of German origin or manufacture. These rates have subsequently been applied to the signatories of the Lausanne Treaty.

271. The commercial relations of the Turkish Government with a larger number of foreign countries are regulated by provisional agreements, renewable every six months.

272. The renewal of these agreements proved to be exceedingly burdensome, and in order to avoid the necessity of continual negotiations and at the same time to force all foreign countries to accord most-favoured-nation treatment to Turkish produce and manufactures, an amendment was made in the Turkish law governing commercial treaties on the 10th April 1927, by which the customs duties applied to articles subjected to the coefficient of increase of five times the basic tariff were raised to eight times, and the twelvefold coefficient was increased to fifteenfold, in the case of those countries which had not concluded a commercial treaty or provisional agreement with Turkey.

273. At the same time the Council of Ministers was authorised by the amendment to conclude provisional commercial agreements valid for a period of two years.

H- Trade

Balance of Trade during 1926.

274. The purchasing power of Turkey depends directly upon the success or failure of its crops. During the course of the past few years there has been a gradual improvement in the volume of Turkey's exports, with no corresponding rise in the

volume exports, with the result that the adverse trade balance, which has been such a marked feature in the overseas trade returns of the country, has been gradually reduced.

275. The attainment of an approximate equilibrium between imports and exports was inevitable. Turkey's "invisible" exports are small, and the country could not indefinitely continue to import more than it exports. The following table, based on the returns compiled by the Turkish Customs Administration, indicates the progress made towards the reduction of the unfavourable balance between imports and exports in 1926 as the 1927 figures have not yet been published. It will be remembered that last year's report in like manner referred to the figures for 1925:

By value :	January to June.			
	1926	1925	1924	1923
	£T. 9.36= £1.	£T. 9.14= £1.	£T. 8.29= £1.	£T. 7.29= £1.
Imports	107,415,140	117,852,674	84,668,548	63,507,979
Exports	91,998,094	84,266,612	56,613,992	31,841,383
Total trade	199,413,234	202,119,286	141,282,540	95,349,362
Adverse trade balance ..	15,417,046	33,586,062	28,054,556	31,666,596
Proportion of exports to total trade	Per cent. 46.2	Per cent. 41.7	Per cent. 40.1	Per cent. 33.4

276. The increase in the value of exports is worthy of attention. Account must, of course, be taken in this connexion of the depreciation of the Turkish pound since 1923 (noted in the table), but this factor is not of sufficient importance to modify materially the progress as shown in the figures given.

Imports.

277. The following table gives the principal countries exporting to Turkey during the first six months of 1926 as compared with the corresponding periods in preceding years:

	January to June			
	1926	1925	1924	1923
	£T.	£T.	£T.	£T.
United Kingdom	16,977,755	18,784,817	14,922,432	9,839,538
Italy	16,105,296	19,752,640	17,736,405	9,411,588
France	15,727,412	11,942,667	8,899,734	5,592,719
Germany	14,331,283	13,191,272	7,201,885	2,999,024
Czechoslovakia	8,131,418	5,072,875	3,206,200	986,311
Belgium	6,109,014	5,911,692	3,509,880	1,430,358
U.S.A.	4,089,170	13,810,718	5,047,978	7,343,974

Although the United Kingdom had re-established herself at the head of the list of countries exporting to Turkey, her exports to that country showed a decline of nearly £T. 2 million as compared with those for the first six months of 1925, whilst exports from Italy have declined by over £T. 3,500,000. On the other hand, imports from France increased by nearly £T. 4 million, from Germany by over £T. 1 million, and from Czechoslovakia by over £T. 3 million. There was a marked "slump" in imports from America, which declined from £T. 13,810,718 during the first six months of 1925 to £T. 4,089,170 during the corresponding period of 1926. This falling off was primarily due to the fact that Turkey is becoming more and more self supporting in respect to her supplies of flour and wheat.

278. Imports from the United Kingdom and Italy were adversely affected by the over stocking of the cotton market in 1925, and some explanation of the marked increase in the value of imports from France is to be found in the fact that Turkish importers took advantage of the great depreciation in the value of the franc. The principal article imported from Czechoslovakia was sugar, to the value of £T. 4,782,215.

279. Turkey's principal imports were:

By value	January to June			
	1926	1925	1924	1923
	£T.	£T.	£T.	£T.
Cotton goods	31,397,710	33,282,662	28,289,277	19,181,044
Metals	10,357,061	10,813,882	5,619,610	3,091,112
Woollen goods	9,739,542	7,170,096	5,516,738	3,365,183
Colonial goods	9,589,751	10,741,358	8,590,971	11,165,523
Machinery	4,711,874	4,356,760	2,039,064	515,783
Mineral oils, greases, candles, soaps, &c.	4,168,854	3,892,788	2,992,742	2,611,005
Cereals	3,559,868	17,394,528	11,149,885	6,402,417

By weight	January to June			
	1926	1925	1924	1923
	Kilog.	Kilog.	Kilog.	Kilog.
Cotton and cotton goods	12,120,092	12,618,438	11,952,402	10,718,718
Metals	56,181,530	71,758,470	23,322,701	12,519,323
Wool and woollen goods	1,875,571	1,379,682	1,280,770	897,173
Colonial goods	36,597,088	38,667,919	29,257,316	28,086,452
Machinery	7,349,164	7,569,451	2,886,122	1,057,604
Mineral oils, greases, candles, &c.	30,730,810	31,231,845	25,139,035	19,665,665
Cereals	24,158,187	114,485,905	111,673,082	71,845,557

Exports

280. As regards exports, the following were the principal countries importing from Turkey:

		First six months			
		1926	1925	1924	1923
		£T.	£T.	£T.	£T.
Italy	.....	31,910,532	28,218,152	13,740,738	5,958,234
France	.....	13,334,717	11,404,401	8,227,250	2,686,853
Germany	.....	11,459,653	11,119,460	7,532,501	3,822,535
United Kingdom	.....	8,195,312	6,513,260	6,445,273	4,355,624
U.S.A.	.....	6,795,039	5,927,299	4,000,399	2,984,506
Greece	.....	4,643,885	4,775,150	2,514,436	650,665

281. The chief exports were:

		Value.	Weight.
		£T.	Tons.
Tobacco	.....	36,271,259	21,025
Fruit and vegetables	.....	12,961,419	28,809
Cotton	.....	8,109,338	10,126
Wool and mohair	.....	6,043,465	3,185
Chemicals, drugs, &c. (including opium)	.....	6,011,965	17,472

The distribution of exports by country of destination, as shown in the Turkish customs returns, is of little value. For example, the total value of exports of Turkish produce to Italy during the six months under review is shown as approximately £T. 32,000,000, which includes tobacco to the value of £T.24,774,153 (13,932,342 kilog.). In reality, Italy's imports of Turkish tobacco do not exceed 1,000,000 kilog. annually, and practically the whole of the quantity of tobacco shown in the statistics as being exported to Italy is manipulated in and reshipped from Trieste to other countries.

282. The export trade in mohair, dried fruit and tobacco is in general well organised, but in other directions Turkish exporters are suffering severely from their lack of experience.

283. In such articles as nuts, eggs and cotton there is little scientific standardisation, whilst the overseas marketing is badly carried out. Producers will not combine to market their goods in association, and little regard is paid to such questions as world prices and demand, with the result that goods remain unsold and are eventually disposed of at unremunerative rates.

I- British Claims

Inter-Allied Assessment Commission.

284. If the progress of work of the Inter-Allied Assessment Commission has not been so satisfactory as might have been hoped, the fault must be attributed largely to the French Government. Thus, at the beginning of the year they found it necessary to transfer to other posts both the head of their delegation and the secretary-general of the commission, also a Frenchman. The double change naturally resulted in a temporary set-back in the output of work. A block in the French delegation was again reported in the autumn, this time due, in the first place, to the loss of its two most efficient members, and, secondly, to the fact that it appeared to be concentrating on the disposal of its own cases to the exclusion of others. Thus, for one reason and another, the year ended without the commission having completed its task and without it being possible to prophesy when the work would be finished. The situation was that approximately two-thirds of the total number of claims had been assessed, and that the commission was engaged in paying an advance of 40 per cent. of the amounts awarded.

285. From the British point of view a decision of some importance was taken early in the year when the commission decided to admit Cypriots as "ressortissants britanniques" to the benefits of the convention. Arrangements were accordingly made for a special delegate, Captain F.C.H. Armstrong, to make an extensive tour in Anatolia to investigate claims on the spot. The attitude of the Turkish Government to Captain Armstrong's far-flung activities proved unexpectedly complaisant.

Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

286. The treaty had proved that the mixed arbitral tribunals should be established within three months from its ratification, but the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral tribunal was not constituted until the 19th April, 1926. The past year was accordingly the first full year in which the tribunal has been at work. From the British point of view the results may be regarded with complete satisfaction. Up to the present, judgments have been given in nineteen claims, in which we have had judgment verdicts either in favour of His Majesty's Government or of British nationals in thirteen cases. Four of these claims are of considerable importance:

(a.) The ex-Khedive of Egypt had filed a claim against His Majesty's Government for the restitution of properties amounting to nearly £3 million. The tribunal upheld the British thesis that it was not competent to judge the case.

(b.) The tribunal declared itself incompetent in a test case concerning Turks who were claiming against His Majesty's Government for being deported to Malta during the occupation.

(c.) In the Eastern Bank claim, the tribunal interpreted the words "property, rights and interests" in article 65 and 66 of the treaty as embracing only articles "en nature" and not abstract rights; such as, cash assets. Although this claim was lost by a British claimant, it will follow that the British Government must win a very considerable number of claims brought against it by the Turks, and, on the whole, we shall decidedly benefit.

(d.) The Turco-Italian Tribunal, in December 1927, decided an important case on the question of the time-limits for submitting claims under article 70 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The tribunal decided that the time-limits laid down under article 70 of the treaty could, at its discretion -

(i) be ignored in connexion with the designation of the "competent authorities" with whom claims must be lodged;

(ii) be prolonged as regards the time within which claims must be lodged with the tribunal itself by virtue of article 95, paragraph 3.

This decision was shortly afterwards upheld by the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

287. Much more work has been accomplished by the British section of the tribunal than would appear from the number of judgments given, as the written procedure is now finished in practically every case brought against the British Government and in the Smyrna fire claims, and it may be confidently anticipated that cases will be disposed of in the near future much more rapidly.

Claims.

288. If the past year has been satisfactory in regard to cases before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, similar success cannot be recorded in regard to claims submitted direct to the Turkish Government by this Embassy on behalf of British subjects. Three examples will suffice. The first is that of pre-war claims. This Embassy first presented to the Turkish Government a list of such claims in August 1926, and at the same time asked them their views in regard to a settlement of the question. To this day, in spite of more than one reminder, the Turkish Government have not even vouchsafed a reply to our representations.

289. A similar indifference to British interests has been seen in the attitude of the Smyrna authorities and of the Turkish Government in regard to the question of property destroyed during the Smyrna fire in 1922. The facts are as follows:

290. After the European quarter of Smyrna was burnt out in 1922, the local authorities determined to rebuild the city on modern lines, and to this end decided to expropriate the land on which the previous buildings had been situated. No objection could be taken to the idea on principle, provided that the

previous owners received equitable compensation. But this was the last thing the Smyrna Municipality was prepared to grant. Not only did they decide to pay for such land in non-negotiable municipal bonds, but they proceeded to conduct the valuations on a wholly arbitrary basis, with the result that the previous owners were faced with practical confiscation. A considerable number of British subjects were affected, some of them in extremely poor circumstances, and, if the more wealthy could get a certain measure of satisfaction by bribing the local officials, such was not the case with the more indigent. The worst sufferers among British subjects were the Maltese, who, in addition to having had their title deeds destroyed in the fire, were in no position to pay the necessary "bakshish." Vigorous representations were made to the Turkish Government, not only by this Embassy, but by the French and Italian Embassies as well, and eventually, in January 1927, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as a result of Sir G. Clerk's personal intervention, promised to introduce a Bill providing for the restitution of 75 per cent. of the properties in question, the remaining 25 per cent. being ceded to the Smyrna Municipality to allow of improvements in the rebuilding of the burnt area. Nevertheless, the year ended without any legislation of the kind having been introduced.

291. A third example of the same attitude may be cited in the case of a Mr. Ranken, who owned a factory in Smyrna, which was seized by the Turkish authorities during the war. Subsequently, they refused to hand it back, on the grounds that it had been partly owned by a Greek, and so was subject, at any rate in part, to confiscation under the Turco-Greek convention of December 1926. They admitted, nevertheless, that the land on which the factory was built was indubitably Mr. Ranken's property. After nearly three years of fruitless wrangling with the Turkish Government, the matter was finally referred to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal in August 1927. No decision has yet been taken by the tribunal.

V. MILITARY AFFAIRS AND AVIATION

A- Army

292. During the year under review there has been no material change in the relations between the military attaché and the General Staff at Angora. In spite of every effort to obtain a closer and more friendly liaison with the General Staff, the latter has not thought fit to give any further information to the military attaché. Permission to travel in Turkey anywhere west of the River Euphrates has been obtainable without much difficulty, and the output of the military press, as far as non-confidential documents are concerned, has been available for examination. No invitation to attend manoeuvres or exercises has been issued, nor, except on very rare occasions, has the military attaché been able to persuade any commanding officer to let him see anything of the troops. The fresh information regarding the Turkish army obtained during 1927 has been gained while on tour

by observation, and in conversation with all sorts and conditions of men; it is therefore very meagre.

Strength and Organisation.

293. There has been no change as far as can be ascertained in the organisation of the army. The class of 1903 has been dismissed and that of 1905 called to the colours. Conscription is now carried out with much thoroughness, and from various indications it would appear that the strength of the army has been increased. It is estimated that when at full strength, *i.e.*, from December to June, it must be approximately 100,000 strong.

294. At the end of last year it was thought that the two independent tribal cavalry divisions has been dismissed; this, apparently, was not the case. There is still at least one in existence.

Infantry.

295. The much talked-of battery to form an integral part of the infantry regiment has not yet materialised. Some infantry regiments, notably the 23rd and 41st, have a battery of artillery attached, but these do not form part of the infantry organisation, and are merely allotted to these regiments from the divisional artillery. No other units have been noted with this allotment.

Cavalry.

296. The 8th Cavalry Division has been identified on various occasions as being employed in the north-eastern vilayets, and must therefore be replaced in the order of battle.

Artillery.

297. There has been no change during the year.

Other Arms.

298. Owing to the aversion of the General Staff to allowing any further facilities to the military attaché, the information regarding other arms is therefore as vague as it was last year.

Army Council.

299. No concrete decisions have apparently been taken by this body, at least none have been published, nor, apparently, have they introduced any material change in the army.

Armament and Equipment.

300. As regards the uniform, there has been a considerable improvement throughout the units, which have been visited during the year. New boots and new

clothing have been issued, and the general appearance of the other ranks is noticeably better, and now compares very favourably with that of the armies of the other Balkan States.

301. Equipment, however, with the exception of the 1st and IIIrd Corps, is still very old. These two corps have been issued with new leather equipment, packs, &c. Rifles are still of various patterns, but they have been standardised as regards the corps, so the question of ammunition supply has been made much simpler.

302. The factory at Angora has not been enlarged. It is reported to be able to turn out 10,000 small-arm cartridges per day, its actual output is not known. Its principal work is as before — the reconditioning of the woodwork of the artillery and transport.

303. Work is steadily proceeding on the Yakshi Khan arsenal. The number of buildings observed increases steadily, but, as far as is known, no machinery has been actually put into operation, though some of the plant is reported to have arrived and been installed.

Training.

304. As none of the military attachés were invited to attend manoeuvres, there is still no reliable information on this heading. Two sets of manoeuvres were, however, carried out during the year. Both of these took place in September —

a) In the neighbourhood of Rodosto. The general idea being the defence of that place against hostile landing.

b) Immediately north of Smyrna. Here, again, the object of the manoeuvres was apparently the examination of how to combat an enemy landing in this area. All arms were represented. In the first phase, the navy, assisted by the air force, were held to have disembarked a corps of two divisions in the face of opposition of one division, the 16th. In the second phase, the 6th and 57th Divisions, who had been watching the coast south of Smyrna, were brought up to reinforce the 16th, and succeeded in driving back the invaders into the sea. An interesting feature of these manoeuvres was the employment of some 800 infantry mounted on mules. Apparently, the General Staff envisage the use of mounted infantry for their coast defence schemes.

Operations.

305. The VIIth and part of the VIIIth and IXth Corps have been engaged throughout the year in endeavouring to keep order in the eastern vilayets. In this apparently they have been only partially successful, for, although no information regarding reverses is allowed to appear in the press, it is apparent that the civil administration is entirely in abeyance. The whole district is in a state of siege, and

even as far west as Marash the country is not safe for unescorted travellers. There have been several rumours of serious reverses. On one occasion a body of troops consisting of a regiment of infantry and guns was severely handled by the Kurdish mountaineers.

B- Aviation

306. During the year under review the Aviation League has been very active. In addition to the aviation lottery, which has been very popular and produced, according to the Turkish press, some 12 million liras a year, it has organised balls, race meetings, &c. the profits of which go to the fund, and has collected, *volens volens*, subscriptions from all sorts and conditions of men. Schemes, such as giving the league the monopoly of importing cinematograph films, sale of playing cards, printing and sale of forms of various kinds used in marking official returns, and many others have been placed before the Grand National Assembly, but so far these have not been approved. It is not known how the money thus collected has been expended, for, although a good many buildings have been put up on the Eskişehir aerodrome and improvements made in the landing ground, no increase in the number of planes available has been noticed, and, as far as can be ascertained, no large orders placed in Europe.

307. It was hoped that with a return to normal diplomatic relations, and the removal of all causes of possible friction between the two countries, the military attaché would have been allowed to see as much at least of the air force as he has been allowed to see of the army, but, in spite of every effort, the Eskişehir aerodrome, the headquarters of Turkish aviation, has not been visited.

Organisation.

308. From being a separate organisation under an inspector-general dealing direct with the Ministry of National Defence the air force has now been placed on all fours, with the other arms. The reorganised Ministry of National Defence has now a Department for Air with a secretary in charge of it. The inspectorate-general has been reduced to an inspectorate similar to that for artillery, cavalry, &c.

309. Under the new organisation the office of the inspectorate-general at Smyrna has been done away with and the inspector has his headquarters at Eskişehir.

310. It is believed that the air forces are to be organised in four commands: Eskişehir, Smyrna, Konia and Diarbekir, but this is not definitely established.

311. The only organised units definitely identified are:

In eastern vilayets: 3 squadrons of aeroplanes.

Ghazimîr (near Smyrna): 1 squadron of aeroplanes.

Smyrna: 2 squadrons of seaplanes.

Eskişehir: 2 training units.

Material.

312. With the departure of the French instructors from Smyrna and the inviolability that is maintained as regards Eskishehr, it is difficult to make an estimate of the number of machines fit for flying.

313. At the end of 1926 it was estimated that 106 machines were available. The only orders for new machines which are known to have been passed during the year are:

10 Devoitine fighters with Hispano-Suiza engines.

10 Brequet 19 B 2 bombers.

314. From reliable sources a good deal of aeroplane material has passed through Athens *en route* to Turkey, but the only machines reported are five Bleriot Spads and eighteen Brequets. The aeroplane material was probably destined for the repair of machines already on hand. The total number of machines now available is approximately 120, that is allowing for six machines being rendered unrepairable during the year, a most conservative estimate.

315. The Junker aeroplane factory at Kaisarie, from which great things were expected, is not yet finished; according to all accounts the most that it will be capable of is the reconditioning of engines and repairs to wings and fusilage.

Training.

316. *Pilots*— The school at Ghazimir (Smyrna) was transferred to Eskishehr at the beginning of the year; that at Daragatch, for training in seaplanes, to barracks at the southern end of the town.

317. No details are available regarding the schools at Eskishehr, but from various indications it is believed that, in addition to an institution which teaches elementary pilotage, there are courses in advanced flying, army co-operation, bombing, &c.

318. Several officers have been trained during the year in France. Enquiries were made with a view to sending two officers to England, but none have yet been sent.

319. *Mechanics*— A school for aeroplane machines was started at Yeshilkeui (San Stefano, near Constantinople) early in the year. Although this is nominally a civilian institution under the aegis of the Aviation League, the students wear uniform practically identical with air force other ranks, there are two, if not more, officers of the air force in charge, and the graduates under the provisions of the law on military service are available for service. It caters for thirty students.

Co-operation with other Arms.

320. One or two flights of aeroplanes took part in the manoeuvres which took place at Rodosto and in the neighbourhood of Smyrna (see Section V, Military Affairs). A reliable source reports that aeroplanes were used for spotting at an artillery practice which was carried out by the Vth Corps. No details are available regarding the results of these exercises.

Operations.

321. Two squadrons of aeroplanes are reported to have been stationed at Diarbekir during the year, and no doubt have been employed for reconnaissance and other actions against the Kurds, but no details are forthcoming.

VI. NAVAL AFFAIRS

A- Training

322. There has been a marked increase in the amount of training given to the personnel of the fleet during the year, but it is considered that the standard of efficiency of both officers and men falls far short of that to which even a small navy should attain.

323. It is understood that the contracts of the German ex-naval officers and petty officers which are due to expire in January 1928 will be renewed for a further year. These instructors have succeeded in organising gunnery, torpedo and navigation schools on a small scale, where systematic, if rudimentary, instruction is imparted.

324. An increase in the amount of gunnery practice carried out by seagoing vessels as compared with last year was evident, and tactical and night operations have occasionally been exercised. Manoeuvres with the co-operation of naval aircraft and military forces were carried out in the Gulf of Smyrna, the functions of the navy including the landing and covering of a hostile army.

325. Lack of money is the main obstacle to progress in the navy. With the exception of the two submarines which are completing their trials in Holland, the fleet comprises no modern units, and there are few facilities for imparting instruction on modern lines. The Turkish Government have been recently negotiating with French, Italian and other foreign firms with a view to acquiring destroyers on long-term payments, but hitherto the financial inducements have not proved sufficiently attractive, and no orders for future naval construction have yet been placed.

326. Considerable attention is paid to defensive mining, and a large mine factory has been installed near Ismid, which is now turning out small quantities of mines, and is expected to largely increase its output in the future.

327. Repairs to the floating dock, which had been seriously damaged in December 1926, were completed early in August, and during that month a second and successful effort was made to place the "Yavouz" (ex-"Goeben") in the dock.

328. Some further delay took place in commencing the refit of the "Yavouz" due to difficulties raised by the Turkish authorities in taking over the dock, and in arranging for the insurance of the ship and dock during the period of the refit. Work, however, is now well in hand, and the French company who have undertaken the repairs have imported a number of mechanics and shipwrights from France. The "Yavouz" is not expected to be ready for sea until early in 1929.

329. In October the Government came to the decision to abrogate the post of Minister of Marine, and to place the army, navy and air force under a single Minister of National Defence, assisted by Under-Secretaries for each of the three Departments. It may be presumed that naval aircraft will in future be controlled by the Department for Air.

330. Towards the close of the year, serious scandals in connexion with the contracts effected for the acquisition of the floating dock and the refit of the "Yavouz" came to light, and as a result a court of enquiry is sitting to determine to what extent the ex-Minister of Marine, Ihsan Bey, has abused his powers, not only in awarding and modifying the above contracts on conditions believed to be generally unfavourable to the country's interests, but in greatly augmenting his bank balance in the process. There appears to be no doubt that grave charges will be brought home to Ihsan Bey and to a number of the more prominent naval officers employed in the Ministry.

331. The naval estimates for the year 1927-28 amount to £T. 6,024,680, being an increase of £T. 400,000 over those of the previous year. Included in the above sum is an instalment amounting to £T. 1,700,000 for the cost of repairs to the "Yavouz."

Visits of Foreign Men-of-War to Turkish Ports.

332. Early in the spring a squadron of French men-of-war, comprising a cruiser, two destroyers and two submarines, paid a visit of a week's duration to Constantinople. The squadron had previously visited Roumanian and Bulgarian ports, and it is believed that the object of the cruise was to influence, if possible, the placing of orders for vessels of these types with French shipbuilding yards. The ships composing the squadron represent the last word in French naval construction, and so far as the Turks were concerned no opportunity was missed of displaying their respective merits.

333. Considerable prominence was devoted to the visit in the local press, and civic and official banquets were offered to the admiral and his officers. The former

was lavish in his attention and hospitality to Turkish officials, and still more lavish in his encomiums on all things Turkish to the numerous journalists to whom he was ever ready to grant interviews. It had been originally intended that the admiral should visit Angora, but as no encouragement by the Turkish authorities was given to the suggestion that he should be received by the President, the project was abandoned.

334. Small squadrons of Italian warships also made brief stays on two occasions at Constantinople, but these visits did not attract such attention as that of the French squadron.

335. A squadron of three Spanish destroyers also paid a three days' visit on their way to Black Sea ports. Beyond the fact that certain Turkish newspapers commented on the coincidence which had led the Spaniards to visit a Turkish port, immediately after celebrating the 400th anniversary of the Battle of Lepanto, their arrival here aroused no interest.

336. During the summer cruise of the Mediterranean fleet visits were paid by His Majesty's ships to Budrum, Marmarice, Imbros and Gallipoli. The local authorities in each case appear to have been cordial in their reception and to have granted all necessary facilities.

337. Very little progress has been made with the scheme for raising the wrecks of warships in the Dardanelles, and work has been suspended for some time. The French submarine "Mariotte" was successfully floated, and was examined by a commission of naval officers to ascertain if she could be put into service. It is understood that she will eventually be broken up.

B- Wireless Telegraphy in Turkey

338. Wireless telegraphy and broadcasting have developed considerably during the year.

339. The Société Française de Radio-Télégraphie has been responsible for the installation of high power stations at Angora and Stamboul, and towards the end of the year these were opened for commercial traffic, comparing favourably with the cable companies as regards efficiency and tariffs. Broadcasting was initiated in Turkey in the summer, a local company being formed, which has maintained a very fair service in Constantinople, with occasional intermissions caused by financial considerations. The introduction of the service created quite a boom in wireless sets, and a famine in accumulators, which could not be imported fast enough to meet the popular demand.

340. Broadcasting, however, has introduced a new terror into the lives of those Europeans resident in Turkey who have a soul for music, but whose hard lot compels them to live in proximity of "loud speakers." The major portion of the

nightly programme is usually devoted to what is termed by courtesy "Turkish music," emitted either by the human voice or by those weird-sounding instruments so much in vogue amongst orientals. Occasionally even musical instruments in common use by civilised peoples are prostituted to the above purpose.

VII- CONSULAR AFFAIRS

Marriages.

341. The Turkish Civil Code providing for civil marriages and monogamy came into force on the 4th October, 1926, and since then civil marriages are celebrated and registered by Turkish functionaries. The Turks have refused, in their negotiations for consular conventions, to recognise consular marriages, except between two parties of the consul's nationality, and even then they appear to make recognition conditional on reciprocity. In practice the British consul-general insists on previous marriage by the Turkish marriage officer before marrying a British subject to any foreigner.

Consular Fees.

342. The Grand National Assembly of Turkey passed a law No. 1143 of the 23rd June, 1927, bringing into force a new tariff of consular fees.

343. Article 2 of the law empowered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to raise on a reciprocity basis any fees levied on nationals of a State which charged Turkish subjects higher fees than those in this tariff.

F.O. 371/13096/E.1149

No. 79

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 149

ANGORA, March 12, 1928

(Received March 19, 1928)

Sir,

In his despatch No.57 of the 26th January sir G. Clerk reported on the preliminary examination by a commission of enquiry of the charges of corruption brought against Ihsan Bey, the ex-Minister of Marine. The next stage in the proceedings was reached when on the 26th January the National Assembly was called upon to vote the raising of Ihsan Bey's parliamentary immunity and his trial by a special High Court. The debate was followed with intense interest. Ihsan Bey, instead of making, as was hoped and expected by his friends, a brief statement of submission to the will of the Assembly and the justice of his country, embarked on an elaborate and frequently vituperative speech for the defence. This gave to İsmet

Pasha the opportunity for a vigorous denunciation of corruption in general and, in particular, of the ex-Minister at the bar. Any incongruity there might be in such an address to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey passed unnoticed, and the speech was a marked personal triumph for the Prime Minister.

2. The High Court, consisting of senior judges and members of the Council of State, was duly constituted and the prosecution opened on the 9th February last. Since then the court has sat daily until a halt has now been called to allow for the taking of further evidence on commission in Paris. Besides Deputies and private individuals, the Prime Minister, the entire Cabinet and most of the staff of the Ministry of Marine have been called as witnesses. Proceedings have been reported verbatim throughout the press and public interest is undiminished. To follow the legal niceties of the case and to estimate the degree of İhsan Bey's culpability through the fog of Turkish procedure and press reporting is beyond the capacity of a European mind. These, however, are matters of minor importance, since it is probable that an ex-Minister who has allowed himself to imply in the Assembly that there are black sheep among its members and that all is not for the best in the best of all possible republics stands already judged and condemned. The case is lacking, too, in that human interest which is only kept alive by some appearance of a fair fight. Here there is too much prosecution, too little trial.

3. İhsan Bey himself is not a sympathetic figure. Whether his offences are worse than those of 90 per cent of his colleagues or not, there is little doubt that he will have amply merited any punishment he may receive. The interest of his case lies elsewhere. It marks a stage in the evolution of Turkey, and its ultimate reactions on the internal politics of the country will, in no event, be negligible. It is therefore perhaps worth while to undertake some examination of the tangle of its origin as seen from Angora. It is inevitable that in such a matter the views of Constantinople and Angora should show some cleavage, and it is difficult to strike a convincing middle line. Such observations as I have to offer are thus put forward as local impressions "non pour établir la vérité, mais pour la chercher."

4. It is especially noteworthy that here there appears to be nothing fortuitous in the genesis of the affair. It bears, throughout both its ostensible and its, perhaps more genuine, political development, the hall-mark of Mustafa Kemal's deliberate inspiration. The explanation of all that is openly admitted is simple enough. Corruption in every branch of public life in Turkey has for some time past attained such notoriety both at home and abroad as to cause uneasiness to the President himself and to some of his immediate circle, who see a menace to their schemes of economic development in the distrust thus inspired in financial circles abroad, and a threat to internal stability in the growing conviction of the peasant that the Deputies whom he is presumed to elect assemble at Angora with no other object than to plunder the State.

5. The first step in the purifying process was taken in September at the time of the general election, by the issue of a presidential decree ordaining that Deputies could in future hold no office in public companies. This was followed in October by the President's announcement to the congress of the People's party that he had made over all his private property to the nation: an anodyne gesture, perhaps, but one that has at all events cleared the ground for whatever measures he might feel called upon to take against the delinquents without the risk of a not altogether undeserved *tu quoque*. The choice of Ihsan bey as first victim or general scapegoat is, all things considered, natural enough. The Minister of Marine was no less notorious for corruption than any of his colleagues: the charges against him touched on a historic object particularly dear to patriotic sentiment — the only battle-cruiser of the Aegean — and embraced, besides the every day offence of corruption, the more sinister crime of a breach of Cabinet etiquette. Furthermore, an impression of impartial severity was enhanced by choosing as an example one who had long been a close friend of the President. It would indeed have been difficult to find another victim offering the same advantages for purposes of publicity both at home and abroad.

6. Such considerations would perhaps suffice to explain the indictment in other countries. Not so in Turkey. Here they have certainly played their ostensible part, but side by side exist other motives of a more purely political nature. To embark on any attempt to assess these is necessarily to enter an uncharted wilderness of oriental intrigue in which I can find but one cardinal point — the fixity of aim that governs the President's efforts to direct his country in the way of a "return to normality." This phase was prefaced two years ago by a generally successful endeavour to place Turkey's foreign relations on a rational footing. The ground once cleared in this manner, the drastic elimination of what was left of the former parliamentary Opposition speedily followed. The lesson was so energetically applied that within six months the Government was able to dissolve the Independence Tribunals which had hitherto been the main prop of the régime. This measure meant a serious loss of prestige for Ali Bey and his fellow Jacobins, and their impatience at the failure of the Government to find for them suitable posts has led them to show some visible resentment. A further blow was dealt to their political ideals by the abrogation of martial law in the eastern vilayets last autumn, and to their personal interests by the refusal of the portfolio of the Interior to Ali Bey.

7. The arrest and trial of Ihsan Bey, an earlier head of the Constantinople Independence Tribunal and a close associate of Ali Bey, in all probability indicate that the President of the Republic has now decided that the Jacobins have served their turn, and that the moment has arrived in the evolution of a revolutionary State when they may, after the manner of their kind, be finally discarded. Every indication has tended to show that the differences between Ali Bey and the

President had lately become an open breach, and I have been assured by one of the President's immediate entourage that he is now irremediably excluded from the fold. It is thus disconcerting to find that at a ball recently given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, at which the President was present, Ali Bey was among the guests, and still more so to see him a few days later seated for several hours beside the Ghazi at a poker table in the attitude of an uneasy dog and beaming under an occasional pat. The westernisation of Turkey has not modified one whit a traditional dissimulation in such matters, and the European observer's wisest course is to wonder but draw no conclusions. For my own part, I have renounced any attempt to judge the wind from such straws since one evening on entering the club I found Fikret Bey, a Deputy and associate of İhsan Bey, whose immunity had been raised and whose arrest was universally known to be imminent, playing a quiet game of bezique with the Minister of the Interior. During this, his last evening of liberty, he was even submitted by his fellow-Deputies to a fire of amiable chaff acutely reminiscent of that thrown at a schoolboy called up for a caning.

8. In such an atmosphere it is impossible to gauge political reactions with any conviction. A recent brief visit to Constantinople sufficed to convince me that in Angora one tended rather to underrate the strength of the currents that are running there, and I was astonished to find with what openness and circumstantial detail opposition is being ventilated in the most diverse circles. I had the opportunity to discuss this with Sir G. Clerk before his departure. His views, which I entirely shared, were that the Angora *cause célèbre* had naturally loosened tongues and given air to the many grievances which are nursed in Constantinople, but that, so long as nothing untoward happened to the President and the army remained loyal, the stability of the régime was not in any danger.

9. Since my return to Angora I feel that the prevailing *malaise* is less transitory than I had at first believed. Last night Falih Rifki Bey, one of the President's closest friends and perhaps the most energetic supporter of his policy, unburdened himself to Mr. Helin and myself without reticence, for the first time in nearly two years' intimate acquaintance, on the subject of the internal situation. He showed us that temporarily, at least, the forces let loose over the İhsan affair had got out of control. That afternoon in the Assembly charges of peculation some four years old were brought up against Ali Jenani Bey, the then Minister of Commerce. He, Safvet Bey and the rest of the Ghazi's immediate group had endeavoured to save him by proposing that the affair should be examined by the Government instead of by a commission of the Chamber, but could get no hearing. The picture he drew was of a strong caucus which was constituting itself into a kind of "Tribunal de Salut public" and crying for more victims. The Ghazi and İsmet Pasha had taken up so definite a line over the İhsan affair that it was now impossible for them to draw back; the former had been unable to save his friend and old companion of arms, Fikret Bey, who was now in the dock with İhsan, and would be equally unable to

save Ali Jenani. He did not attempt to conceal that in his view the present phase was entirely political and would have to end in the final elimination of the Jacobins and the gunmen.

10. The existence thus disclosed of a possible nucleus of a new Opposition in the Chamber is interesting. Of what precisely it consists or what its doctrines, if any, may be is not yet clear, but it is evident that the life of the present Parliament, which for the last two months has been indulging in an unwonted freedom of speech, will not be so monotonous as might have been expected from the election of 315 Deputies with only one dissentient vote. The rôle of the President in this particular development is also obscure, and it is to be assumed that even his intimates have not yet been initiated. It is possible that he is merely giving to any undesirable elements enough rope to hang themselves, and that at the chosen moment he will come down into the arena. He may, again, be sure enough of his own position to allow an experiment with that parliamentary luxury, a tame Opposition. It is even conceivable, though not likely, that he has been taken by surprise.

11. These are as yet no more than empty speculations: what does emerge in concrete form from the Ihsan affair is that many Deputies tarred with the same brush feel that zeal is the best cloak for guilt and are actively searching for fresh victims. Fortunately the field is limited, since it is generally understood that the Chief of the Staff, Fevzi Pasha, the heaviest weight in Turkey after the President, has let it be known that he will tolerate no prying into the secrets of military supplies — the most fertile source of perquisites. Envy and private rancour naturally lie at the back of much of this zeal and create further animosities. Men of milder spirits are, no doubt, asking themselves whether the life of a Deputy on this Asiatic dust-heap is really worth while, when the only assets left to the profession are a modest stipend and a moral halo. Houses that had been built in anticipation of years of prosperity are now for sale; the night restaurant of Angora, formerly haunted by the leaders of public life, is closing for lack of clients, since no one will risk indiscreet enquiries as to where he got the price of a bottle of champagne. In fact, an uncongenial doctrine of *sustine et abstine* is being not only preached but practised. The rumours inevitably provoked by such a situation are stifled here, but they come to the surface in Constantinople and are welcomed by all those to whom the republic has brought disillusionment or discontent.

12. One cannot blink the fact that there are disquieting elements in such a state of affairs. On the other side, the direction of the country lies in the hands of a man who has shown himself hitherto remarkably well qualified to govern it. He has guided events up to this point with his eyes open. There is, to my mind, no ground to suppose that, barring accidents (a saving clause that must always be understood in this country), he will not master the situation with as complete success as in the

infinitely more difficult tasks of the suppression of the Caliphate, the abolition of the fez and the hanging of Javid Bey.

I have, &c.

G. G. KNOX

F.O. 424/268, p. 51-53, No.29

No. 80

Mr. Knox to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 191

ANGORA, April 11, 1928

(Received April 23, 1928)

Sir,

Almost without warning and without flourish of trumpets the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has this week taken a decisive and significant step which completes an important phase of the evolution of the Turkish revolution. The *decree nisi* between Islam and the State, which had been pronounced by the acceptance of the new Fundamental Law of the 20th April, 1924, was made absolute on the 9th April, when a Bill sponsored by İsmet Pasha was voted unanimously and with acclamation by Chamber, providing for the omission from the Constitutional Law of any reference to religion.

2. I enclose herein a translation of the textual amendments. Briefly, they provide for the omission from article 2 of the clause defining Islam as the religion of the Turkish State, from article 26 of that defining one of the duties of the Assembly as the application of the Shari Law and for the substitution of the individual's honour for the name of the Almighty in the oaths which the President of the Republic and all Deputies must pronounce on assumption of office.

3. The young republic can therefore claim with reason that it is now secular in the full sense of the word. Its final emancipation is the result of the remarkable continuity of the President's direction, which has never faltered through all the successive stages—the abolition of the Sultanate, the proclamation of the republic, the suppression of the Caliphate, and now, on paper at least, the elimination of Islam from the machinery of government. To achieve all this in the short space of five years might well have seemed to anyone but Mustafa Kemal a Herculean task. To have carried the country with him in doing so would certainly have been thought impossible. But it has been done, and so successfully that, for the first time when a subject of first-class importance was before the Assembly (an Assembly, moreover, which includes among its numbers eight or ten ex-hodjas, who now glory in the title of "bey" instead of "effendi"), the Ghazi did not consider it

necessary to appear in person. Nor does his severest critic to-day anticipate any serious repercussions.

4. It is perhaps not inappropriate to quote on this occasion a story of the woting of the suppression of the Caliphate related to me by one of the President's intimate friends and which I believe to be true. A considerable outcry was provoked in the Chamber by some advanced Deputy in the course of a budget debate querying the Caliph's civil list. The Ghazi sent from his own room to enquire what the noise was about. A deputation soon arrived to protest against this attack on the Caliphate, headed by a white-bearded hodja, whom the Ghazi at once addressed: "Hodja Effendi, did you not tell me yourself in Brusa that the Caliphate was a useless institution?" The hodja, who had, of course, said nothing of the kind, like a true oriental acquiesced, and the motion for abolition was pushed through a subservient House without difficulty.

5. Some measure of the gulf which, in theory at least, separates the new Turkey from the old may be gathered from the *exposé des motifs* submitted by Ismet Pasha with his draft law. "The State," says the Prime Minister, "is an abstract idea and cannot, therefore, have religious obligations. These, therefore, are suppressed, but it should not be concluded that the Government will encourage irreligion. Rather is it desired that religion should not become a tool of the Administration, but that it should be a kind of sacred contact between God and the individual in mosque, church or synagogue, all being under the protection of the State." Such a pronouncement by the Prime Minister of a State which thirteen years ago declared a holy war and whose power, even six years ago, in the Moslem world was feared, largely because it could not be estimated, shows something of the revolution which has been achieved.

6. So much for the past. As for the future, one is naturally inclined to speculate on the ultimate effects of the recent decision. So far as Turkish Moslem opinion is concerned, any revulsion of feeling can at once be discounted. The ground has been well prepared and has proved itself to be something very much less firm than the pure Islamic rock in which foreigners had been wont to believe. Rather does the history of the last five years go to prove the correctness of the theory often advanced to me by Deputies in close touch with the Ghazi, whatever might be said of his fathers, the modern Turk was not and is not deeply religious, and that such religious feeling as exists is to be found not in the small towns and villages, as might be expected, but in the larger centres of population, where the teaching and fanaticism of the hodjas have been more successful than where the ignorant peasant had nature as a corrective.

7. From this it must not however, be supposed that Islam as a factor in the Turkish State is dead. Far from it. The creator of the revolution is often reputed to be an atheist, but the rallying call is still "Turkey for the Turks," and, though the

Constitutional Law includes in the latter term all children of the fatherland, it in fact is only applied to Moslem Turks. How far this particularism may be founded on instincts of religion or of race is a matter for academic speculation. The important consideration for ourselves is that each step in the official secularisation of Turkey has put it increasingly out of the power of this country to use the weapon of religion against us in our Eastern dependencies. It has also undermined the general prestige of Islam and should weaken in all parts of the world its more militant side.

I have, &c.

G. G. KNOX

F.O. 424/268, p.72-73, No.41

ENCLOSURE IN No. 80

Extract from the "Stamboul" of April 6, 1928

(Traduction)

L'article 2 amendé sera libellé comme suit:

La langue officielle de la République Turque est le turc et sa capitale est la ville d'Angora.

L'article 16 (après l'amendement).

Les Députés qui entrent à l'Assemblée prêtent le serment ci-après:

"Je jure sur mon honneur que je ne me livrerai à aucun acte contraire au bonheur, au salut et à la souveraineté sans restriction du peuple et que je ne cesserai d'être fidèle aux lois de la république."

L'article 26 (après l'amendement.)

La Grande Assemblée Nationale élabore les lois, décide leur modification, leur interprétation, leur annulation ou abolition; conclut avec les Etats des conventions, des pactes et des traités de paix; déclare la guerre, examine et ratifie toutes les lois concernant les finances et les comptes de l'Etat, ratifie ou annule les monopoles, les opérations comportant des engagements financiers et les concessions; proclame l'amnistie partielle ou générale; accorde des atténuations ou des commutations de peines; décrète l'ajournement des enquêtes et lois pénales; ratifie les sentences qui émanent des tribunaux avant leur exécution.

L'article 38 (après l'amendement).

Le Président de la République aussitôt après son élection fait devant l'Assemblée le serment suivant:

"Je jure sur mon honneur d'observer et de défendre, en ma qualité de Président de la République, les lois républicaines et les principes de la souveraineté nationale, de déployer fidèlement tous mes efforts pour le bonheur du peuple turc, décarter avec énergie tout danger qui menacerait l'État turc, de ne cesser de me consacrer au devoir que j'ai assumé et de sauvegarder l'honneur et la dignité de la Turquie."

F.O. 424/268, p. 74, No. 41/1

No. 81

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 194

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 18, 1928

(Received April 23, 1928)

Sir,

In his despatch No. 149 of the 12th March last Mr. Knox reported the later developments and implications of the Ihsan Bey case. I have now the honour to inform you that it came quietly to a conclusion on the 16th instant. Interest in it had diminished very markedly ever since the impression got abroad that the sentence was going to be moderate. The verdict has in the end proved to be even less sensational than was expected. Ihsan Bey himself is condemned to two years' hard labour, and of his accomplices Sabanjali Hakki gets one year, and Dr. Fikret and Nazim four months each. It must be admitted that the evidence produced in the course of all these months was meagre. It was clearly shown that Ihsan Bey ordered the floating dock in deliberate opposition to the opinion of his colleagues, but a breach of Cabinet etiquette, it was very properly held, was no criminal offence. In the matter of the repairs needed by the "Goeben" the proof was much less clear and the court came only to the conclusion that Ihsan and his accomplices would have defrauded the Government, if circumstances beyond their control had not frustrated their design, and it is on this count that they have all four been condemned.

2. The Ghazi thus comes successfully out of the whole episode. A Jacobin element has been discarded without disturbance. A warning has been given against the time-honoured practice of corruption. The judgement — which must be supposed to have been inspired from the highest quarter — is statesmanlike in that it is not vindictive. Ninety-nine Turkish officials in a hundred must feel that but for the grace of Allah they would have been walking in Ihsan's shoes, but the comparative leniency of his treatment disarms any sympathy they might have had for him. The public can in this case scarcely echo the comment with which years ago it greeted Abdul Hamid's dismissal of a Minister of Marine whose depredations were even more notorious: "Après tout, c'est un honnête homme: il n'a fait que voler."

3. But for the very reason of its leniency this sentence can hardly be expected to give more than a momentary pause to the pursuit of those corrupt practices which have already made Turkish administration rotten. Supply departments in the Ministry of Defence are for the time being so scrupulous than business is difficult to conduct. But in less conspicuous corners of the administration such as are to be found in the customs and police, backsheesh is offered and taken as freely as ever. As was intimated in previous despatches, further scandals will no doubt be brought to light and another which has just been referred to the High Court is that concerning Ali Jenani Bey, the late Minister of Commerce, and half a millions Turkish pounds which he appears to have devoted to various purposes besides the purchase of corn for which it was provided. But it is thought that he will get off lightly and he is still seen in the best society. Happily Mr. Knox is now able to report that the new movement of opposition mentioned in paragraph 10 of his despatch No.149 appears to have subsided. As concerns our own particular interests we may note with satisfaction that while French and German firms showed in a very bad light in the Ihsan Bey affair, there was no adverse mention of a British firm. For the rest public attention is now absorbed by foreign rather than home affairs.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.78, No.43

No. 82

Sir G.Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 256

ANGORA, May 22, 1928

(Received May 29, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith the official translation of the speeches exchanged between the President of the Turkish Republic and the King of Afghanistan at the State dinner on the 20th instant.

2. It has been stated for some time that the Ghazi was attaching particular importance to the speech he was to make on this occasion, as it was to contain, for the benefit of the sister nation, the essence of those principles on which his own political faith was based.

3. What in fact it amounts to is a reminder that Afghanistan must be ready, if need be, to shed her last drop of blood in defence of her independence, and a call to the King to emulate the courage and determination of the Ghazi in forcing his country along the path of progress. But Mustafa Kemal takes care, while dwelling

on the brotherhood of Turk and Afghan, to emphasise the fact that Afghanistan is Asiatic and Turkey European.

4. Nor are offers of direct assistance in the struggle upward conspicuous in the Ghazi's speech, and his Excellency is careful to limit them "dans la mesure de ses moyens."

5. The President's allusion to the geographical situation of Afghanistan and the consequent serious and delicate political conditions of the country, and the direct reference to the Hindu Kush, taken in conjunction with recent articles in the "Milliet" on the Egyptian crisis — see my despatch No.240 of the 16th May — might seem to give a distinctly anti-British tone to the speech. Possibly Mr. Suritz has read it with pleasure in that sense, but I am not altogether prepared to accept such an interpretation. The Ghazi was stating a truism in pointing out that Afghanistan lies between two great and powerful countries and has therefore a difficult course to steer, and the mention of the Hindu Kush may have as much for the sake of a rounded period as anything. Moscow is none too well pleased with the present trend of Turkish policy, and no doubt the Ghazi would avoid saying anything calculated to increase a temporary soreness. Mustafa Kemal is in both cases, in Egypt and Afghanistan alike, saying, in effect, "Look at me. If you want to be free and independent, it is no good talking about it, you must do like me, fight for it." The fact that in one case altogether, and in the other partly, Great Britain is the obstacle, is an accident for which the Ghazi is not responsible. It does not affect his own relations with Great Britain, with whom he has settled his own particular differences, and his attitude and language would be the same were the obstructing Power France or the State of Monaco.

6. I do not mean that the Ghazi is actively pro-British, but I believe that his policy is at present steadily set to reaching, if possible, a close and good understanding with us and the Western Powers, as against the rival policy, which has its influential adherents in this country, of combination with Russia and Germany.

7. To the student of history, perhaps the most interesting feature of both speeches will lie in the fact that in neither of them is there one word of Islam.

8. I shall have the honour to address to you a general report when the Royal visit is ended, which will not be before the departure of this week's messenger.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.95, No.67

Not: Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in ve Afgan Kralı Amanullah Han'ın bu yemekte yapmış oldukları konuşmalar için bkz.: Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları, Cilt I: Afganistan-Çin, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*, Ankara: 1993, s.31-35.

No. 83

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 266

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 29, 1928

(Received June 4, 1928)

Sir,

On the 20th instant the Grand National Assembly voted a law making the use of European figures compulsory for all official departments as from the 1st June, 1928, and for private business from June 1931, with the proviso that the Government may, if it sees fit, make the latter date earlier for certain districts.

2. In introducing the Bill, the Minister of Finance said that he anticipated no difficulty in making the change and maintained that its acceptance was essential if Turkey's commercial relations were not to suffer.

3. Other Deputies asked when the Government was going to introduce the long-expected Bill for the adoption of Latin characters, and the Minister for Education explained that if the Government was delaying, it was by no means because it had given up the project, but rather because it wanted the commission entrusted with the examination of the question to make a thorough enquiry into the least disturbing means of effecting the innovation. I understand that the present idea is to make the change gradually, during a period of five years, beginning next winter with a law obliging newspapers to adopt Latin characters progressively. At the end of two years from the entry into force of this proposed law, the use of Latin characters in official and private correspondence would become optional, while after a further three years their general use would be compulsory.

4. No doubt old-fashioned Turks of all classes will be displeased by this abandonment of the characters which are endeared to them by the Koran and all their religious writings and by the use of generations. But now that sermons in mosques are in Turkish, Turkish translations of the Koran freely sold, and Islam disestablished and generally at a discount, the change to Latin characters is a comparatively small one. Scientifically the change is sound. The Arabic alphabet is totally unsuited for the writing of Turkish. The lack of vowels and the minuteness of essential dots baffle many a student. Clothed in the less forbidding garb of European letters the written language may be more easily acquired not only by the foreigner but also by the Turkish infant.

5. This tendency to fall in with the ways of the western world is also shown by the present attitude towards the day of rest. During the high-tide of nationalism Christians and Jews were rigorously prevented from opening their shops and offices on a Friday. Consequently they had perforce to open on Sunday and

Saturday, unless they wished to lose their trade. There is now a strong movement among the political leaders at Angora for adopting Sunday as the day of rest.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13094/E.2877

No. 84

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 268

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 30, 1928
(Received June 4, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the first session of the third National Assembly closed on the 24th instant, when the President, Kiazim Pasha, delivered a short speech extolling the virtues of the Assembly in general and of its members in particular. The latter, freed alike from attendance at the Chamber and from a further stay in Angora by the simultaneous conclusion of the official visit of the King and Queen of Afghanistan, have lost no time in abandoning the heat and dust of the Anatolian plateau for the more congenial conditions of the Bosphorus; the Ghazi himself is expected shortly to arrive in Constantinople, and the capital (in so far at least as administrative activity is concerned) is now entering upon its summer slumber.

2. Unlike the position a year ago, the close of the session was not marked by any great legislative activity. In its closing days, however, the Assembly found time to vote the new law on Turkish nationality, which has been under careful study for the last two years, and the law providing for the adoption of European numerals. I shall have the honour to address you separately regarding the provisions and significance of both these measures, which, with the laws providing for the disestablishment of Islam and for the introduction of a new system of administration in the Eastern provinces, must be regarded as the major achievements of the past session.

3. It may perhaps be noted that in his valedictory address the President of the Assembly advised the Deputies to utilise the interval before the reassembly of Parliament in November next for studying at close hand the particular needs of the country. There is ample evidence that this behest has come from the President of the Republic himself, as considerable number of Deputies are making plans for visiting their constituencies, which hitherto have for them been largely *terra incognita*. Such a development can naturally only have beneficial results, and is,

moreover, a symptom of the confidence which the Ghazi reposes in the Assembly of his choice, for, though at times during the winter there were distant rumblings as of approaching storms, none has materialised, and, judging superficially at least, the internal political barometer is high and steady.

4. It is nevertheless probable that beneath the surface there are certain not altogether contented elements. The secretary-general of the Popular party has himself confessed privately that he must drive his team with a tight rein, and of late there have been frequent rumours of the formation among the so-called "intellectuals" of the party of an embryo Opposition. This, however, may be no more than a cave such as can normally be expected to develop in an arbitrarily chosen Assembly, and there is as yet no reason to suppose that their ideas or ideals are at variance with those of the national leader, or that, should they even be able to coalesce into an opposition, they would constitute a serious menace to the present régime, whose control over the country is as complete as it ever has been.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.108-109, No.76

No. 85

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 269

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 30, 1928

(Received June 4, 1928)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.256 of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report that their Majesties the King and Queen of Afghanistan arrived in this country on their state visit on the 19th May last. The visit started officially the previous day at Sebastopol, whither a Turkish delegation, composed of Generals Fahreddine and Nadji Pashas, had repaired to welcome them on behalf of the President of the Republic and of the Turkish nation. In addition to their suite, their Majesties were accompanied by the Turkish Ambassador at Moscow and the Turkish Minister at Kabul.

2. The journey from Sebastopol was made on board the Turkish steamer "Izmir" and under the escort of a Turkish flotilla. At the entrance to the Bosphorus the "Izmir" was met by further units of the Turkish navy and a squadron of the Turkish air force, as well as by the Vali and the principal officials of Constantinople, under whose escort their Majesties were conveyed to Haidar Pasha. On their arrival at Haidar Pasha a royal salute was fired by the assembled

fleet, and the greeting was taken up by the sirens of all the ships assembled in the port. On landing, their Majesties passed straight to the station platform where a guard of honour was drawn up to welcome them.

3. Their Majesties reached Angora the following morning and were met at the station by the President of the Republic, all the members of the Cabinet, and other high military and civil officials. They were then accompanied by the President to the suite of rooms which had been specially fitted up for their service at the new Angora Palace Hotel.

4. In the afternoon their Majesties paid an official visit to the President of the Republic, who then accompanied them to the Grand National Assembly to witness the presentation of independence medals to some hundred fortunate Turks who had deserved well of the republic.

5. In the evening the President gave an official dinner in their Majesties' honour, at which the Cabinet and other Turkish officials, but no foreigners, were present. It was at this banquet that the President delivered the speech of which I had the honour to enclose a copy in my despatch referred to above.

6. On the 21st May their Majesties received the Diplomatic Corps at 11.30 A.M. and in the afternoon attended the races. In the evening an official dinner, followed by a reception, was given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which was attended by the President of the Republic, the Diplomatic Corps, the members of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly and the higher officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. On this occasion the King talked with me for some time on general topics, partly in French partly through an interpreter. He enquired after the health of their Majesties the King and Queen, and said that he had the happiest memories of his visit to England.

7. The following day their Majesties left the Angora Palace Hotel to take up their residence in a private villa, situated near the Ghazi's house, which had been placed at their disposal by a certain Midhat bey, Deputy for Marash. In the evening they gave a banquet in honour of the President of the Republic, the Cabinet and high Turkish officials. On this occasion no foreigner were present.

8. On the 23rd May their Majesties gave a banquet and reception at the Angora Palace Hotel, to which the President of the Republic, the high officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Diplomatic Corps were invited.

9. That completed the official part of the programme and their Majesties spent the remaining four days of their stay quietly at Chan Kaya. The interval was further employed in negotiating the treaty on which I have had the honour to report in my despatch No. 270 of to-day's date.

10. Their Majesties left Angora on the 27th May. There had been talk of their paying a visit to Smyrna and the Gallipoli battlefields, but these projects were abandoned and they came straight to Constantinople, arriving here on the morning of the 28th May. Their arrival was at once greeted by a royal salute by the Turkish fleet, which escorted them to the President's Palace at Dolma Bagtché. There they will spend four days before continuing their journey. A Russian flotilla has already arrived to escort them to Batum and is now anchored in the Bosphorus off Dolma Bagtché.

11. The Vali has arranged a suitable programme to occupy their stay in this town, including a parade in which units of the army, navy, air force and police will take part, and visits to the military school and academy and the academy of fine arts. The town is liberally beflagged to celebrate the occasion.

12. Their Majesties have been presented with suitable gifts during their visit. The President of the Republic presented them with a gold sword inlaid with jewels and a portrait of himself similarly decorated. The Municipality of Angora presented them with a bust of the Ghazi and other gifts, and the Municipality of Constantinople is preparing gifts of embroidery and other works of art.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/268, p.109-110, No.77

No. 86

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 297

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 18, 1928
(Received June 25, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the President of the Republic arrived on the 5th instant at Constantinople, where it is understood that he will reside during the greater part of the summer.

2. An eleventh hour effort was made to work up an enthusiastic reception for his Excellency, but on this occasion the element of novelty was lacking, and for the most part the distinguished arrival seems to have made little difference in the life of the ex-capital. Ceremonial was reduced to a minimum, but a deputation, consisting almost entirely of Deputies and high officials, met the presidential train at Ismid and travelled on it to Haidar Pasha. Thence the Ghazi proceeded by car to Scutari pier and quickly crossed the Bosphorus to the Palace of Dolma Bagtché, which a few days before had been vacated by the King and Queen of Afghanistan.

3. The entire town was suitably beflagged for the occasion, one week's flag-waving having been officially decreed, ferry services were suspended for some hours and triumphal arches made their appearance in Stamboul and Pera even more magically than did certain gardens in Angora in the week preceding the Afghan royal visit. The coffers of the municipality were empty, but due honour had to be paid to the creator of the republic, and so application was made to the Jews. The latter, whether unwilling or not, were not in a position to refuse, and the necessary funds were made available.

4. During his stay in Constantinople the Ghazi is the honoured guest of the city, and it is worthy of notice that, as was the case last year, he has chosen quite a different set of companions from that which does duty at Chan Kaya. Of the latter, Falih Rifki, Rushen Eshref and Yacub Kadri Beys are in Paris; Safvet Bey, the secretary-general of the People's party, remains on duty at Angora; and the Ghazi has here surrounded himself with his friends of earlier days, such as Kilij Ali and Salih Beys, who are kept at arm's length in the capital. For months these latter have generally been assumed to be in permanent disgrace, and their presence here is inexplicable, unless, as is suggested, the Ghazi thinks it best to spike their guns by himself keeping an eye on them when he is absent from Angora. Whatever the explanation, the result is hardly complimentary to Stamboul, and is, moreover, not unlikely to be injurious to the health of the Ghazi, over whose manner of life his Angora friends have for some months past endeavoured, with evident success, to exercise a beneficial control.

5. At the moment, however, the Ghazi seems to be living quietly, and no word of excesses has yet reached my ear. He has made several tours of the city by car, and on most evenings takes the air on board his launch on the Bosphorus. No Minister is in attendance, the Minister of the Interior, who accompanied him here, having returned to Angora preparatory to making a tour of the eastern provinces. Ismet pasha remains in Angora, but will shortly come here; Tewfik Rushdi Bey seems to hesitate between a further journey at the end of the month to Geneva and a cure at Smyrna or elsewhere for his rheumatism; while the other Ministers, if they have not already left Angora, are full of plans for official journeys which will take them away from the worst of the heat and dust of the capital.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 87

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 385

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 14, 1928

(Received August 20, 1928)

My Lord,

On the 8th instant there was at last unveiled the monument of the Ghazi to which the Constantinople Municipality has devoted years of desperate effort in clearing a space of worthy dimensions at Taxim in Pera, and in exacting contributions from all and sundry.

2. Of my colleagues, the Italian Ambassador alone was present at the ceremony, the sculptor's Italian nationality having no doubt furnished him with a pretext for observing the practice he has adopted since the signing of the Italo-Turkish treaty, of being at hand on all possible occasions. Signor Mussolini also sent Mustafa Kemal Pasha a telegram of congratulation, receiving a reply slightly less warm in tone.

3. The monument, which is less undignified than might have been expected, represents on one side the Ghazi at the cannon's mouth leading the army to victory, and on the other the Ghazi in the midst of a group of contemporary Turkish statesmen, frock-coated like himself, advancing to "deliver the goods," which must be imagined to be the modern Turkish State.

4. It was perhaps not unnatural that the speeches made on this occasion should have referred to the detested period of the Allied occupation of Constantinople. A Deputy and another unofficial speaker used no measured terms in alluding to the Allies' treatment of the city and its inhabitants, and when the Allies are spoken of in this connexion it is always ourselves who are in mind. It is a fact to be reckoned with that the bitter memories entertained by Turks of all classes of the British military occupation are dying very hard, and that, moreover, they are in some measure kept alive by an annual ceremony in memory of the Turkish sentries who were killed in the first moments of the occupation.

5. But the note chiefly struck by the Minister of Education, who unveiled this monument, and by the other speakers, was eulogy of the Ghazi. It was the Ghazi who had not only delivered Constantinople but made the new Turkey. This is true enough. Indeed, it is so clearly a truism that one cannot help being somewhat struck at each one of the public occasions on which it is pronounced by Cabinet Ministers and others. Only a few days ago, for example, there was a Turkish pilgrimage to the Gallipoli Peninsula, and there the semi-official guide's theme was that the peninsula was the scene of a Turkish — not a German — victory over the proud and strong, and that that Turkish victory was due to the then Colonel

Mustafa Kemal Bey. Again, one would have thought that the country had had a sufficient dose of the Ghazi's great speech when it was delivered nearly a year ago. But the semi-official "Milliet" daily treats its readers to extracts therefrom filling many columns and illustrating the Ghazi's forethought, perspicacity, tenacity, and the other qualities with which he has served the country so well, and periodically the newspaper rubs it all in with a leading article.

6. It has evidently been deemed expedient to keep up a constant propaganda on the Ghazi's behalf. It may be that the excesses of his private life, which have unfortunately begun again since his arrival here and are known to everyone, are thought to need setting off in the popular mind against his merits. It may be that this propaganda is meant to counter in some measure such discontent as there is with the present régime.

7. How much this discontent amounts to it is extremely hard to say. In the first place, the Government naturally comes in for odium on account of the present bad times. Turks who have rushed blindly into business and made a hopeless mess of it owing to their utter inexperience, are not going to hold the Government blameless. Peasants who have been encouraged officially to extend their area of cultivation and now find their crops blasted by drought will be equally critical of the Government. However unfair such an attitude may be, the inefficiency of the administration certainly affords some pretext for grumbling. It is said that the minor officials are more insubordinate, rapacious and incompetent than ever. Indeed, the semi-official "Milliet" in a recent leading article admitted that the provincial official (it would be too much to expect it to impute any shortcomings to an official in the capital of the new republic) was very often both incompetent and corrupt.

8. It may be assumed, then, that the Government finds the political effects of the present economic crisis a little embarrassing. But I doubt if they are more serious than that. The government seems to have as firm a grip over the country as ever. Within the Government itself there seem to have been dissensions which have now blown over. The Ghazi is said to have summoned Fethi Bey from Paris to help him to overcome Ismet Pasha's resistance to certain political proposals of the Ghazi's which the Pasha considered extravagant. But as Fethi Bey preferred his Embassy to the reversion of Ismet's premiership, the Ghazi, so it is said, was obliged to give way to his Prime Minister.

9. Although, therefore, there are rumours of minor changes in the Government, including the perennial report of Tewfik Rushdy's impending retirement, the Government seems solid enough. Nor is there any indication of discontent in the army. The constantly uncertain factor is the Ghazi's health, but here again, I learn, on fairly good authority, that his supporters, feeling that he cannot last more than a year or two, have made all plans for an emergency and are

confident of keeping control of the country. The successor in view is said to be either Kiazim Pasha, the President of the Assembly, or more probably Ismet Pasha, and the People's party, which has a strong organisation throughout the country, would be relied on to enforce acceptance of the choice.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, p.20-21, No.14

No. 88

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 991

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 22, 1928

(Received August 28, 1928)

My Lord,

In my despatch No.268 of the 29th May last I reported that the first step towards the introduction of European characters had been taken by the passing of the law which ordained the use of European figures in all Departments of State, though, owing to an error in the press telegram making the announcement, the date of the change was given as this summer instead of 1929. In any case, the press already uses European figures, the Constantinople municipality proposes to bring them into official use next month, and they will be in general official use next summer.

2. It had been supposed that the introduction of European characters would not be accomplished for at least five years. But the leading spirits of Angora, who during this summer weather are all scattered in pleasanter haunts at Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere, are devoting some of their leisure to a determined effort to speed up the innovation. As one of them said to me the other day, no one is going to bother to learn the new letters if he thinks there are five years ahead before they can be forced on him, but everyone will try to learn them if he thinks he will be obliged to use them at the end of only two years.

3. Every kind of publicity is being given to the subject. Every day newspapers publish a few paragraphs in the new alphabet, whether it be a well-known poem or a saying of the Ghazi's. One paper has already started a prize competition in the new writing. Courses have been opened by the university, the Press Association, the training colleges and the Turk ojak. But the greatest impetus has been given to the movement by the Ghazi himself. He describes the new letters not as "European characters," but as "the new Turkish characters." He declares that the Turkish mind has been held by the Arabic characters as in a vice. It is everyone's duty,

therefore, he says, to help to speed the new Turkish letters, and the papers publish facsimiles of his own writing in the new style. A class has been started for Cabinet Ministers and others who frequent him at Dolma Bagtché, and at dances and other gatherings where he appears in public the Ghazi has developed an awkward trick of singling an individual out and asking him how he is getting on with his new lesson. Those who were present at the naval regatta last Friday must have observed that the President's yacht now has her name inscribed thus - "Ertogrul" - on her stern, and the more old-fashioned of them may have shuddered to think that that same vessel was built to the order of Abdul Hamit, the originator of pan-Islam.

4. It is characteristic of local methods that, although the new letters are being advertised like this, the precise form of the new alphabet has not yet been finally and officially settled. From the philologist's point of view the work has been pretty well done so far. The general principle is to have one letter for one sound. No new letters have been made, but certain of the usual letters are put to unusual uses or given diacritical signs. The language might have been reproduced not too clumsily by being spelt as if it were French, but, it is interesting to note, one of the reasons for avoiding this procedure was the desire to avoid increasing French culture influence. No doubt that decision has caused keen disappointment to the French Embassy. For the foreign world in general there is some satisfaction in the thought that it may soon be possible to make out the names of stations and other useful signs which are at present exhibited with the most rigid exclusiveness in Arabic characters only.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, P.24-25, No.17

No. 89

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 406

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 5, 1928

(Received September 10, 1928)

My Lord,

With reference to Sir A. Chamberlain's despatch No. 262 of the 2nd May last, I have the honour to report that the Comte de Chambrun, the newly-appointed French ambassador, arrived here towards the end of July.

2. As M. Daeshner, the Comte de Chambrun's predecessor, only left Turkey a few days before the President of the Republic came down from Angora to spend the summer on the Bosphorus, the question of the presentation of his successor's letters of credence became one of considerable importance in French eyes. The

Ghazi steadfastly refuses to acknowledge the official existence of Ambassadors and Ministers in Constantinople or anywhere except at Angora, and let it be clearly understood that he had no intention of interrupting his holiday by a special journey to Angora for the purpose of receiving Comte de Chambrun. On the other hand, the French Government, having the Syrian frontier and other rather urgent questions to discuss with Turkey, wished their new Ambassador to enter upon his functions as soon as possible. I understand therefore, that Fethi Bey, the Turkish Ambassador to Paris, was very emphatically told by the Quai d'Orsay that when he came here for the Afghan visit he must make his Government understand the importance of arranging for the early reception of the new French Ambassador. Fethi Bey, on his return to Paris, seems to have said quite definitely that he had arranged a plan whereby the Ghazi could "happen" to be in Angora in the early days of July and would take the opportunity of receiving Comte de Chambrun and the new Persian and Afghan Ambassadors and the new Polish Minister. On the strength of this assurance Comte de Chambrun arrived, only to find that the Ghazi had no intention of going to Angora until the autumn.

3. The situation threatened to become a little difficult, for the French thought that their prestige was suffering by the presence of an unaccredited Ambassador awaiting the Ghazi's pleasure, while, on the other hand, the French Government was presumably reluctant to increase the slight tension over Syria by telling Comte de Chambrun to leave the country until the date of his reception was fixed. Fortunately, my American colleague pointed out the common-sense way in which a similar situation, which is not infrequent, is dealt with in Washington, and the solution was applied as soon as Tewfik Rushdi returned from his cure. It has now been arranged in agreement with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that, while awaiting his reception by the President of the Republic, Comte de Chambrun is recognised by the Turkish Government as having entered into official relations with it and as having taken over the direction of the French Embassy.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, p.26-27, No.20

No. 90

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 408

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 5, 1928
(Received September 10, 1928)

My Lord,

In my despatch No.386 of the 14th August last I had the honour to report on a certain uneasiness which appeared to be discernible in Russo-Turkish relations. Shortly after that date the reciprocal exports and imports agreement was renewed as between the two countries. Although Russian exports to Turkey had fallen, Turkish exports to Russia, it was cheerfully announced, were to be allowed up to the previous maximum. But this renewal of the agreement has been far from stopping all friction. There have been bitter complaints in the press at the treatment accorded to Turkish traders in Russia who seem to have tried to evade the Soviet restrictions on the remittance of funds abroad and then to have been dealt with severely by the Soviet authorities.

2. From Trebizond Mr. Matthews reports the announcement by the local governor that in retaliation for the confiscation of Turkish properties in Russia the properties of Soviet nationals in Turkey are to be sequestered. A first step in this direction has actually been taken by the official sale at auction of the house occupied by the French consul, but as the Soviet national who owned it was by race a Greek, perhaps too serious an interference should not be drawn.

3. Arrests of persons suspected of Communist sympathies and activities continue — half a dozen here, one near the Russian frontier, two workmen who were charged with distributing pamphlets and collecting money at Angora. Mr. Matthews also reports that several officers are under arrest at Sarikamish for selling military documents. I have now been shown a copy of the manifesto mentioned in the last paragraph of my previous despatch as having been placarded at Angora. It announces the sixth congress of the Third International and calls on the Turkish Communist party — which, of course, cannot be said to exist — for support. It describes the Angora Government as imperialists who prostitute the word "people," the Grand National Assembly as bourgeois parasites, and the Ghazi, though it does not mention him by name, as an intolerable bourgeois dictator. This of course, is about as near blasphemy as one cannot get in this lay republic. It may explain the rumour — for which I cannot vouch — that my Soviet colleague recently distributed the sum of 500,000 dollars amongst the great ones of Angora.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 91

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 410

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 5, 1928
(Received September 10, 1928)

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No. 391 of the 22nd August, I have the honour to enclose a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Trebizond reporting that there, too, the movement for the spread of the new alphabet is in full swing. Mr. Matthews mentions that the interest of the inhabitants is in proportion to the difficulty they anticipate in learning the new letters. On the other hand, one hears of enthusiasm being aroused here and there among the illiterate by the Ghazi's asseveration that people who in all their lives have never been able to master the Arabic script will be able to acquire the use of the new Turkish letters in a few months.

2. The campaign is going on vigorously. The Ministry of Justice and even the Department of Religious Affairs have started courses of instruction in the new alphabet for their staffs. Tewfik Rushdi Bey declares that the correspondence of his department will shortly be conducted in the new characters. Members of the popular party are bidden to special courses at Dolma Bagtcheh Palace, and prisoners at Smyrna try to melt the heart of the Minister of Justice by presenting him with petitions addressed to the Ghazi in "Turkish" letters.

3. But the chief propagandist has continued to be the Ghazi himself. Crossing the Marmora in his yacht, he has paid surprise visits to Rodosto and Brussa, appeared at the Government offices there and lectured the officials about the alphabet. At Rodosto he went into a chemist's shop and invited a priest to write a sentence in Arabic. No one could read it. The Ghazi then wrote the same Arabic sentence in the new script and everyone - of course - read it with ease. The wireless was then called into play to describe from his yacht at midnight the Ghazi's indignation with someone who wrote to enquire what was to become of the Arabic texts displayed in mosques. Such individuals, declared the Ghazi, must be rank fools not to realise that the introduction of the new script was the will of the people. Mustafa Kemal himself, or anyone who sought to resist it, would be crushed, and, with the tacit warning to any who might be to resent the imminent disappearance of Arabic from Moslem worship, the wireless station was told it might close down for the night.

4. On the 1st and 2nd instant the Ghazi visited Chanak and the Gallipoli battlefields and town. Again he addressed the officials on the subject of the alphabet, and his reminiscences of historic events on the peninsula were

reproduced in the press largely in the new characters. So the campaign goes on, but the minorities may have seen cause for anxiety in a recent leading article of the semi-official "Milliet," which said that with the removal of the barrier constituted by the old Arabic letters the assimilation of all racial elements would be easy and there would be nothing to warrant Greeks, Armenians and Jews in Turkey making use of their own languages any more.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, p.28, No.22

ENCLOSURE IN No. 91

Consul Matthews to Sir G. Clerk

No. 64

TREBIZOND, August 27, 1928

Sir,

I have the honour to report, for your Excellency's information, that the Ghazi's pronouncement at the Seral-Burnu Gardens, Constantinople, in favour of the use of the Latin alphabet was not unexpected here, and that the interest which it has excited is in like ratio to the inconvenience which it will cause to those of the inhabitants who, by the nature of their calling, are obliged to know how to read and write.

2. The local press and most motor cars have been using the new "international" figures instead of the old Arabic figures since the beginning of June last. Motor cars are now changing "Tirabzon" on their name plates from Arabic into Latin characters, while the local Turkish newspapers, "Yeni Yol" and "Ticaret Gazetesi," write a few sentences in each issue in the new characters.

3. The local "Turk Ojaghi" is organising classes to teach the new characters, and the Vali has asked the Ministry of the Interior for a supply of 50,000 copies of the new official alphabet.

4. A Mussulman of Baku, with whom I had a conversation to-day, informed me that the Latin characters had been successfully used by Moslem newspapers of the Soviet Caucasian republics for more than two years. He also informed me that the Minister of Public Instruction of Azerbaijan, who is a Mussulman, had recently prohibited modern dances like the "Charleston" as immoral, although such dances were approved by the Government in other portions of the Soviet union.

I have, &c.

W.D.W. MATTHEWS

F.O. 424/269, p. 28-29, No. 22/1

No. 92

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 426

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 19, 1928

(Received September 24, 1928)

My Lord,

On the 11th instant İsmet Pasha, accompanied by the Minister of Health, left Angora on a tour through Caesarea and Sivas to Malatya, the chief town of his own constituency. There, on the 13th, he delivered a long speech reviewing all the aspects of Turkish policy. On the subject of internal administration he claimed, with some justice, that all was quiet, and that in maintaining this happy state of affairs the Government did not have to employ any abnormal tribunals.

2. Turning to foreign affairs, İsmet Pasha remarked that the policy of the Government was a straightforward one, namely, to preserve the country's independence in any circumstances which might arise and to avoid being drawn into any "intrigues" against a third Power — not, he added, that any overtures of this kind had been made to the Government. True to its policy of promoting mutual understanding, the Government had made treaties with Afghanistan, Persia and Italy. The latter instrument had done much to dispel unfounded suspicions and to increase friendship. A treaty of arbitration, non-aggression and neutrality was being negotiated with Bulgaria. With Greece, Turkey had no serious political difference, but she could not remain indifferent to the losses of her citizens. For his part, he would do all in his power to effect the settlement which a recent friendly letter from M. Venizelos now encouraged him to hope for. Relations with Russia continued to be cordial. With Great Britain relations were normal — they were good. France was the Power chiefly concerned in the public debt settlement which cost Turkey such sacrifices. As regards Syria, the Government only wanted a real and a stable frontier. He would not deny that they had been perturbed by events on the Syrian frontier. They had in the higher political sphere no differences with France, and he hoped that the new French Ambassador would be disposed to settle the question quickly. Relations with Germany, Japan and other countries were good. The Government had decided to sign the Kellogg Pact because it exactly fitted in with the Turkish Government's ideals, more particularly since Mr Kellogg had himself interpreted it as not affecting the right of self-defence.

3. İsmet Pasha then dealt with economic affairs. He repeated that the Government had no intention of borrowing. They had vivid recollections of the disastrous consequences of foreign loans. They had got on very well without foreign money so far, — he added, with an optimism which all will not share — their railway programme would be finished in a few years. Next year they were

going to start on a £T.100 million programme of works designed, firstly, to stop floods from devastating agricultural land, and secondly, to irrigate it. While he wished his hearers to realise that "credit" was not an inexhaustible supply of money available for anyone to finance his own schemes, he was able to tell them that they would have a State bank in a year and that the Government was going to deal drastically with present methods of usury which, he truly observed, were rank robbery. The Government was also going to take steps to stabilise the currency and to prevent spending abroad.

4. The Pasha's peroration was devoted to the new alphabet. The whole movement, he said, was a campaign against ignorance. The object was none less than to make every individual able to read and write. Thus alone could the full development of later generations be assured. In this campaign against established tradition the Ghazi himself was going about like a village teacher and the whole country had been turned into a schoolroom.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, p.30-31, No.24

No. 93

Mr. Edmonds to Lord Cushendun

No. 437

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 27, 1928
(Received October 1, 1928)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that, leaving behind him a gracious message of farewell for the inhabitants of Constantinople, the Ghazi, accompanied by his particular friends, set out on the 14th instant by way of the Black Sea for Angora. He chose this route in order to add a fillip to the propagation of the new letters. After touching at Sinope he was met at Samsoun by Ismet Pasha and the Minister of Health, and the whole party travelled by rail and car via Amassia, Tokat, Sivas and Caesarea to Angora, where the customary ovation had been prepared. At each place the Ghazi's blackboard was set up in the market-place, and he lectured the people about the new alphabet. At Sivas, it is reported, the mayor's 6 year-old son wrote without a mistake, while the Ghazi taught a totally illiterate butcher to write his name in ten minutes, thereupon adjuring him to teach all the other butchers in the town; 1928 is, therefore, likely to be regarded as an *annus mirabilis*.

2. The authorities state that 56,000 adults learnt to read and write the old Arabic characters in 1927. They are convinced — and rightly — that the new

alphabet will make the rate of progress very much quicker. Fifteen thousand teachers are being trained to teach the new letters. Text-books are being printed for immediate use. A new dictionary, it is confidently announced, will be turned out in a few weeks. In Constantinople alone 200 class-rooms have been opened for teaching the new alphabet. At a word from the committee of the Popular party Deputies have left the comfort of their homes in Constantinople and Smyrna and, in imitation of their chief, are touring their unfamiliar constituencies in order to stimulate the new movement. The Ghazi is being still more closely identified with it. The new letters are called the Ghazi's alphabet. He replies in person — by telegram — to someone who suggests that the prescribed use of the letters "g" and "k" is less perfect than it might be, that the alphabet is fixed for ever. A few days previously he has himself decreed the abolition of the newly prescribed hyphen as a help to the unlearned. No accessible part of the country feels secure from a visit of examination by the Ghazi, and so intense has been the propaganda in general that official departments are now announcing the introduction of the new writing for the first of next month.

3. Amongst other departments the Directorate of Religious Affairs has made this announcement, presumably with a certain malicious glee, for it is easy to imagine the consternation of the priests, who depend on this Directorate for their monthly pittance. The public in general has come to realise that the introduction of the new alphabet is a much more serious affair than the imposition of the hat. The Turkish parent sees that his child will grow up unable to read the Koran unless it be translated into Turkish and transcribed into the new characters. He sees also that the priests who are still authorised to officiate are, as a class, likely to take unkindly to the new alphabet. It is plain that in the result there will be a further diminution of religious influence. The children who grow up unable to read Arabic characters will be subject at most to the influence of such religious books as the Government may permit to be put into the new writing, and of such priests as may be modern enough to qualify for teaching the books approved. It is small wonder that among the uneducated there are absurd rumours afloat about the Ghazi intending to pervert the whole country to Christianity.

4. It is not generally known, but it appears to be a fact, that some time ago the Ghazi thought of building a mosque near his house at Chan Kaya, where a modernised form of worship could be practised. He was dissuaded from the project by his friends, who felt it to be premature. But some idea of what he had in mind can be gained from the recommendations of a commission which sat at the university here this summer to consider adapting the forms of Moslem worship to modern conditions. Pews and music were to be introduced, ablutions dispensed with, boots and shoes admitted, and the liturgical language was to be Turkish. The commission even ventured into the domain of dogma, and suggested that the whole interpretation of Moslem scriptures should be overhauled in the light of

modern science and philosophy. Suddenly the rector of the university issued an official denial that any such scheme was under consideration, and no more has been heard of the matter. It cannot, however, have been forgotten by the people, and no doubt the official intention is to proceed with it whenever the moment is felt to have come. It is to be ascribed not so much to a silly desire to make Turkey appear modern as to an honest conviction that religion as practised in Turkey has been a bar to the country's progress.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/269, p.31-32, No.25.

No. 94

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 444

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 4, 1928

(Received October 8, 1928)

My Lord,

In my despatch No.406 of the 5th September last, I had the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival of the new French Ambassador in Turkey and the difficulties he had experienced in entering officially upon his fonctions. The Ghazi having now returned to Angora, M. de Chambrun has at last been able to present his letters of credence and the formal ceremony took place on the 28th September. Copies of the speeches exchanged on this occasion, as reported in the semi-official "Milliet," are enclosed herein.

2. When M. de Chambrun paid me his first official call after his provisional recognition by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as reported in my despatch referred to above, he said that he was happy to think that the relations between the French and British Governments had never been so close as they were now, and he had every confidence that he and I would work together in the same spirit; nevertheless, he continued, since France had not the good fortune of England to possess a continuous foreign policy, he felt that in his relations with the Turkish Government he must infuse more "coeur" — which I took to be M. de Chambrun's method of discounting any doubts that might possibly arise subsequently in my mind owing to the warmth of his Excellency's assurances of the unique affection of France for Turkey, and to the thought that perhaps his intensive pursuit of Turkish affection might not really conduce to our common interests. It was therefore with little surprise that I read the cordial language of the speeches exchanged between his Excellency and the Ghazi, or the declaration of the Ambassador to the

Constantinople journalists on his return from Angora that Angora was the heart of Turkey and that the French Embassy must forthwith be established there. Incidentally, I venture to observe that, with Italy prepared to spend over £200,000 on building an Embassy in Angora (see Sir R. Graham's despatch No.569 of the 3rd August), and the intentions of France as now announced by M. de Chambrun, it becomes more than ever politically important for the credits of our more modest building estimates to be granted in the next budget.

3. How far M. de Chambrun will find the Turks prepared to respond is another matter. They know the value of words as well as anyone, and their new-found friendship with Italy—a friendship which the Italians lose no opportunity to emphasise—will tend to make the Turkish Government more intractable in its negotiations with the French. The Ghazi did indeed reply in equally cordial terms to M. de Chambrun's speech, but it was significant that the semi-official "Milliet" should have chosen the particular day on which the ceremony took place to devote its leading article to the woes of Syria under foreign occupation, and to the need of that suffering country for a Mustafa Kemal. The "Milliet" has, indeed, since published a further article eulogising France in general and her new Ambassador in particular. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the Turks will be induced by flattering words alone to give way to the French thesis on the Syrian frontier question.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O.424/269, p.32, No.26

No. 95

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 482

ANGORA, October 30, 1928
(Received November 12, 1928)

My Lord,

I have the honour to report that yesterday, together with four members of my staff, I dully attended the official celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

2. As was the case last year, the presidential receptions were held in the building of the Grand National Assembly, where the Ghazi received the President of the Assembly, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, former Deputies and all the high naval and military officers, judges and other officials in Angora, and, finally, the heads of foreign missions in full uniform, accompanied by their staffs. The

time-table went a little wrong and we had to wait in a small overhauled reception room for three-quarters of an hour beyond the time set down for our reception; but I think this was only normal inefficiency, while the fact that foreign missions were the last to be received was really a kindness, inasmuch as it meant we were not obliged to hang about waiting for the ceremonial parade while other receptions were being held.

3. This parade consisted of the troops of the division stationed at Angora, boy scouts, girl guides, students of the primary and secondary schools, and representatives of various societies and guilds, all, with the exception of the naval cadets and of two specially favoured companies of boy scouts from Smyrna and Konia, drawn from Angora itself. The features that impressed me most were the homogeneity and sturdiness of the Anatolian peasants in the various regiments, the improvement in the physique and appearance of the boy scouts, and the performance of the military band just across the narrow street where the parade was held, which for two hours with drum and trumpet reiterated the same twenty bars without a pause. A similar celebration is held on the same day in every town of importance in Turkey and what I saw was only what Angora itself could produce, but if the youth of the other districts is of the same quality the Turks have every reason to be hopeful for the future.

4. In the evening the Minister for Foreign Affairs gave a State banquet at the new hotel, at which the Ghazi, the heads of missions, the Cabinet Ministers and other high Turkish dignitaries were present. The dinner was followed by a ball given by the "Turk-Ojaghi," which was crowded and hot but decorous. At least it was soup to 5 A.M., which was the hour when I retired, the Ghazi having caught hold of me as I was slipping away at a more reasonable time and kept me in conversation for over two hours. I should add that this conversation, though most friendly both to myself and to the country which I have the honour to represent, was of no special political importance.

I have,&c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, p.40-41, No.34

No. 96

*George R. Clerk to Ronald, Foreign Office**Private*ANGORA, 30th October 1928

My dear Ronald,

I have recorded in my despatch No.482 of to-day the official festivities celebrating the birth of the Turkish republic. They culminated in the dinner given last night by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Madame Tewfik Rushdi, followed by a ball arranged by, and on behalf of the funds of, the Turk Ojaghi.

The chief features of the dinner were that it lasted nearly three hours, that the Ghazi was present for the first time on such an occasion, and that, at almost the last moment, he had insisted on including the Turkish Ministers as well, thereby driving both the Chef de Protocol and the caterer almost to despair.

At the subsequent ball the Ghazi and all the Turkish notabilities were in the best of spirits, but there was a notable advance in general decorum. The crowd and the heat were intolerable, and shortly after 1 o'clock I was making an unobtrusive way bedwards when I was spotted and invited by the Ghazi to sit beside him and pledge our friendship in a bumper. Sabih Bey, the Iraqi, and Ratib, the new Egyptian, with his pretty and very civilised Circassian wife, were also summoned, but the usual crowd of hangers-on were kept at a distance. Besides a silent A.D.C., there were only present Kel Ali, the ex-hanging judge of the Extraordinary Tribunal, now apparently restored to full favour, and a couple of obsequious deputies.

The Ghazi who, contrary to his usual practice, spoke all the time in French, began by very friendly, almost embarrassing, references to myself, and then, "after compliments", expressed his admiration for England and English ways; we could forget the past and be friends; each of our countries had need of the other; but he was not pleased with France: why could not the French leave Turkey alone to work out her own destiny quietly, which was all Turkey wanted to do: she wished for no more territory, but it was not right to ask her to give up any of the territory she actually possessed: surely it was small enough as it was.

He then expounded at great length the doctrine of the new alphabet to my Iraq and Egyptian colleagues, and told them that their countries must follow Turkey's example or drop behind in the march of progress. I think I said something about the cleverness of using the element of surprise — people found themselves studying the new alphabet almost before they realised it — whereupon the Ghazi replied, "But I have a bigger surprise than that in store. Can a State exist without a religion?" I answered as I was meant to do, that with the possible exception of Soviet Russia, to the best of my knowledge no State had done so as

yet. "It can," said the Ghazi, "You will see. You understand me, don't you?" with a broad wink. I imagine this to be an indication of an early and complete abolition of the Islamic faith, not merely its separation from the State a development which has been ripening for some time. It will be interesting to see if the Ghazi, with all his prestige and power, will dare to go as far as this and bring it off successfully.

There was not much else of interest in the Ghazi's conversation, which went on for nearly three hours, by which time I confess that the excessive heat of the room and the incessant punctuation of the Ghazi's best points by more champagne — there were no convenient palms behind which I could hide my glass — had rendered me incapable of paying very close attention to his eloquence. But I think the incident is worth unofficial record, as the friendliness of the Ghazi was very marked, even allowing for some of it being vinous. As I have said, the usual throng of Ministers, deputies and sycophants was banished, and Mustafa Kemal frequently exclaimed that since happily Tewfik Rushdi was not there — His Excellency was hanging about disconsolately within earshot — he need not bother about diplomacy, for which he had no use. He then went so far, after my repeated refusals of his cigarettes, as to send one of the two attendant deputies to fetch my pipe from my room in the hotel where I was staying and where the ball was being held, a precedent which has probably made Safveti Zia add a new chapter to his book on etiquette.

Of course much of this is trivial and its importance should not be exaggerated, while a good deal may be attributed to the desire to mark that France is for the moment out of favour. But the Ghazi does not do these sort of things without purpose, and I think he also wanted to show that he was beginning to feel confidence in our Turkish policy and to believe that we have a genuine desire for friendliness and understanding which he appreciates and is ready to reciprocate.

Yours ever

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/15089/ E.5383.

No. 97

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 468

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 31, 1928

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith an extract from the "Milliet" reporting the presentation of letters of credence to the President of the Republic by the new Ministers of Poland, Egypt and Irak and containing extracts from the speeches exchanged between them and the Ghazi.

2. The terms of Sabih Bey's speech are rather oriental, but when he submitted it to me beforehand in draft form I did not feel that any alteration was necessary. The two other speeches are harmless and call for no detailed comment.

I have, &c.

(for the Ambassador)

Signed:...

F.O. 371/13095/ E. 5263

No. 98

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 483

ANGORA, November 1, 1928

(Received November 12, 1928)

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No.482 of the 30th October last, I have the honour to report that the heads of missions were invited to attend the opening of the new session of the Grand National Assembly which took place this afternoon.

2. I enclose a copy of the presidential speech on this occasion. There is nothing in it which was not said by the Prime Minister at Malatia on the 13th September last, except at the end, where the Ghazi urged the need for the new alphabet.

3. Owing to the admirable innovation of providing us beforehand with the text of the speech in French, I was able to follow its delivery closely, and I was struck by the complete indifference with which the Deputies received that part of the speech which is devoted to foreign affairs. While most of the Ghazi's points connected with internal administration and development were loudly applauded, his references to foreign affairs were greeted with silence, except for a faint "hear, hear" at the

mention of the reforms instituted by the King of Afghanistan, and still fainter and, indeed, regretful applause of his Excellency's observation that the settlement of the Ottoman Debt had been inspired by the obligation one's debts and maintain one's credit.

4. Immediately the Ghazi had finished his speech he left the Chamber and the business of passing the law for the new alphabet was tackled. The new officers of the Assembly were instantly elected, the Bill establishing the new alphabet was brought in, the examining commission was appointed, and within fifteen minutes reported that its terms were admirable in every way, and the first, second and third readings were passed unanimously forthwith, and only unexpected addition to the two or three speeches *de circonstance* being the suggestion by an enthusiastic Deputy that a golden plaque with the new characters embossed in gold be presented to the Ghazi by a grateful House, a motion which was also unanimously carried.

5. The practical result is that from the 1st December next the new characters will be compulsory in newspapers and public notices. By the 1st January they will be brought into use by official departments, though these departments can make concurrent use of the Arabic characters for another five months and may keep certain registers in the old script until June 30.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/269, P.41, No.35

No. 99

George R. Clerk to Lord Cushendun

No. 492

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 14, 1928

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch No.456 of October 18 last I have the honour to report that M. Henri Martin presented his letters of credence to the President of the Republic on the 11th instant.

2. The speech addressed to the Ghazi on this occasion by M. Martin was loaded with unusually fulsome flattery of the Turks in general and of His Excellency in particular. The speech appears in this morning's "Milliet" largely in italics and forms the subject of a delighted leading article in that journal.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13095/ E. 5485

No. 100

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 506

Confidential

ANGORA, November 27, 1928

(Received December 3, 1928)

Sir,

It might well be thought that the introduction of compulsory education in Turkey and the adoption of the new alphabet would have more than satisfied the present appetite of the Turkish Government for educational reforms, but, if information which has just been given to Mr. Helm is accurate — and I have every reason to credit it — this is far from being the case. The further reform now contemplated will, it is true, only affect the small percentage of the population of this country, but, if carried out, must be of great importance. It envisages, in fact, the abandonment of French as the chief, and in many cases the only, foreign language to be taught in Turkish secondary schools and its replacement by English.

2. The source of this information is Falih Rifki bey, Deputy for Bolu, and, after the Ghazi, perhaps the most industrious propagator of the new alphabet, he having been president of the commission which was responsible for its elaboration. To him at least, the idea is not by any means new, for, when in the spring he informed a member of the Embassy staff of the decision to change the alphabet, he added that there was then a strong movement in favour of the adoption of the English language, and that this reform would certainly follow. At the time the eventuality appeared to His Majesty's Ambassador to be so remote that he did not consider it worth reporting officially. Latterly, however, there have been many signs of the way the wind was blowing, as, for instance, the widespread desire of Deputies, officials and Turks of all classes to learn English, a very marked increase this session in the number of pupils attending the English High School for Boys in Constantinople and a recent request of the head of the Turkish oğlaks for an English lecturer. Finally, in the course of a private conversation this week, Falih Rifki Bey stated that the decision to replace French by English had now been definitely taken, though it was being kept as confidential as possible until the necessary preparations had been made for the change, which, of course, could only be effected gradually. The present idea was to establish lycées at Constantinople, Angora, Smyrna and the bigger towns throughout the country. At these lycées a large part of the instruction would be given by English teachers, and he expected that ultimately some 110 Englishmen would be engaged. He realised that the matter of language would present some difficulty, but foreigners could now learn Turkish with much greater facility than formerly, and the difficulty would therefore be a passing one. The authorities were, at any rate, determined that the teachers should come from

England and not be locally-born British subjects who possessed neither the British nor the Turkish mentality. Falih Rifki Bey did not definitely ask for the assistance of His Majesty's Embassy — probably matters have not gone far enough for that yet — but he did hint at it, and Mr. Helm informed him that, if approached, the Embassy would be only too pleased to render the Turkish Government all possible assistance.

3. It would of course, be idle to pretend that this important decision is prompted by love for Great Britain. It does, nevertheless, arise out of a deep-seated and often expressed respect for British institutions and methods and a like confidence in the greater value — for material purposes at any rate — of Anglo-Saxon as opposed to Latin culture. A general feeling is, in fact, abroad in the highest quarters here that the spread of the English language and of Anglo-Saxon culture is essential if Turkey and the Turks are to benefit to the fullest possible extent from the reforms which have been effected under the present régime. Though this conviction has been existent for some time, it is, nevertheless, probable that this latest reform might have been indefinitely postponed but for a number of visits which have been paid by prominent Turks to Western Europe and America in the last two years. Perhaps the decisive factor was a visit which Falih Rifki Bey and two other Deputies paid in the summer of 1927 to Rio de Janeiro, where they represented Turkey at an interparliamentary congress. On that occasion they visited São Paulo and other prosperous Brazilian ports, where they were much impressed by the manner in which British and American business men have on less than equal terms secured possession of all the important branches of trade. Later visits to other countries merely strengthened this impression, and also made these Turks realise that English is the language of world trade commerce. From that time Falih Rifki Bey started to work for the spread in Turkey of the English language, of which he himself does not speak a word. He is in close touch with the Ghazi, and it was certainly not without the approval of the latter that last winter he published in the semi-official newspaper a series of articles in which he preached the desirability of the adoption of English as the first foreign language in Turkey. To his efforts the recent decision must be largely due, and he now says that, in order to obtain fresh ammunition for his campaign, he will proceed next summer on an official mission to the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain and America.

4. As suggested above, this reform has been prompted by a desire for material advantages. But if it is persisted with, it may have considerable moral effects, for the Turkish character is likely to take more kindly to Anglo-Saxon than to Latin culture, which with the Turk is rarely more than a veneer. The most obvious political effect is that French susceptibilities will be cruelly injured, and that seems to be why the Turkish Government is keeping the scheme dark at present — for French educational interests are deeply entrenched here. Their position has, it is

true, been considerably shaken in recent years — as, for instance, by the regulations forbidding religious teaching in any schools in Turkey — but even so, it is still strong. Of Turks who know a foreign language to-day, the vast majority know only French, and for one who knows something of England a hundred will have some acquaintance with France. We are, in consequence, often misunderstood in politics and always handicapped in trade. For our part, therefore, we can only welcome the prospect of greater intercourse.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/269, p. 49-50, No. 43

No. 101

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 527

ANGORA, December 4, 1928

(Received December 10, 1928)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the question of the Ottoman public debt came before the Grand National Assembly on the 30th ultimo. It had previously been discussed at a meeting of the Popular party, and it was there decided, in accordance with the Ghazi's clearly-expressed wish, that the agreement made with the bondholders' representatives on the 13th June, 1928, should be accepted in the general economic interest of the country and this long-standing difference with Western Europe cleared out of the way.

2. Last Saturday's debate in the Assembly was, therefore, not much more than a performance staged for the benefit of the outside world, particularly the French. The Minister of Finance described the situation in moderate terms. Other Deputies reached considerable heights of rhetoric in describing the onerous terms of the old loans, the anti-Turkish character of the Debt Administration, the injustice of demanding further payments from a country after wasting its life and wealth by war. Two motions were presented demanding the postponement of a matter which chiefly concerned France until vital questions now under discussion with that country should be settled. To these the Minister for Foreign Affairs replied by begging the Assembly that it should trust the Government to safeguard the country's political interests and should not insist on connecting two distinct questions. To emphasise the correctness of his attitude, Tewfik Rushdi Bey sent round to the missions concerned — at midnight — copies of the motions and of his answer.

3. The general tone of most of the speakers was one of sober recognition of the need for settlement, and, after a debate of seven hours' duration, the Assembly approved the agreement by a large majority. It added two conditions, however, providing that the interests of the State must be preserved a) in the division of certain outstanding portions of the Tripoli indemnity and of the reserve fund; b) in connexion with the withdrawal of Ottoman notes issued in and after 1914.

4. Munir Bey, the Turkish Minister at Berne, who has been the Government's legal adviser in this question since its beginning, happens to be here, and told me that, in his private opinion, these reservations would not in any way affect the validity of Turkey's ratification or the bondholders' rights. The Minister of Finance expressed himself to the same effect to members of the French Embassy. The press of the following day explained the second proviso by a statement that the excess (given variously as £T. 600,000 and £T. 900,000) of the old notes presented for exchange over the Debt Administration's estimate of the total of that issue is due to malpractice on the part of officials of the administration.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/269, p.57-58, No.50

No. 102

Mr. Troutbeck to Sir Austen Chamberlain

*No. 61 (Extract)
(Telegraphic)*

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 20, 1928
(Received December 20, 1928)

The "Times" correspondent has communicated to me what he states is authentic confirmation that a fresh plot on a large scale has been discovered against the Ghazi and the present Government. Over 150 arrests have, he states, been effected at Brussa and Constantinople. The persons arrested include Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas and other Oppositionists. Independent Tribunals are to be re-established forthwith.

(Repeated to Angora, No.52.)

F.O. 424/269, p.62, No.54

No. 103

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 548

ANGORA, December 21, 1928

(Received December 31, 1928)

Sir,

In continuation of my despatch No.504 of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to report that Signor Grandi, accompanied by his wife, arrived here on the 18th instant after spending a day at Constantinople. He met with a very warm official welcome. He was received by the Ghazi and the Prime Minister. The latter entertained him at luncheon. The Minister for Foreign Affairs gave in his honour a big dinner at the new hotel and afterwards a ball, to which the Diplomatic Corps was invited. The next night much the same dinner and ball were given in the same place by the Italian Ambassador. At the first of these dinners formal speeches were exchanged. Tewfik Rushdi Bey spoke of the two countries' mutual policy as being based on a common interest in peace and consolidation and on mutual confidence. He referred to Signor Grandi as having inspired that policy and carried out. In reply, Signor Grandi struck a note which could not fail to please when he said that Italy could understand Turkey because both countries had had the same political experience in recent years. Each had made sacrifices for independence. Each had, in the time of crisis, found a great leader with a firm hand and an iron will.

2. The press has for some time past been indulging in laudatory remarks about Signor Mussolini, Fascism, Italian institutions in general and Italian policy. It has now welcomed Signor Grandi in cordial terms and has regarded his visit as a noteworthy mark of the close understanding which now exists between the two countries. The semi-official "Milliet" declares that, although certain countries may affect to think otherwise, Italo-Turkish friendship can but make for peace in the Mediterranean.

3. It has been suggested that Signor Grandi's real purpose was to discuss Turco-Greek or even Turco-Albanian relations. These subjects may have been touched on, but there seems to be no reason to think that Signor Grandi's primary purpose was more than to return the visit which Tewfik Rushdi Bey paid to Italy earlier in this year. Italo-Turkish relations have — on the surface, at any rate — changed completely since the signing of the treaty. Signor Orsini-Baroni seems to have succeeded in convincing the Turks that they have nothing immediate to fear from Italy. The Turk's suspicions appear to have been replaced by a degree of confidence. This confidence is probably entertained with definite reservations, but it suits Turkish policy, particularly while there are questions pending with France and Greece, to make much of the new friendship.

4. Signor Grandi left Angora yesterday intending to return straight home and to visit Athens early in the new year. Standing bareheaded in the sleet, slush and dark at the station, he assured Tewfik Rushdi Bey that he could not find words to express his feelings.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador in Rome.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/269, p.75, No.58

No. 104

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 549

CONSTANTINOPLE, December 27, 1928

(Received December 31, 1928)

Sir,

Public interest has been considerably stirred during the past week by rumours of the discovery of a large scale plot against the present régime. The first information that reached this Embassy on the subject came from the "Times" correspondent. I would refer in this connexion to Mr. Troutbeck's telegram No.61 of the 20th December from Constantinople. Since then, the air has been full of rumours, but authentic information is less easy to obtain, and I have purposely refrained from cross-questioning Turkish officials on the subject.

2. Two points however, may, I think, be stated with conviction: the first is that the Government took a serious view of the development; otherwise it would hardly have forbidden all reference to the matter in the press for the first twenty-four hours, nor be still inspiring the press to protest so vehemently that the affair is of no importance. Secondly, the Government clearly has the situation now in hand, and the only question before it is to decide upon the punishment fit for the crime. In any case, I was informed on excellent authority that there is no question of reconstituting the independence tribunals for the purpose.

3. The full measure of censorship was withdrawn after the first day, and the press has since been full of disconnected and somewhat contradictory accounts of the story. Its chief *motif* clearly inspired by the Government, is to minimise the seriousness of the whole affair. Thus, it denies that any persons of note, such as Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas, were implicated or that those arrested were in any relationship with the ex-Sultans family, as early rumours had suggested; it declares that there was no connection between the arrests at Brusa and those at Constantinople, and that the arrests at Brusa were nothing more than the natural result of an attempt to set free a Circassian bandit from the gaol; it is inclined to ignore the events at Brusa, which seem to have been the more serious, and to

concentrate upon those at Constantinople, where it states that some fourteen persons are now under arrest and cross-examination on the ground of illegal reactionary activities. The persons arrested in Constantinople, it states, belong almost exclusively to a single family, the head of which is a drawing-master aged 70; the worst suspicions, however, fall upon a younger member of the family, named Kadrié Hanum, who was recently discovered to have visited Angora in possession of a revolver. But the reports that have hitherto filled the pages of the press are so incoherent as to render any intelligible account impossible.

4. As regards the events at Brusa, I have had the advantage, thanks to the courtesy of the French Embassy, of hearing the story as reported by the French consul at that city, and it is on this report that I chiefly base my belief that the affair was more serious than the Government or the press would have one believe. According to this report, military measures of a precautionary nature had been taken a month ago at Brusa, which was always something of a reactionary centre and harbouring, as it does, a prominent reactionary in the person of Nureddin Pasha, a retired general, was believed to be the headquarters of a secret anti-Government society. These measures were reinforced last week, and, with the assistance of the military authorities, over a hundred persons were arrested, including priests, soldiers, the governor of the prison and certain persons who attempted an assault upon the prison with the object of setting political prisoners free. Machine-gun posts were then placed round the prison and the town was patrolled at night. This is a very different story from that given by the Turkish press.

5. I have received no confirmation of the original report that such figures as Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekir Pashas were among those first arrested, and in the absence of such confirmation I am inclined to believe the denials of the press. But whether or no these men were implicated, one thing stands out clear. Reaction is not dead in the country, and the Government still has need of the mailed fist to carry out its programme of reforms. It is inevitable that a reform of so fundamental a nature as the compulsory abolition of the Arabic characters must give rise to discontent, more especially among the religious-minded, to whom Arabic is the sacred language. Any weakness on the part of the Government would undoubtedly prompt the malcontents to assert their beliefs, and it is possible that the recent movements in Afghanistan may have suggested the occasion for the present plot. Those who hate the Government, however, lack cohesion, and most of their leaders are abroad. Consequently, Mustafa Kemal's Government seems to have as firm a hold on the country as ever.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

No. 105

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austin Chamberlain

No. 5

ROME, January 1, 1929
(Received January 7, 1929)

Sir,

Signor Grandi tells me that his visit to Angora was a success. As he had previously informed me, it had little or no business import, and was simply part of an exchange of courtesies between the Italian and Turkish Governments. Signor Grandi had been received with extreme cordiality and a hospitality which he could only describe as excessive. He had never in his life seen so much hard drinking. Of the two dinners given in his honour, one had lasted three hours and a quarter, and the other three hours and three-quarters, after which Mme Grandi had collapsed in tears. He was much impressed with the personality of Mustafa Kemal, and also with the immense effort the Turks were making to render Angora a habitable capital. But he must admit that he sympathised with the reluctance of the Italian Ambassador, a reluctance which he had previously been inclined to criticise, to betake himself to Angora more than was strictly necessary. It was, however, clear that there was great difficulty in the Embassies doing business from Constantinople, and the German and Soviet Ambassadors resident in Angora enjoyed a considerable advantage. He felt that sooner or later, although there was no immediate hurry, the Italian Embassy would have to be transferred to Angora.

2. Signor Grandi said that he had given out on his arrival that he had no wish to discuss Turco-Greek relations, but in the end, he had been obliged to listen to a good deal about them. His impression was that the Turks did not in the least share M. Veniselos's desire to come to terms.

3. Signor Grandi added that he would start on his visit to Athens on the 14th instant.

I have, &c.

R. GRAHAM

P.S.- I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

F.O. 424/270, p.4. No.2

No. 106

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 1

ANGORA, January 1, 1929
(Received January 7, 1929)

Sir,

Nothing further has been made public about the plot upon which I had the honour to report in my despatch No.549 of the 27th ultimo. Having scotched the trouble the Government now seems resolved to keep quiet about its real character, while deflecting public interest towards the trial of persons at Constantinople only remotely connected with it.

2. No account of the matter can, or perhaps ever will, be given with absolute certainty, but I think the following details which I have from a good source are probably reliable: The leader of the movement at Brusa is said to have been a certain Colonel Pir Mehmed, a Circassian, who was the head of the military recruiting depot there. His confederates were other junior officers, and their plan was to murder Ali Hikmet Pasha, the commandant of the local army corps, and perhaps other senior officers, and then to lead the corps against Angora. The plot is said to have been disclosed by a woman. Colonel Mehmed was no doubt the "Circassian bandit," and the attack on the Brusa gaol was doubtless conducted by his confederates who wanted to set him free. It may be presumed that he has been disposed of summarily. There is still no confirmation of the suggested complicity of the retired generals who used to form the parliamentary Opposition. The plot is said to have evolved from general discontent with the present régime. Whether it was supported by the ex-Imperial family or by other Turkish *émigrés* it is impossible to say. It seems rather to recall the proceedings of 1908 when two junior officers, Major Enver Bey and Captain Niazi bey, raised the Salonica Army Corps against Abdul Hamid. Another element in the present situation is that, according to my informant at any rate, a woman, presumably the Kadrié Hanum, mentioned in my previous despatch, got with a revolver as far as the Ghazi's ante-room at Chan Kaya before arousing the suspicions of an aide-de-camp. It must be supposed that she was acting in conjunction with the Brusa conspirators.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/270, p.4-5, No.3

No. 107

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 2

ANGORA, January 1, 1929
(Received January 7, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that in pursuance of the regulations outlined at the end of Sir G. Clerk's despatch No.483 of the 1st November last the new alphabet has now been in general use for nearly a month without any great disturbance having been noticeable in the administrative, commercial or private life of the country. Newspapers have a reduced circulation, correspondence in and with official departments takes even longer than usual, and no doubt there is plenty of grumbling all over the country, but the change has been carried through. At Angora and Constantinople it will have been more thorough than at smaller or remote places. To make it more complete "national schools" are being opened to-day wherever possible to enable all adults between the ages of 16 and 40 to acquire the art of reading and writing. By the irony of fate, Nejatî Bey, the Minister of Education, to whose energy the measure is due, died this morning.

2. A picture of the general position in the provinces is suggested by a despatch from Mr. Were at Trebizond, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy herein*. In one or two respects the view which Mr. Were has had of the local situation at Trebizond seems to have misled him about the general question. The Government hardly flatters itself that discarding Arabic characters will bring the country all the progress which is desired, but it does consider those characters to have been one obstacle in the way of an advance. It is also taking steps to lessen the cumbrousness of the language, to which Mr. Were rightly draws attention. An order has already been put into force abolishing flowery phraseology in official correspondence, and the Ghazi himself has set a fashion for using short sentences, realising, no doubt, that the activity of his countrymen's minds has been trammelled by the need for thinking backwards, which literary Turkish has hitherto imposed. Nor is it correct to suppose that the Government does not take the reform seriously. As His Majesty's Ambassador has already pointed out, it is felt to be a definite modification of the whole religious and cultural tradition of the country.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 424/270, p.5, No.4

* Trabzon'un yazım cihizi yok.-B.N.Ş.

No. 108

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 5

CONSTANTINOPLE, January 7, 1929
(Received January 14, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith notes made by Mr. Troutbeck and Mr. Mallet on a tour which they recently undertook in Southern Anatolia.

2. The route taken was largely identical with that followed in November 1926 by Mr. Leeper and Mr. Helm, whose report on their journey was enclosed in Mr. Hoare's despatch No.605 of the 14th November, 1926, and the difference in the nature of the two reports is some measure of the gulf which divides the Turkey even of two years ago from that of to-day. In 1926 Turkey was passing through a phase of acute nervousness. She had made her voice heard in the councils of the nations, but she was far from sure of her position and was intensely suspicious of Italian designs. To-day all that is changed. She feels that temporarily, at least, her position is secured, and all her energies are devoted to the furtherance of those manifold internal reforms which the Ghazi considers as essential if the young republic is to make good. It is therefore for the light which they throw on the progress which has been and is being made that I venture to commend these notes to your consideration.

3. Nobody, and probably least of all the President of the Republic, would seek to minimise the magnitude of the task which the rulers of Turkey have set themselves in their endeavour to educate an illiterate population simultaneously with the introduction of a new and, certainly in some quarters, a suspected alphabet. But, as these notes show, the work goes steadily forward, while the press never tires of recording the steps taken for the spread of the new alphabet. State and municipal officials, under-secretaries, valis and door-keepers have to pass the prescribed examination within a fixed period or find themselves out of employment. There are no doubt reactionaries who seek to stem the tide of progress, however superficial that may be at the moment, but the drive goes steadily on, and even the most pessimistic cannot in their serious moments but agree with Mr. Troutbeck and Mr. Mallet in their conclusion that, if the Ghazi's firm control is maintained for some years more, and if excursions into more dangerous fields than have yet been visited are avoided, a considerable measure of permanent success may well attend the reforming labours of the present Turkish Administration.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

ENCLOSURE in No. 108

Notes on a Tour in Anatolia in November 1928

It is hardly necessary to say that a fortnight's tour in Anatolia is not long enough to form, and still less to allow one to express cut and dried opinions on the likelihood of the present modernising movement in Turkey coming to fruition. Nor was that our object. Our object was to see the people and the country with our own eyes, to see a part at any rate of the country's geographical features and the type, or rather types, of its population, to see at first-hand some of the more obvious factors that must chiefly count in the modernising effort, and to observe how far these efforts are yet showing above the surface. This report gathers together in a few brief notes the results of random observations made and recorded during the course of the tour.

Route.

The route taken was as follows:

November 16: Angora and Constantinople to Kutahia by Anatolian Railway.

November 17: Kutahia to Ushak by car.

November 18: Ushak to Smyrna by Smyrna Cassaba et Prolongement Railway.

November 18-21: Smyrna.

November 21-24: Smyrna to Mersina by Seiri Sefain steamer (Turkish line).

November 24-27: Mersina.

November 27: Mersina to Ulu Kishla by Bagdad Railway. Thence by car to Caesarea.

November 27-28: Caesarea.

November 28-29: Caesarea to Angora by new Turkish Railway.

Sparseness of Population.

The first factor that must strike the attention of any traveller in Anatolia is undoubtedly the extraordinary sparseness of the population as compared with the vastness of the country. This, of course, is so well known as perhaps scarcely to need emphasis. But its importance is such that it can hardly be repeated too often. Wherever the road or railway took us, it was the same story — miles on end of deserted country with nothing to break the monotony but tiny hamlets or, at the most, small villages. This is the first natural condition with which the reformer must contend. It is easy to see how serious a handicap it must be to material progress and, on the other hand, how strongly it must inevitably operate against all efforts towards changing the people's outlook. It cannot be the work of a moment to alter fundamentally the outlook of a villager living in a mud cottage tens of miles away from the nearest so-called town.

But if the new Turkey is to make good, she must in one way or another overcome this fundamental handicap. The territory she has inherited is rich

naturally, and she has in the past few years shown her capacity to hold it by force. But if she is to do more than leave it desert that it now is, and a constant temptation to enterprising neighbours, she must somehow raise the standard, and eventually the numbers, of her population, which is at present bowed down beneath poverty, ignorance and rampant disease. Population, it is true, can grow but slowly even with a prolific people such as the Turks, but, in the first instance, advantage must be taken of this factor. That the present Turkish Government is aware of its importance is shown by the widespread activities of the Ministry of Health. These have already done much to raise the general level of public health, and, if they are, sustained, the death rate finally reduced to a reasonable figure, and a more healthy stock substituted for the disease-ridden people of to-day, the ultimate result cannot fail to be considerable. In the immediate future an adequate population can to some extent be made good by the use of up-to-date methods of agriculture as is done, for example in Canada, where a population which falls far short of the official population of Anatolia cultivates half a continent and exports corn abroad; that Anatolia, given equal industry and the enlightenment of her people, could do the same, is proved by history, which tells us that in ancient days it was one of the granaries of the Eastern world.

Education.

It is clear that the leaders of present-day Turkey are aware of the problem, which they seem to be tackling on three chief lines. The first of this is education, and by education is meant not culture for its own sake, which has little interest for them, but effort towards material progress. Republican Turkey is spending more on schools and education than was ever spent in the days of the Sultans. At the moment it is concentrating on tackling the Latin alphabet in the hope, firstly, of bringing an end to the appalling illiteracy of the population, of opening for Turks the doors to the ideas of the West. It is surprising how far the new learning has already spread. At remote country school boys will proudly show to travellers their proficiency in A.B.C.; at Smyrna a resident complained that his houseboy neglected all his duties to study the new readers; at Mersina a hodja, though grumbling quietly at this "Giaur" writing, yet encouraged his daughter to learn both the Latin characters and English until, though still grumbling, he was obliged to study them himself; at Caesarea an ignorant peasant woman was gradually awakening to the realisation that one can talk on paper as well as in the air. The examples are trivial, but in all districts and in all classes the new alphabet is spreading. As yet its spread is perhaps more wide than deep. At Caesarea, for example, only one man in the post office can read the Latin characters, and to send a telegram the European must wait on his convenience. In some cases it must bring real hardship to officials who are already trying to cope with so much that is new, but in none did we hear doubts as to its inevitability, and the only places

where no signs of its advance were to be seen were the stations of the British Aidin Railway, whose names are still hidden in the toils of the Arabic calligraphy.

Security.

The second step in the programme is security, and this step has already been largely achieved in the western half of Anatolia. If the peasant is to produce, he must be secure. For six years now Republican Turkey has known external peace, and these years it has made good by developing the country's internal security. Now as never before can unarmed foreigners travel by day and by night, without escort and without thought of danger, over the long stretches of desolate country miles from human habitation. It is a fact of which the modern Turk is justly proud, and its economic significance must clearly be that the peasant, freed at last from foreign wars, from internal unrest, and from the worst oppressions of the tax-collector, will feel encouraged to produce, not as before only enough to provide for the needs of his own family, but as much as his land will bear.

Communications.

The third point is communications. The peasant must have easy access to markets in order that he may dispose of his surplus products. Railways largely strategic, for there can be little chance of any profit, are now being built across all Anatolia, and roads are under construction in every vilayet. Both the roads we traversed are old main roads of some importance. The road from Kutahia to Ushak is under repair along the first half of its length. Hundreds of men are doing their annual ten days' *corvée*, by means of which the vilayets carry out their programme. The Ulu-Kishla-Caesarea road is also under repair in places, and travellers are often obliged to leave the *chaussée* for the fields. Even so, little actual work is being done, and in bad weather no car could do the journey. But everywhere the use of motor traffic is developping. From Kutahia, buses run to Brusa and Tavshanli. At Smyrna Ford has a service agent to keep in repair the new cars he sells. At Mersina, he has another who has already disposed of fifty of his new cars. At Adalia we saw a car with the number plate of Sparta far up in the hills. From Ulu-Kishla, again, motor buses run to Caesarea and taxis wait for fares. Unfortunately the art of road making with the use only of good metal is yet to be learnt, and broken springs and cracked chassis will for many years yet bear witness to the fact that the old roads built for arabas and ox-carts will not withstand motor traffic.

Capital and Credit.

To sum up, then, security has been achieved, education and communications are progressing. But at every step reform finds itself faced with the crying need of capital and credit. The Turks themselves realise only too well their weakness. The first remark made by the Vali of Smyrna was to complain that foreign countries would not help Turkey to build her railways, and compelled her to do it out of her

own resources. His own town — with the exception of Constantinople, perhaps the wealthiest in Turkey — was an eloquent indication of how small those resources are. In his room at the Konak the plaster was still largely off the walls — a result of the earthquake earlier in the year. The heart of the city was burnt in 1922 and still lies in ruin. A start at rebuilding has indeed been made at one corner, and plans are ready for dealing with the rest, but it will be many years before the whole burnt area is inhabited again.

At Mersina the same tale of poverty was heard. An enterprising Swiss had started a market garden in the town, but though the soil is superbly rich, he finds it difficult to sell his products. The "pauvres diables," as he calls them, simply have not the money to spend.

Nationalism.

The difficulties are, naturally enough, made the most of by the foreign residents of Smyrna, who never tire of assuring one, as their brethren do in Constantinople, that the country will never stay the course, that taxation is breaking her trade, and that railways cannot be built out of income. Their views must, however, be received with some measure of reserve. Those of them who lived in the luxurious days of the Capitulations can never forgive the Nationalist Government for robbing them of their privileges. They wrap themselves up in their recollections of the past and brood bitterly on their departed glory. They will know nothing of Angora and can hear no good of it. One of the more generous admitted that Miss Ellison's new book had done him good by putting before him a point of view of which he had never before imagined the existence. But another defiantly asserted that no Turk now enters his house. Will such men do business in Turkey? For, if the Levantine hates the Turk, who has robbed him of his foreign protection, the Turk despises the Levantine, who has so long robbed him of the profits of his trade and then rewarded him with intrigue at every turn, while he both despises and fears a people with such a genius as the Greek for small civic settlements. The memories are all too recent of the Greek enclave at Aivali, of the advance of Greek traders and Greek settlers up the rich valleys of Smyrna. To-day Anatolia has become a Turkish land and henceforward the Turk is determined to be his own middleman. The big question, of course, is whether he is going to prove capable of replacing the Greek and the Armenian in the arts and crafts which he has till to-day despised as being beneath a warrior's notice. Now that he has expelled the despised alien races and is forced to rely upon himself, will he learn? The question has still to receive its final reply, but it may be said that he has already shown himself to be less unadaptable than the pessimists predicted. Bungling at first and inexperienced, the Turk has taken on himself a hundred technical tasks. He builds houses and railroads, he drives aeroplanes and cars. Childish he may be, as a child with a new toy, but children do grow up and learn. In a British-owned cotton mill in Smyrna the manager now employs a purely Turkish staff in the place

of one which formerly was Armenian and Greek. He asserts — and his judgement is exactly corroborated by that of another British mill manager at Mersina — that the Turk makes a satisfactory artisan. He is patient and obedient and suffers only from the fault of unsteadiness in application, which must be natural to all who leave the farm for the factory. Both managers admitted that technically the Turk was a satisfactory workman. May not this man learn also the technique of trade? At any rate, his rulers are doing all they can to make him learn, and the foreigner's lot in Turkey is not a happy one. Thus, the Eastern Carpets Company's factory, over which we were taken at Smyrna, has just been driven to give up its last British technical expert — a man of over twenty years' service with the firm — in order that it may benefit by the Encouragement of Industries Law. Similarly, the Smyrna-Aidin Railway Company is being continuously pressed to reduce its quota of British employees. These are only two examples, but the instances might be multiplied.

Diversity of Population.

Turkey, then, is very definitely for the Turks. That is to be learnt at Angora and Constantinople. What is not so often mentioned, but is equally striking to a traveller in Anatolia, is that the Turks are not one but many. One would naturally expect to find the men of the hills differing from the men of the plains, but, now that the Armenians and the Greeks driven from the country, it is surprising how clearly one still sees that the Turks are of many stocks, how far the men of Kutahia, for example, differ from those of Caesarea.

The two towns themselves are entirely unlike. The former wood-built, red tiled, full of trees and running water, crowded with picturesque hill-men and busy market places. The other grey and cold, with flat-roofed-stone houses screened suspiciously from the streets, its women impenetrably veiled and its commerce hidden in the dark bazaars. Yet Kutahia and Caesarea are both completely Turkish. For 3000 years Anatolia has been a hotchpotch. The Hittite and the Phrygian, the Greek and the Macedonian, the Persian and the Roman, the Seljuk and the Ottoman in turn have ruled the land, and two of them at least have forced their mould upon it and given it a semblance of unity. But none taught Anatolia the meaning of nationality. Now the Great War has given her a new isolation. The Armenian and the Greek are no more; the Kurd has been temporarily at least, subdued; the foreigner has withdrawn. The Greek war has taught her that the Turks are a people. Differences still remain between the hillman of Kurdistan and the fig-grower of the Meander, but a consciousness of unity has been born such as will henceforth unite Turkey in common resistance to the invader. This national unity is new born, but it is the gospel of the Ghazi and its propagation is rapid.

With nationalism so recent a growth, one would expect to find evidence of it in outward manners towards foreigners, more especially in the towns of the interior which are far removed from the outside world. In this, however, one is

agreeably surprised. There are no signs of xenophobia among the Turks one meets. From Valis downwards they are all only too ready to be polite, while their effusiveness can even at times be somewhat overpowering. If xenophobia is felt at all, it is at any rate carefully concealed except when directed against the Greeks, and, possibly, also the French, whose tails it is for political reasons desirable to twist at the present juncture. Two medical officers, who were our travelling companions to Ulu Kishla, after repeated but vain endeavours to get us to share their brandy and water at 8 o'clock in the morning, told us that, while they had no desire for another war, they would not object to a smack at the Greeks. Similar sentiments were expressed by an *échangé*, now living at Ada Bazar, who used to inhabit at Cavalla. No words he could use were too bad for the Greeks. In fact, he told the same story of their treatment of minorities as one hears on all sides in Constantinople told of the Turks. As regards the French, it seems that they are far from loved in Mersina district, where their forcible expulsion is still remembered with glee, while in Smyrna the authorities have just amused themselves by closing down a French school on the plea that it is conducting religious propaganda, though the particular offence occurred twelve months ago.

Conclusion.

What conclusion if any, is to be drawn from these notes? They say little that is new, but they may give a few indications of what modern Turkey is at. Here is no would-be aggressor in the Geneva sense of the word. Foreign adventure forms no part of her programme. All her thoughts are concentrated on one object, which, in a word, is westernisation. Nor is such a campaign without precedent in this part of the world. It has been tried before under conditions not too dissimilar from those existing in Turkey to-day. As soon as the mighty Bulgarian Empire accepted Christianity in the ninth century, advance was rapid and conspicuous. But what was the verdict of history? "Odysseus" tells us in his "Turkey in Europe":

"But the first Bulgarian Empire was short-lived. When we contemplate its sudden creation and wholesale adoption of Byzantine institutions, we are forcibly reminded of those modern States in the East which have chosen, or been supplied with, ready-made Constitutions of the most advanced European type. We may doubt if Simeon's rule was really effective in the remoter provinces, or exercised a lasting influence on many of the populations who owned his sway. At any rate, his successor was not strong enough to keep the fabric together."

Is history going to repeat itself on the other side of the Bosphorus — for Constantinople and its hinterland are of very secondary importance in Turkey to-day? He would be a rash man to give a definite answer to this question. Time alone can tell. The experiment is hazardous, Turkey's assets are few and her liabilities great — on the one side a country of great potential wealth, with a people inured

to hardship, on the other absence of numbers, of training, of money, in fact, of nearly everything which leads to progress.

But though the scales are heavily weighted against her, the new Turkey is facing her task with courage. Angora has so far, it is true, directed much of her attack to externals, and, in face of oriental traditions, ignorance and superstition, her course is probably not unwise. In making the collar and the bowler *de rigueur* in the capital she is doing more than effecting a change of dress. She is breaking a tradition and making possible a change of mentality. She is doing so even more by forcing Turkish women out of their seclusion and ignorance and so removing from every family a dead weight of passivity and ignorance. If she can stay the course, there is no reason why success should not crown her labours. To-day that success appears to be dependent more than anything else on the further lease of life of the strong man who guides his country's destinies. Should he be permitted to hold the reins of Government for at least another decade so that his reforms may become an essential part of the life of his people and so be much more than the superficial influence which they are to-day, success may possibly be achieved. If, on the other hand, his firm control is for any reason withdrawn, will not the historian of the future be able to say with Sir Charles Eliot: "His successor was not strong enough to keep the fabric together"?

J.M. TROUTBECK

W.I. MALLET

F.O. 424/270, p.7-12, No.5/1

No. 109

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 19

ANGORA, January 11, 1929

(Received January 21, 1929)

Sir,

It is perhaps only to be expected that little should be heard here regarding the alleged plot against the present régime, which Mr. Edmonds reported in his despatches No. 549 of the 27th ultimo and No.1 of the 1st January. What is surprising is that the matter is not even mentioned at all, thus affording still another instance of the divorce between Angora, where confidence is supreme, and Constantinople, where every unfavourable rumour is "broadcast" with all appearance of veracity and with ever-increasing local colour.

2. Undoubtedly there was some fire beneath the Constantinople smoke. There seem to have been several minor conflagrations. Of these, that at Constantinople was, as suggested by Mr. Edmonds, perhaps the smallest, and has, for obvious

reasons, been allowed to attract most public attention. Much more important was probably that at Brusa, though no revelations regarding its nature have yet been vouchsafed beyond short disconnected press paragraphs, which, when pieced together, show with some measure of certainty that the movement was of a religious nature, and that, in fact, the organisation behind it bore a title so well calculated to attract support as "The Association for the Protection of Religion." It can only be hoped, though not with any degree of confidence, that when the trial of the accused persons takes place further information regarding the nature of their crime will be made public.

3. In the meantime rumour has been busy with reports of outbreaks in other directions. A reactionary military movement was said to have been started at Konia, but details and confirmation are lacking. Then, a few days ago, the "İkdam" newspaper of Constantinople published, under leaded headlines, a telegram from its Angora correspondent reporting an insurrection of some seriousness at Sivas. Angora was roused to publish a complete official denial, proceedings are being taken against the newspaper, and the enterprising journalist now has a temporary home within the walls of Angora prison.

4. While Constantinople tends to exaggerate the importance of these incidents, they are, when placed against the general tranquillity of the country, seen in their true light, and their immediate suppression confirms a boast made to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the central administration is able, by means of its various organisations, daily to feel the pulse of every town and village and, in the public interest, to diagnose and deal with any irregularity which may be noted. In all such cases, said the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Government acted with immediate and admittedly harsh severity, as by so doing it saved itself from having to hang people on later.

5. But though one may recognise the ability of the Government to control these scattered movements, they are without significance. Since the introduction of the new alphabet and of compulsory education therein, the general inclination had been to assign this measure as a reason for any discontent, and that the Government realise that it has incurred some unpopularity by sending the whole population back to school is shown by the fact that İsmet Pasha intends to retain in his own hands the portfolio of Public Instruction vacated by the death of Nejatî Bey until the schooling of the nation is complete. I may mention also that quite recently the police, who formerly used to inspect the papers of those travelling between Constantinople and Angora, have reappeared on the trains running between the old and the new capital.

6. But in my opinion, the main cause of unrest lies elsewhere. Of late, the Ghazi and his intimates seem to have been coquetting with the idea of further religious reforms. A radical modernisation of Islam, if not its complete suppression

in Turkey, was more than suspected to be under contemplation, and the opposition elements in Constantinople and other places entered upon an insidious propaganda campaign which was so far successful that every second person in Constantinople affected to know that Islam was about to be superseded by Christianity, while the "İkdam" published an article suggesting that the Turks should observe Christmas. At the same time Yunus Nadi Bey had a leading article on the "Jumhuriyet" which could be given a variety of constructions, but which was not improbably an endeavour to prepare the ground for the reforms actually contemplated. It was at this moment, when I was at home on leave, that the "Times" published a telegram, in my opinion premature and ill-timed, from its Constantinople correspondent drawing general attention to the whole business. The Turkish Government was undoubtedly surprised and angry; the expulsion of the correspondent was for a time under consideration, but wiser counsels ultimately prevailed. Yesterday, Mr. Collins informed me that, when he was received by Tewfik Rushdi Bey that morning, his Excellency opened the conversation by saying that he had a *plainte amicale* to make, but that, as matters had turned out, the Turkish Government was actually grateful to him, for his telegram has caused an investigation to be made, which had shown up the opposition activities, and arrests had immediately been effected.

7. I should hesitate to say that Mr. Collin's indiscretion was the direct cause of the recent outbreaks, but it may well have given those who had been inspiring the movement a good text on which to rouse the faithful, and it has certainly played its part in modifying the Ghazi's programme. The premature disclosure of the Ghazi's plans, the discovery that religious feeling is still a thing to be handled delicately, and one other factor have all combined to put the brake on religious reform. So much so that even the substitution of Sunday for Friday as the weekly day of rest, which was to have been brought about last spring and was only deferred to the autumn owing to the superior claims of the alphabet, and to which, on account of its practical advantages, there would quite possibly have been little opposition, has now been relegated to an indefinite future.

8. The other factor is the revolt in Afghanistan. This has caused considerable concern in Turkey, and though leading Turks here are contemptuous of King Amanullah's bungling methods, they are profiting by his experience. When dining with me two nights ago, one of the Ghazi's closest friends frankly stated that, if only King Amanullah had taken the pains to recruit, arm, and adequately pay three regiments of guards, he would have been spared all his present troubles. Mustafa Kemal had not been so foolish. His movement had been started as a completely loyalist one, having as its object the liberation of the Sultan from disloyal and foreign control. Only when he was truly sure of his position did the Ghazi enter upon his policy of reforms. Bluntly speaking, security meant fear. In Turkey to-day there were 30,000 gendarmes. There was fear of the Government in fifty-four

provinces, and only 10.000 of the gendarmes were stationed there. The remaining 20.000 were to be found in the few eastern provinces where fear was not yet adequately instilled, and security therefore not yet firmly established. My friend added, somewhat paradoxically, in view of the dress campaign of two years ago, that the Ghazi would not emulate Amanullah's foolishness in interfering with the harem. Deep religious feeling was, he said, confined to such reactionary towns as Constantinople and Brusa, but the Turk remained as jealous as ever of his women-folk. Reform of the harem must come from within, and the Ghazi was content to let education and increasing enlightenment effect what even he now felt himself unable to accomplish from without.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p.14-15, No.9

No. 110

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 20

ANGORA, January 13, 1929
(Received January 21, 1929)

Sir,

In my immediately preceeding despatch I reported that the Ghazi had been obliged to stay his reforming hand on the question of religion. The progressive energy of his Excellency is, however, such, that if dammed at one point, it must find an outlet at another, and although the information which reaches me is still vague and unconfirmed, he is believed to be contemplating a measure whereby such big estates as still exist in the country shall be cut up into lots of 1.000 deunums (200 acres) at most, and distributed to the peasants on easy terms. The present owners of large landed property would be compensated, but in view of the condition of Turkish finances, such compensation would probably be even less equivalent to the value of the land than was the case in Czechoslovakia or Roumania.

2. The plan might prove political success, for the big land-owners may roughly be divided into three categories. First, the few families who still hold large estates acquired by their forebears when Grand Viziers or Ministers or Valis, and in this class may be included one or two wealthy Egyptians, such as the ex-Khedive; the latter may be inclined to make difficulties, but the former will scarcely give the Government any qualms as to the equity of the measure. Secondly, a number of Turks, especially in the Adana region, who have bought up land from Greeks and Armenians at forced prices; the Government would be justified in paying these people a minimum compensation, but the country will suffer a certain economic

loss, for some of the more enterprising of these proprietors have started agriculture on a large scale with modern machinery, and that would all go by the board. Lastly, there are the Kurdish chiefs in the east; apart from any consideration of equity, it would possibly be politically wise for the Government to divide these lands among the members of the various tribes, for such a measure might, by its appeal to self-interest, do more than anything else to weaken the feudal allegiance of the tribesmen to their chiefs and keep them settled and peaceful.

3. Turkey is pre-eminently an agricultural country, and any measure that promotes the wealth and prosperity of the smallholders, and to increase their numbers, tends to increase the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p.16, No.10

No. 111

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 23

ANGORA, January 14, 1929

Sir,

In my despatch No.467 of the 30th October last, I had the honour to inform you of a statement of the Minister of Health to the effect that the elaboration of the Turkish Codex had then been completed.

2. When seeing Doctor Refik Bey to-day in another connection, Mr. Helm enquired of him when copies of the Codex would be available. Refik Bey replied that the Codex had now at last been prepared for signature by the President of the Republic. It was, however, drafted in the old script and would have to be printed in the new. The Codex would consist of about one thousand two hundred pages and the operation of printing could in these circumstances hardly be completed in less than three months. When ready, copies would at once be communicated to His Majesty's Embassy.

3. Doctor Refik Bey added that he hoped to apply the new Codex as from the 1st January, 1930.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13822/E.5262

No. 112

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 53

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 5, 1929

(Received February 19, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey in 1928.

2. The completion of the new hotel in the capital has considerably weakened the excuse with which certain of my colleagues formerly defended their unwillingness to leave Constantinople, and even the most sceptical among them have now come to recognise the inevitability of Angora.

3. The construction of Legations proceeds but slowly. The seven first buildings of the German Embassy have been completed, and the staff has now been definitely installed at Angora. There are some who mock at the exaggeration which allows this erstwhile bankrupt State to erect a model village at the cost of nearly 3 million marks - and that without the Ambassador's residence - but all must admire the ability with which the Ambassador, in whose honour it is known as "Nadolnyhütte," has contrived to arrange his transfer to a more comfortable capital.

4. The French Government has constructed an office building in the town, being persuaded thereto by the cunning offer of the Catholic Fathers, who, having been refused permission by the Turkish Government to erect a chapel, ceded their plot of land to the Embassy on the understanding that a chapel should be included in the official building. M. de Chambrun has a villa wherein the futurist mural decorations of a member of his staff clash unpleasantly with the gilt furniture of the *garde-meubles*, and where he proposes to reside until such time as the new Embassy shall be built. This will not be in the immediate future, for the site which had previously been offered to the French Government has since been appropriated by the General Staff, and a new site has yet to be chosen. A similar action on the part of the municipality, who have erected a school on the site selected by the Hungarian Minister for his residence, has not had the same deterrent force, and the Hungarian Government has, I learn, recently allotted £10.000 for the erection of a Legation somewhat further down the hill.

5. Work on the Polish Legation advances slowly owing to lack of credits, but it is unlikely that Mme. Olszowska will long endure the discomfort of the limited accomodation and the single bath-room of her present house.

6. The Italian Government by contrast is prepared to spent 20 million lire upon a new construction, but for the moment seems unwilling to take the final

plunge into Anatolia. The fact that the Government already owns three Embassies in Constantinople would, one might think, give further cause for hesitation. The other missions are more humbly content to lodge in hired villas or in flats in town.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p.22-23, No.18

ENCLOSURE in No. 112

Reports on Heads of Missions

AMBASSADORS

Russia.

(M. Jacques Souritz, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 13th June, 1923. Since the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic I have had no intercourse with M. Souritz beyond the exchange of polite greetings when we meet on official occasions. 1927).

Germany.

Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31st March, 1925. Herr Nadolny is little loved either by the Turks or his staff or his colleagues. His overbearing tactlessness estranges the Turks, his lack of consideration estranges his staff, while these qualities added to a doubtful loyalty naturally do not endear him to his colleagues. So far as Turkey is concerned, he will go down to history as one of the chief protagonists of new Angora, whither the German Embassy was officially transferred in December of this year.

There were well-founded reports in the latter part of the year that Herr Nadolny was to be transferred to another post, Moscow and Rome being mentioned in this connexion. Nevertheless he is still among us.

Italy.

(M. Luca Orsini Baroni, fully accredited Ambassador presented his credentials on the 3rd November, 1925. My hopes of finding M. Orsini Baroni an agreeable and level-headed colleague have been amply fulfilled. He is always ready to give me any information either about his own dealings with Tewfik Rushdi or about matters Turkish in general. 1927.)

United States of America.

(The Hon. Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th October, 1927. The agreement signed between the

American and Turkish Governments during the course of the year led to the replacement of Admiral Bristol by Mr. Joseph Grew. The latter was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, one of whom is grown up. Like him, they are pleasant and good to look upon, and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society. 1927.)

Mr. Grew is a loyal colleague and a great gentleman, and is deservedly respected alike by the Turks and by the American and foreign communities.

Afghanistan.

General Gulam Djelani Khan, who had come to this country as Minister in February 1926, was promoted to Ambassadorial rank after King Amanullah's visit to Turkey in May 1928. He presented his credentials on the 25th September. My acquaintance with this gentleman has not increased since last year.

France.

M. Emile Daeschner was succeeded on July by Comte Charles de Chambrun, who presented his credentials on the 28th September, 1928. M. de Chambrun has not an easy task in Turkey, having been sent here with instructions to maintain a strong attitude over a question — that of the Turco-Syrian frontier — upon which the Turkish Government is equally determined not to give way. Consequently, though he is never at a loss for a flattering word when public occasion demands it, and though he is obviously anxious to impress friends and enemies alike with the cordiality of his affections, he has his work cut out to make his stay in Turkey of great profit either to himself or to his country.

M. de Chambrun was, I understand, promoted to Ambassadorial rank over the heads of some of his colleagues on condition that he spent the greater part of the year at Angora. One of his first acts on arrival, therefore, was to buy a house at the capital. After a few weeks' residence there, however, he fell seriously ill and had to return to Constantinople to recover. He is now undergoing a cure in France. M. de Chambrun is unmarried.

Persia.

Mohammed Ali Khan Feruki, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 21st October. Feruki Khan, who, in addition to being Ambassador in Turkey, is Persia's representative to the League of Nations, did his utmost to avoid being permanently posted to this country. The long-drawn-out negotiations for a frontier agreement, which even yet are hanging fire, have disgusted him with the Turkish Republic and all its ways. Though appointed Ambassador early in the year, he was not vouchsafed the satisfaction of signing the additional protocol annexed to the Turco-Persian Treaty of Amity which was negotiated in Tehran and signed there on the 15th June, 1928.

MINISTERS

Roumania.

(M. Georges Filality, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 20th April, 1924. M. Filality has finally had to overcome his openly expressed dislike of Angora and to pay occasional visits to the capital for the purpose of carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Roumania and Turkey. His jovial comments about the capital have lost none of their pungency. 1927.)

Hungary.

M. Tahy de Tahvar et Tarkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1924.

M. de Tahy's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish.

Austria.

(M. Auguste Kral, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1924. I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kral, who, with his wife and grown up daughter, are pleasant enough colleagues, though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first, have ceased to enjoy themselves. 1927.)

Sweden.

(Mr. Wallenberg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 1st August, 1925. M. Wallenberg has lost no opportunity of airing his Turcophil views or encouraging his countrymen to enlarge their connexions with the country he appears to admire so much.

His wife's homeliness is to some extent made up for by her unheralded and extensive charity. 1927.)

Spain.

(Don Juan Servet y Vest, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 3rd August, 1925. I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of Büyük-Déré, but, at such times as I have seen him, M. Servet has appeared to be pleasant and jovial. 1927.)

Netherlands.

(Baron de Welderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th August, 1925. Sir R. Lindsay reported on Baron Rengers in the following terms:

"(Baron Rengers's last post was at Rome. Unlike the majority of one's diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople, he bears the hall-mark of a diplomatist *de*

carrière. He does not approve of Constantinople as a post. He is fond of wine, and after dinner can be very diverting. Owing to the Dutch Legation being in charge of Austrian interests he has a certain amount of work to do, otherwise most of his time is spent in frequenting places he can get the opportunity of a drink or of seeing a pretty woman. 1923.)

"(A lascivious fellow; a light weight, Mme Rengers talks too much about her domestic difficulties. 1924.)

(I agree with my predecessor's estimate. 1927.)

Czechoslovakia.

M. Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 18th January, 1926. M. Kobr retains his love of a horse and of physical robustness, and Mme Kobr still continues to cook the cakes for her fortnightly receptions during the Angora season.

Bulgaria.

(M. Theodore Pavloff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in his task. 1927.)

Yugoslavia.

M. T. VI. Taditch presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 23rd January, 1928. He did not impress me favourably, but his appearances in Turkey have been rare, and I understand that he will not return. No other member of his Legation is known to me.

Greece.

M.J. Papa presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 29th March, 1928.

His time has been completely absorbed by discussions at Angora or visits to Athens for fresh instructions on the Turco-Greek difficulties, and I have scarcely seen him at all. He is unmarried.

Denmark.

M.O.C. Mohr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 2nd April, 1928.

My acquaintance with M. Mohr has been too slight as yet to enable me to overcome a slight prejudice against him born of the unpleasant reputation which

he brought from Rio. Mme. Mohr is known to me only by her flaxen hair and glittering jewels.

Belgium.

M. Louis Leclercq presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 11th June, 1928. M. Leclercq was formerly counsellor in Rome where he acquired a devotion to all the amenities of town life, which - were it not for the distraction of bridge - would make his annual four months' solitude at Angora rather hard for him to bear. He is simple and very friendly and is unmarried.

Poland.

M. C. Olszowski presented his credentials as fully qualified Minister on the 25th October, 1928. M. Olszowski hoped to be compensated for his transfer from Berlin to Angora by obtaining Ambassadorial rank. This hope has not yet been fulfilled, but the Minister continues to talk politics and Mme. Olszowska remains cheerful.

Iraq.

Sabih Bey Nishat presented his credentials as the first Irak Minister to Turkey on the 25th October, 1928. He still maintains the close connexion which he established with this Embassy on arrival and is always genial and friendly. His intimate connexion with many of the leading Turks through school and army enables him to obtain a good deal of useful information, though sometimes I have an idea that some of what he passes on had been expressly intended for my ears. He works sincerely for the good relations of his country with Turkey and does not hide his administration for the reforms effected by the Ghazi.

Egypt.

Ibrahim Ratib Bey, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 25th October, 1928. Ibrahim Ratib Bey belongs to one of Egypt's wealthiest families, of Turkish origin. He showed pronounced pro-Turkish sympathies in 1914, and was a brother in arms of the Ghazi during the Dardanelles campaign. On his return to Egypt he became an ardent Zaghulist. He is extremely civilised, talks excellent French, and is married to an attractive Turkish lady. Ibrahim Ratib Bey is also accredited to Sofia and Bucharest.

Switzerland.

M. Henri Martin has been raised to the rank of Minister and presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1928.

While in Angora, M. Martin is invaluable for obtaining information on points of details and prides himself on the number of despatches which he writes to Berne; at Constantinople he is driven to circularise his colleagues; while on leave he breeds dogs in England. M. Martin would like to be taken for an Englishman.

Vatican.

(At such times as I have met Mgr. Rotta he has shown himself to be affable and friendly. He is shrewd and credited with a good insight into Turkish affairs and character. 1927.)

CHARGES D'AFFAIRES

Japan.

As was anticipated in last year's report, Mr. Y. Obata left Turkey for good in October 1928. His successor has not yet been appointed. The Embassy has, meanwhile, been in charge of the first secretary, Mr. H. Ashida, who makes up for his country's lack of political interest in Turkey by studious attention to social activities. Whether on the golf course or as host at a Christmas-tree party, Mr. Ashida is one of the moderns.

Albania.

M. Rauf Fitso left Turkey on the 23rd August on his appointment to Belgrade. The elevation of Ahmed Zogu to the throne has been regarded with disfavour by the Ghazi, who withdrew his Minister from Tirana. Accordingly no successor has been appointed to take M. Fitso's place and the Legation is in the charge of. M. Jajuli.

Constantinople, February 5, 1929

F.O. 424/270, p.23-26, No.18/1.

No. 113

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 56

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 6, 1929

(Received February 19, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the general report on Turkey for 1928.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13824/E.906

ENCLOSURE in No. 113
TURKEY
ANNUAL REPORT, 1928

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I- GENERAL SURVEY

The opening paragraphs of last year's report contrasted the mental atmosphere and outlook of Angora and Constantinople. During 1928 Angora has established its position as the capital of Turkey yet more firmly, Constantinople as a factor in the life of the nation has lost further ground, and the mental gap between the two places has widened. Foreign opinion in Turkey, hostile at first and frankly sceptical of the success of an experiment which involved the abandonment of one of the world's most splendid natural sites in favour of the barren Anatolian plateau, has grown to admit that what seemed an incredible project has become an established fact, and Angora can now stand beside Canberra and New Delhi. This reluctant recognition is, no doubt, largely the result of the realisation by Europe that the Ghazi's Government has made good its claim to rule the republic and that Angora is an essential part of the Gazi's scheme.

2. But it is also in no small measure due to the physical changes which have come over Angora in the last three years. In 1925 unpaved, undrained, and unlit streets led from the station, where visiting Ambassadors lodged in their sleeping-cars, through a malarial swamp to the old Turkish town, where not only the slightest amenity but even the barest necessity of healthy life was lacking. Now a complete new town has been built to house those officials whom the administration of the country has drawn to Angora. The electric light plant works with creditable regularity, water has been found in sufficiency, gas works and factories are springing up along the railway line. Wide-paved boulevards planted with struggling saplings and gardens, and adorned with arc-lamps, statues and fountains, but for the most part as yet innocent of foot-pavements, link the new with the old town, with the station and with the outlying residential districts. A considerable banking quarter has sprung up and pretentious public buildings are gradually giving the various officials room in which to work and think. Nor are the arts neglected. An exhibition of painting was held in the spring, a museum has already been built and partly equipped, two theatres are under construction, schools are going up, and a faculty of law forms the nucleus of what it is hoped will

one day be a complete university. The planting of gardens has become the order of the day and - significant sign in an Eastern country - proprietors are now busy enclosing their gardens with fences and with walls.

3. Most important of all, if the European was to accept Angora as the permanent capital of the country, is the improvement which has taken place in the accommodation for visitors. Half a dozen new hotels have sprung up to replace with single-bedded rooms and modern sanitary conveniences the promiscuity and filth of the Angora Han of four years ago. In the spring of 1928 a Swiss hotel company was finally persuaded to complete the large hotel which for four years had been standing empty. The foreign visitor may now travel in fourteen hours from the Bosphorus in a comfortable train-de-luxe, may lodge in a room where a king has slept, may follow his game of tennis with whatever cocktail he prefers, and face the keen air of Angora fortified by a first class meal.

4. Even more striking perhaps than these physical changes in the capital are the changes which have taken place in the manners of its inhabitants and in their attitude towards foreigners. When His Majesty's Government were first represented permanently in the capital the mentality of the Turks was still dominated by the remembrance of the days when Angora had come into existence as a protest against foreign control and in opposition to a Government under foreign influence. The very choice of Angora as a capital had been dictated by its remoteness from all possibility of foreign interference. Hence it was hardly to be expected that the Turks would readily visit foreign Legations and still less that they would invite foreigners into their houses. Until this hostility had been overcome and this suspicion vanquished the foreign representative in Turkey remained as aloof from the inhabitants of the country as he was in pre-war days, and might, for all the influence he could have upon them, as well remain in comfort at Stamboul as endure the privations of Angora. It is, therefore, not ungratifying to note that in less than three years this attitude has so far changed that several of the leading Turks to-day show an almost embarrassing eagerness to come to the Embassy for a game of bridge, and that the Prime Minister can invite His Majesty's Ambassador and his staff to an intimate family lunch at his own table presided over by his wife and attended by some of the leading Deputies and their wives.

5. Even the most ardent followers of the Gazi's reforms, however, find it hard to rid their minds in a moment of that most instinctive of all Oriental prejudices - the sacredness of their women-folk. The Western observer, seeing the Turkish women resolutely clinging to the walls at a dance or automatically seeking the company of their sex and avoiding that of the men at any public gathering, would judge that the Turk still retained much of the Oriental. But few Westerners would realise the struggle he has gone through before he could allow his women-folk to go brazenly unveiled and indecently decked in European clothing. Any attempt to

modernise an Oriental country must be largely an attack upon externals. No one supposes that the introduction of Western clothing and Western habits will change the mentality of a people, but there can be no change of mentality until an alteration in the manner of life makes possible a change in the way of thought, and of all changes it is those which affect the small customs of every-day life which strike closest home. For some time to come these changes may be scarcely visible outside the capital and a few other centres, but every day travel in Turkey becomes easier, and even the most distant corners of the country cannot long remain shut in isolation. It cannot be hoped that they will quickly attain to the standard of the capital, but it is certain that without example and stimulus from the centre these changes would never be adopted at all. By encouraging the wife of a Deputy in Angora to entertain foreigners in her house, an example is set which in distant Diarbekr or Trebizond may persuade Turks at least to allow their women to go unveiled, and a blow will have been given to the Oriental conception of women which will show that some other view is possible. The new mentality will not be created in the twinkling of an eye, but this realisation that change is possible will have already cleared the way for it.

6. Thus, the external development of Angora is interesting not merely as an illustration of the strength of one man's will or as a phenomenon in the desert, but as a standard to which other parts of the new Turkey shall aspire and a beacon whose rays, so long as the generating force is maintained, cannot fail gradually to dispel the superstition and apathy which are the heritage of the past.

7. It cannot be denied that this development of Angora is mainly due to the driving force of one man...To-day, the Turk can answer: "Yes, the Gazi."

8. Will it last? Two factors may destroy the prominence of Angora. The first of them is geography. Certain sites in the world are destined by nature for capital cities, even if through the whim of man they are not political capitals. One of these sites is Constantinople, and the more it is neglected and driven into decay by its present owners, the more inevitably will they one day lose it altogether. No one would care to prophesy who will be the successor of the Turk in Stamboul, but some day Russia will revive, shipping and trade will be passing through in ever-increasing volume, and, if Constantinople has been left derelict, some one will seize the inheritance the Turks have neglected and Angora will become a second-rate capital of a small agricultural State.

9. The other danger is the Gazi himself. One who knows him well, and while now opposed to him in many ways worked ardently for him during the internal struggle and still realises the immense value of his work for Turkey, has said of him that, while at that time there were men around him great in intellect and moral backbone, not one of them could possibly cope with his vitality. This made him in those days the dominant figure, but exacts its price now that the goal which was far

and seemingly impossible has been reached. The question which this observer asked at that time, "How can this cyclone ever come to rest when the nation has reached its goal?" is being answered by the fact that it is not coming to rest. The Gazi must ever be doing something new and astonishing. Such a temperament, developed to the highest pitch by the incessant adulation of those who stand round him, may easily lead to catastrophe.

10. Still, this is all in the realm of speculation, and the account of the past year has been in the Turk's favour. Foreign policy and internal administration have, on the whole, been sound, and though the economic situation is still difficult enough, the year which has seen the settlement of the coupons question and the purchase of the Anatolian Railway must be counted as successful.

II- FOREIGN POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Introduction.

11. Turkey's foreign policy is uniformly pacific. Having established her frontiers, with the unimportant exception of the eastern part of the Syrian frontier, her object is now the consolidation of her international position, with the ultimate aim of making herself the leading and inspiring Power of the Near and Middle East.

To this end-

- a) She has already established internal security.
- b) She is building up her army into an efficient fighting force, increasing war material and developing her airforce.
- c) She is building a sound system of strategic railways and turning her attention to roads.
- d) She is consolidating her relations with her neighbours:-
 - i.) The Mosul settlement concluded the only big outstanding question with Great Britain.
 - ii.) The Italian treaty put an end, temporarily at any rate, to danger from that quarter.
 - iii.) She is sufficiently sure of herself to hold out for a favourable settlement of the Syrian frontier question with France and of the exchange questions with Greece; as to the former, she is possibly encouraged by the Italians to be intransigent; the latter question see-saws between assurances of instant settlement and reports of immediate rupture, but both parties are old hands at bargaining and know one another intimately, so there is always hope of eventual agreement.

- iv.) As regards Russia, Turkey deftly holds the balance between identifying herself exclusively with the East or with the West. She attended the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament (at Russia's suggestion); she signed the Kellogg Pact; but she still holds aloof from the League of Nations.
- v.) As regards the Balkans, she is in process of negotiating a treaty of consolidation with Bulgaria. In general, she likes to have a finger in the pie in everything that goes on in the Balkan Peninsula, though she has dismissed any idea she may ever have had of organising a Balkan Locarno.

12. Her great positive interest is to establish some form of Near and Middle Eastern *bloc* under the aegis, including Persia, Afghanistan, Iraq and one day Syria. Witness her treaties concluded during the year with Persia and Afghanistan and her suggestions for a treaty of friendship with Iraq. Her intransigence over Syria may also be traced finally to this desire. Hitherto her successes have been more on paper than real. The Afghan rebellion may well destroy her influence in that country, and she has been unable as yet to persuade Persia to accept a satisfactory agreement. Moreover, where Moslem religious feeling is strong, her influence is necessarily weak.

Great Britain.

13. Ever since the unhappy days of the occupation, Turkey's attitude towards Great Britain has been clouded by varying degrees of resentment and suspicion. It is pleasant to be able to record that during the past year there have at last been some signs of a break in the clouds. For evidence of this it is no longer necessary to rely solely upon the reiterated and somewhat monotonous professions of cordiality which form the stock-in-trade of all conversations with the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Such professions in themselves amount to little, and do not necessarily imply more than a desire to keep in our good books at a time when Turkey's relations with France are far from cordial. The real bent of Turkish feeling is indicated nowhere more truly than in the attitude of the General Staff, which is perhaps the most influential body in the country; and here it has been possible to observe a distinct change for the better. Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, has himself pointed the way. His past reputation has been that of a taciturn Moslem with little love for the foreigner. Nevertheless, he gave most cordial receptions both to Major Heywood and Captain Bevan when he received them on their first appointments as military and naval attachés to this Embassy. Nor was this merely a matter of fair words. The military attaché has actually received invitations to inspect various military institutions, a courtesy which was never extended to his predecessor. Moreover, the Turks have begun to show some interest in British military methods and a desire to send their

officers to England for military, naval and aeronautical training. Two Turkish officers are already undergoing training with units of the British army and air force, and negotiations are well under way for two Turkish naval officers to undergo courses at Portsmouth. Further negotiations are in progress by which a number of Turkish flying officers should be escorted to England to go through a course with the Royal Air Force, as a preliminary to the institution of a flying school in Turkey under the guidance of a British expert staff. It is not unreasonable to feel that all these factors are symptomatic of a change in Turkish feeling towards Great Britain.

14. At the same time the suspicion is still there, if in a modified form. One reason for this is possibly the fact that half the present Cabinet are Deputies for Smyrna. In Smyrna, England and Greece were identified in Turkish eyes during the occupation, and both countries are still looked on with the same dislike. Gallipoli, too, shows that suspicion is far from dead. The Turkish Government, doubtless acting under the advice of the General Staff, is as anxious as ever it was to be quit of all representatives of the Imperial War Graves Commission upon the Gallipoli Peninsula, and has made direct representations to that end. Similarly, a suggestion made on the British side during the course of the year that two British officers might be attached to the Turkish army was found, both by the Ministry for foreign Affairs and still more, no doubt, by the General Staff, to bristle with difficulties, and the military attaché was eventually told that it could not be entertained. These two examples, however, do no more than show that the pace must necessarily be slow, and that cordiality has its limits.

15. It is not only in the military field that things British are beginning to be looked upon with greater forbearance. The English language has come into a strange measure of favour during the past year, though here it must be remembered that English comes to this country less from British sources than from the large American educational institutions. But, be that as it may, it is instructive to find that new Turkey is turning to the English language rather than to French as the medium through which to acquire its knowledge of the West. English, it is reported, is to be the second language to be taught in future in the schools. Two reasons in particular may be given to account for this preference. In the first place, the modern Turk wishes to break away from the French cultural tradition to which his country has so long been subject, and secondly, his eyes is turned entirely towards material progress, and it needs little observation to see that from that point of view the English-speaking peoples have no rival in the modern world.

16. If further evidence be needed of the gradual breakdown of Turkish suspicion towards our country, it may be found in the increasing cordiality with which the staff of this Embassy is treated at Angora, and here the opportunity may be taken to pay a passing tribute to Mr. Knox's efforts in that direction. When he

came to Angora, social relations with the Turks were practically non-existent. Before he left, he had placed them upon a firm footing of cordiality.

17. Two questions may then be asked. The first is what, if anything, do the Turks hope to gain by turning once more towards Great Britain? It is natural to imagine that at the backs of their minds is the hope of access to the London market, and reports have indeed been received that they have been feeling the ground in those quarters. Indications, too, are not wanting that they do feel some bitterness—though no responsibility—for the fact that the London market is still closed to them and that Great Britain has given them no assistance in their efforts to reconstruct their country. Nevertheless, it has been noticeable that such sentiments have practically never been alluded to by the responsible mouthpieces of the country. To listen to the Minister for Foreign Affairs one would believe that the feeling of the Turkish Government for Great Britain is one of nothing but admiration and gratitude, admiration for British qualities and gratitude for her loyalty in Iraq as compared with the perfidy of France on the Syrian frontier.

18. The second question then that suggests itself is this: If the Turkish Government has this feeling for us, is it doing anything to protect our interests? It must be confessed that its admiration does not extend so far as that. There are many questions, some of considerable financial importance, that have now been outstanding for several years, but in which it is hardly possible to point to any progress during the past twelve months. The Turkish Government has indignantly refused to reopen the Ipranossian case, a particularly scandalous affair amounting to the practical theft of nearly £200,000 from the Bank of England. It has held out successfully against implimenting its obligations in respect of the Constantinople Municipal Loan. It has refused to discuss upon any satisfactory basis the settlement of British pre-war claims. It has failed to implement an agreement signed by its own full-powered representatives allowing the Smyrna-Aidin Railway to revise its tariff. It has rejected all our efforts to save British subjects from the wave of Nationalist legislation that has been sweeping over the commercial field, though here other nations are equal sufferers with ourselves. It has refused our demand that Palestine should be granted the benefits of the Lausanne Commercial Treaty. It would be easy to multiply the instances of the unsatisfactory attitude of the Turkish Government in current affairs. What then are the reasons? Departmental inefficiency is certainly one. The head of the Department dealing with our affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has, for example, changed three times in the past year. Another reason is inexperience. The Turk has never been a business man and does not realise the importance of business interests to a nation of shop-keepers. Thirdly, a satisfactory settlement of many of these questions would involve the payment of hard cash, and hard cash is not readily available to-day in Turkey. Lastly, it may be that the Turk is under the impression that Great Britain is not prepared to pursue current questions *à outrance*. He will not believe that in the

smaller questions of private claims we really care, and so he takes advantage of our supposed nonchalance.

19. In general, then, it may be said, that Turkey to-day, being surer of herself, is less distrustful of her chief former enemy. It might, perhaps, be said that she is turning towards us once more in spite of herself. But this does not make her settle our claims. Nor does it prevent the Turkish press from echoing any hostile criticism that may be made against British policy in such matters as the Anglo-French Naval Compromise, the Anglo-Egyptian crisis, the Afghan revolt, &c. Turkey's sympathies are all with the "downtrodden" races in their struggles against our imperialism. Her heart, is in fact, still in the East, even while she resolutely turns her head to the West.

Iraq.

20. The Turkish Government has shown marked interest in its relations with Iraq during the past year, this, no doubt, being part and parcel of its desire to build up a *bloc* of Middle Eastern Moslem States all looking to Turkey for guidance and inspiration. Sabih Bey, who was appointed the first Iraqi *Chargé d'Affaires* in Turkey at the end of 1927 and subsequently promoted to be the first Iraqi Minister, has found the atmosphere at Angora singularly cordial. He arrived in January to take up his post, and not long afterwards bought a house at Angora, where he proceeded to take up his residence. In October he was promoted to ministerial rank. The Turkish Government, on its side, responded by investing its consul-general at Baghdad, Talaat Bey, with diplomatic functions in March, appointing him *Chargé d'Affaires* in June and finally promoting him to be Minister.

21. The rôle of His Majesty's Government and of this Embassy has therefore, so far as Iraq is concerned, been less prominent and less direct than in past years. Great Britain gives Iraq her moral support in her relations with Turkey, but leaves Iraq to conduct those relations herself. In spite of the Iraq Government's insistence on having direct diplomatic representation in Turkey, Sabih Bey, on his arrival, showed a singular unwillingness to exercise the independence to which his Government aspired. At his first interview with His Majesty's Ambassador he repeatedly stated that he was only there to take his orders from his Excellency. Such a position would, of course, have inevitably led to difficulties and misunderstandings, and Sir George Clerk at once made it plain that, while he would gladly give Sabih Bey support and advice, he could give nothing in the way of orders. To help Sabih over his initial discussions with the Turkish Government, Sir George Clerk caused a memorandum to be prepared for him dealing with the various points concerning Iraq which were under discussion with the Turkish Government at the moment. The majority of these — and, in fact, all that were of

importance — concerned one aspect or another of the situation on the Turco-Iraq frontier.

22. As soon as direct diplomatic contact had been established between the two countries, it became clear that both Governments, for reasons of their own, were hankering after closer relations with one another. Iraq, on the one side, was anxious to regularise her commercial relations with Turkey, as well as to win Turkish support over her difficulties with Persia. Turkey on the other, was anxious to bring Iraq within the circle of Moslem satellites, which it is her desire to create.

23. In March, Sabih Bey was instructed by his Government to sound the Turkish authorities unofficially as to the possibilities of a customs agreement between Iraq and Turkey. In particular, the Iraq Government, having failed to establish its claim for most-favoured-nation treatment as a right under the Treaty of Lausanne, wished to secure that treatment (which is already granted for its part to Turkey) by means of negotiations. It also had hopes of obtaining an agreement similar to that concluded between Turkey and Syria in 1922 under which those two countries granted each other preferential import duties. This, however, seemed to be precluded by the terms of the Iraq mandate, which would force Iraq to extend similar treatment to all members of the League of Nations, and this point was eventually dropped. The Iraq Government felt in general that it was in a good bargaining position in view of the fact that Iraq exports to Turkey, as based on 1927 figures, were less than half Turkey's exports to Iraq, and Iraq was under no treaty obligation to continue giving Turkey most favoured treatment, as the latter was not a member of the League.

24. Sabih Bey, duly approached the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the end of March, reported that he found the atmosphere favourable to the conclusion of a commercial agreement on the basis of mutual most-favoured-nation treatment. In the course of a later conversation in June, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs proposed a simple treaty concerning commerce, residence and transit on the basis of most-favoured-nation treatment. Tewfik Rushdi's mention of "residence" raised a question which may lead to complications, as it is not improbable that the Turkish Government has in mind the idea of benefiting from the special judicial privileges granted to certain Powers under the Anglo-Iraq Judicial Agreement of 1924. This point is discussed below. Finally, Sabih Bey received instructions to offer the Turkish Government, in return for most-favoured-nation treatment: 1) transit trade facilities; and 2) drawback arrangements. By the former, Turkey would be able to import goods in transit through Iraq on payment of a transit duty of 1 per cent. only, or export goods from her south-eastern provinces in transit ² for shipment at Basra on similar terms. By the latter, Turkey would be able to import through Iraq goods upon which Iraq import duties had been paid and receive back seven-eighths of such

duties. Under both headings the advantages would, the Iraq Government contended, be exclusively to the Turks, as it is unlikely that any foreign goods destined for Iraq would pass through Turkey.

25. No result had been achieved in the commercial negotiations before the close of the year. On the other hand, the economic relations between the two countries received a fillip by the signature in the course of the year of an arrangement providing for direct telegraphic communication *viâ* Mosul and Diarbekir. The arrangement seems to be working satisfactorily and leads to enormous saving of expenditure, the rates for the direct route being one-seventh of those of the eastern route which had formerly been used.

26. The Turkish Government, on its side, seems to have shown greater interest in its political than in its economic relations with Iraq. In June the Minister for Foreign Affairs suddenly requested Sabih Bey, who was at Constantinople, to come up at once to Angora, and there offered him a pact of friendship in a single article. He made the proviso, however, that Turkey should have most-favoured-nation treatment, which Sabih Bey took to mean that Turkish subjects in Iraq should have the benefit of the Anglo-Iraq Judicial Agreement of 1924. Tewfik Rushdi was eloquent on the advantages of Iraq joining a Turco-Persian-Afghan *entente*, and went on to say that such a *bloc* was also to the interest of Great Britain, for whom it would be in the nature of a solid wall.

27. The precise meaning of Tewfik Rushdi's allusion to most favoured treatment has not yet been elucidated, but some colour was given to Sabih Bey's suggestion by the action of the Turkish consul-general at Baghdad, who in May had officially asked the Iraq Government for information on the judicial privileges granted to certain foreign nationals and the reasons why Turkish nationals did not benefit by such privileges. The Iraq Government pointed out in reply that Turkish nationals still received in Iraq substantially the same treatment that they had received in pre-war days, and that they did not share the special privileges granted to the nationals of certain countries in Syria and Palestine.

28. The belief that the Turkish Government was preparing to make it the condition of a grant of friendship with Iraq that Turkish nationals in the country should be granted the special judicial privileges, placed His Majesty's Government in something of a quandary, as those privileges were derived directly from the agreement between Iraq and His Majesty's Government. The Iraq Government was anxious to abolish the privileges altogether, and was certainly not prepared to extend them. On this rock rapprochement with Persia had split for long past. The dilemma, then, that arose was whether His Majesty's Government should, by insisting on the continuance of the judicial agreement, risk the onus of being the stumbling-block in the way of rapprochement between Iraq and her neighbours, or whether they should go to the League of Nations, under whose aegis the judicial

agreement had been contracted, with a proposal for its abolition. Before His Majesty's Government could make such a proposal to the Council of the League they felt they must be themselves convinced that such a measure would be justified on its merits. The question would, moreover, be of interest to the Government of the United States, which was on the point of obtaining similar privileges under a new convention of its own. In any case, His Majesty's Government felt that certain safeguards would be essential, e.g., the presence of British judges in the Court of Cassation and in all courts of appeal. These considerations were put to Sir H. Dobbs in August, with a request of his considered opinion. In a reply despatched in September Sir Henry expressed his doubts whether the Turkish offer did, in fact, imply that Turkey must be admitted to judicial privileges before a treaty of friendship between Turkey and Iraq could be concluded. It was at that point that the matter stood at the end of the year.

29. Meanwhile, the Turco-Iraq frontier, though never seriously menaced on either side, was throughout the year a constant cause of petty friction. The Permanent Frontier Commission held its two regular meetings in May and November respectively. No detailed account of the latter has yet been received, but the Iraq delegates have reported that it was the first meeting at which any practical result had been attained. The reason may perhaps have been that between the two meetings, the Iraq Government had replaced the Governor of Rowanduz, one Sayyid Taha, who in past times had taken a leading part in the Kurdish national movement, and whom the Turks consequently regarded with the utmost suspicion as still preaching anti-Turkish propaganda. The removal of Sayyid Taha had thus become almost an *idée fixe* of the Turkish Government and its delegates. The atmosphere of the past meetings of the commission had, indeed, been poisoned by this question, and the Iraqi delegates were of the opinion that so long as Sayyid Taha was left at his post the Turks would never meet Iraqi wishes over any of the questions which the commission met to settle. The meetings of the commission were in fact, tending to become a farce, not only owing to the practical bad will which accompanied the outward *bonhomie* of the Turkish delegates, but also owing to those gentlemen's utter ignorance of local conditions. The Turkish Government was indeed, only too ready to ignore the dispositions provided by the Treaty of Angora for the local settlement of frontier disputes, and to set the diplomatic machine in motion as soon as any complaint came to its notice, and that without proper investigation. For this reason His Majesty's Government found themselves throughout the year constantly assailed with complaints of incursions into Turkish soil by tribes from Iraq. These complaints were, for the most part, put forward by the Turkish Ambassador in London, whose persistence was quite undeterred by reminders that the Permanent Frontier Commission was the proper body before which such matters should, in the first instance, be brought. The points (apart from the endless question of Sayyid Taha) on which he laid chief

emphasis were: 1) That all Nestorians and Assyrians should be removed outside the frontier zone, where they were a menace to peace, and that all contemplated steps for settling them in large numbers near the frontier should be discontinued; 2) that anti-Turkish propaganda was encouraged among the Kurds in Iraq, both by the local authorities and by certain British officers. These complaints, which were raised from time to time throughout the year, were brought to a head in a long note submitted by Ferid Bey to the Foreign Office on the 8th October. To this the Foreign Office replied in no measured terms, a) pointing out the irregularity of the Turkish Government in continuing to address these complaints to His Majesty's Government, in spite of the existence of direct diplomatic relations between the Turkish and Iraq Governments; b) explaining the misapprehension of the Turkish Government in believing that there were plans for settling large numbers of Assyrians and Nestorians in the neighbourhood of the frontier, although it was true that some sixty families might be settled in the Baradost area in the near future; c) denying the necessity for removing the Assyrians from the frontier area; d) indignantly refuting the charge that British officers were in any way connected with anti-Turkish propaganda; and, finally, e) complaining of the increasing frequency of raids from the Turkish side, often carried out by Turkish soldiers. His Majesty's Government at the same time furnished the Iraq Government with a copy of the correspondence, and suggested that it, too, should reply to the Turkish Government.

30. As may be imagined, the Turks on their side were far from guiltiness in the matter of frontier incidents. Throughout the year the reports were continuous of raids from the Turkish side, accompanied by robbery, shooting and kidnapping. The situation moreover, grew worse as the year continued, and at the end of September the administrative inspector of the Mosul Liwa reported that raids were becoming more and more frequent and that they were carried out with the full knowledge, connivance, and often active participation, of the Turkish military frontier authorities. He attributed this not to the encouragement or connivance of higher authorities, civil or military, but to the fact that the troops were driven to brigandage by their miserable pay and rations, and that the minor officials encouraged it in order to replenish their own larders.

31. References has already been made to the nervousness of the Turkish Government lest Iraq was being used by the Kurds as a base from which to hatch plots against Turkey. Wild stories of such plottings were brought up by the Turkish delegates on the Permanent Frontier Commission. In February the Turkish Ambassador in London brought some similar tale to the Foreign Office. In March the Angora authorities told the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires of a report which had reached them that a conference was shortly to be held in Bagdad by certain influential Kurds who had been expatriated from Turkey. There was, in point of

fact, little foundation for the Turks' suspicions so far as Iraq was concerned. Nevertheless, His Majesty's High Commissioner in Bagdad had reason to believe that a nationalist movement of Kurds and Armenians was on foot. This strange alliance seemed to have been formed in Paris with the object of uniting to establish the freedom of the Kurdish and Armenian nations, and later a society called the "Khoybun League" was founded, with headquarters at Aleppo and an agent at Bagdad, its president being one Jaladat Badr Khan, whose family had at one time ruled in Diarbekr as semi-independent princes. The society seemed to have considerable funds at its disposal, which were thought to be obtained through the Armenian Dashnak Association, which in turn may have got them from such diverse groups of plotters as the Bolsheviks, the White Russians and the Turkish legitimists. The league it was said, concentrated on work in two centres: 1) among the mass of Kurdish and Armenian refugees in the "bec du canard"; and 2) in the remote district between Ararat-Bayazid and Baku. Sir H. Dobbs was of the opinion that it had practically no support in Iraq. On the other hand, in view of the fact that its agency in Bagdad was undoubtedly serving as a link between the headquarters at Aleppo and the revolutionaries in the Ararat-Bayazid-Baku area, he felt it to be in the interests of good relations between Turkey and Iraq that a stop should be put to the use of Bagdad for the purpose. He accordingly requested the British consuls at Aleppo and Beirut to refuse visas for Iraq to any persons suspected of being connected with the Kurdish and Armenian Nationalist movement. He also made a similar request to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran. In this policy he found the Iraq Government entirely with him, and at his suggestion the Iraq Minister of the Interior caused instructions to be issued to the passport bureaux in Bagdad and elsewhere that no passports belonging to persons reasonably suspected of intending to take part in the work of the Khoybun League should be made valid for either Syria or Persia without previous reference to the Criminal Investigation Department in Bagdad.

32. Finally in September, the Iraq Government decided to prohibit the entry of the society's brochure, "The Massacre of the Kurds in Turkey," into Iraq, having learnt that copies had been addressed to the Mayor of Amadiyah, a town close to the Turkish frontier in the Mosul Liwa.

33. All these friendly acts on the part of the Iraq Government were duly brought to the notice of the Turkish Government by the Iraq representative at Angora. How far the Turks appreciated such loyalty is another matter. At any rate, they never lost an opportunity to compare it favourably with the opposite loyalty with which they have to deal in the case of the French authorities in Syria.

France.

34. Franco-Turkish relations during the year were almost entirely concerned with the Syrian frontier question, which is still unsettled, and consequently an

obstacle to complete cordiality between the two countries. The actual controversy arose out of an arbitral decision given by the neutral president of the Frontier Commission, the Danish General Ernst. The point to be decided was the definition of the "old road," which, according to the Franco-Turkish Treaty of Angora of 1921, was to constitute the frontier between Nissibin and Jeziret-ibn-Omar. As the French and Turkish members of the commission were unable to agree upon what was meant by the "old road," they referred the matter to the president. He decided in favour of the French, whereupon the Turkish Government declared the decision to be *ultra vires*, and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs telegraphed to General Ernst protesting that the decision was arbitrary and contrary to the letter and spirit of the protocol attached to the Angora Agreement.

35. The Turkish Government, in taking what on the face of it was an untenable line on the question, seemed to be actuated by both military and political motives. On the military side, the General Staff, it is said, insisted upon the retention of a tract of country containing some twenty Turkish villages which, if in Turkish hands, would impede communication between Syria and the Kurdish districts north-east of Jeziret, and would also give Turkey easier access to the flat country on the Iraq side of the Tigris.

36. On the political side, the Turkish Government probably had in mind its broad policy of creating a Middle Eastern *bloc*, which would eventually include Syria so soon as the French mandate came to an end. In insisting upon a good strategic frontier the Turkish Government, therefore, may have an eye to the eventual exercise of Turkish influence on a nominally independent Syria. Colour was given to this theory by Tewfik Rushdi's admission to the Iraq Chargé d'Affaires that the Turkish Government would accept no delimitation of the frontier until it was in a position to negotiate a tripartite treaty on the lines of the Mosul agreement with a quasi-independent Syria and France, and then only on the condition that some sort of buffer State or special régime were created at Alexandretta. The latter part of this admission seemed to imply that the Turks were not only interested in the eastern part of the frontier, but also in a rectification of the western part, where the present arrangement has the inconvenience of cutting the Bagdad Railway in two places. Hints to this effect, indeed, appeared from time to time in the Turkish press during the year.

37. But whatever the motives of the Turks may be, two factors enabled them to take a strong line in the matter. In the first place they are in *de facto* possession of the disputed territory, having blandly marched into it while the matter was still under discussion. Secondly, during the year they made their peace with Italy.

38. M. de Chambrun then, who took up his appointment as French Ambassador in the summer, came into no bed of roses. His very arrival, coinciding as it did with the Gazi's departure from Angora to Constantinople for his summer

holiday, was marked by a signal act of discourtesy on the Turkish side, as the Gazi refused either to receive him in Constantinople or to take a special journey to Angora for the purpose. M. de Chambrun was therefore in the country some weeks before he was even provisionally recognised by the Turkish Government and many more weeks before he was received by the President of the Republic.

39. However, he refused to be dismayed by this cold douche, and when finally the Gazi did consent to receive him he came out with a speech of the most flowery and cordial nature and immediately afterwards declared to the Constantinople journalists that Angora was the heart of Turkey and that the French Embassy must forthwith be established there. His feeling, and he did not conceal it, was that the first requirement was the infusion of more *cœur* into the relations of the two countries.

40. For the moment both the Gazi and the press responded to his cordial overtures, but the tone soon changed when serious negotiations began. M. de Chambrun's instructions were apparently explicit not to budge an inch from the line laid down by General Ernst, though he might perhaps be able to offer some slight concession in the shape of some Kurdish villages near Nissibin. The Turks on their side showed no sign of giving way.

41. As soon as the Turks realised that the French were disposed to be obdurate, a violent campaign was launched against France and all things French in the press, which called upon Heaven to witness the deplorable state of affairs on the Syrian frontier, where the peaceful Turk was everlastingly harassed by raids from the other side. As to this, His Majesty's consul at Aleppo reported that there had been since the summer a considerable increase of banditry on the western part of the frontier, but according to his information it was the Turks who were chiefly responsible. However, a meeting was called of the local authorities on each side, after which it was decided to form a mixed commission to study the question of controlling the frontier districts. Nevertheless, the year ended with no settlement on the main question in sight.

Italy.

42. Turco-Italian relations have entered into calmer waters in the past year, the turning-point being the signature on the 30th May of a treaty of friendship and arbitration. The conception of such a treaty seems to have come from the Italian side. Early in March the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs was proclaiming to the British Chargé d'Affaires that it was the policy of the Turkish Government to hold itself aloof from all commitments. In particular, he pointed to the regrettable tendency of the malcontent States of South-Eastern Europe to gravitate towards Italy while their more contented neighbours were gravitating towards France. Shortly afterwards Tewfik Rushdi went to Geneva to attend a meeting of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. Thither went also M. Michalacopoulos,

the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs. Discussions ensued with a view to placing the relations of Turkey and Greece upon a better footing (see section on Greece below). When the meeting was over both statesmen proceeded on an Italian invitation to meet M. Mussolini at Milan. There they found M. Mussolini proposing to act as honest broker and suggesting at the same time some form of tripartite arrangement to provide for non-aggression pacts between Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Tewfik Rushdi, according to the Italian account, at once showed himself to be all in favour of a pact with Italy but as wishing to leave Greece out of it. This however, the Italian Government would not have, making it clear that the path to Rome led through Athens.

43. After the Milan meeting the negotiations continued at Angora and Rome. Little difficulty was found in reaching agreement on a Turco-Italian Pact, but agreement between Turkey and Greece was not so simple. The Greek Government insisted that a necessary preliminary to any treaty of friendship must be the settlement of the outstanding disputes between the two countries. It was further encouraged in this attitude by the belief that Italy would sign no treaty of friendship with Turkey unless a similar treaty was signed simultaneously between Turkey and Greece, and that Tewfik Rushdi, having allowed himself to be personally identified with the policy of rapprochement with Italy, would make any sacrifice to bring his treaty with Italy to fruition. Matters were at this stage when the Greek Government fell and a probability arose of the return to power of M. Venizelos, with a record of a past career of hostility both to Italy and to Turkey. The prospect had two immediate effects. In the first place it gave a set-back to the Graeco-Turkish discussions; secondly, it filled the Italian Government with alarm and led it, on the 30th May, to sign its treaty with Turkey without waiting for the conclusion of the Turco-Greek negotiations.

44. The treaty was entitled in its preamble a "treaty of neutrality, conciliation and regulation by judicial procedure," and was in five articles. By article 1 each party undertook to enter neither into any agreement of a political or economic character nor into any combination directed against the other. By article 2 each party undertook to observe neutrality if the other, notwithstanding its peaceful attitude, was attacked by one or more other Powers. Article 3 provided for settlement by conciliation or, failing that, by judicial methods, of differences that could not be resolved by the ordinary diplomatic channel. Article 4 provided for reference to The Hague Court of disputes regarding the interpretation or execution of the treaty. Article 5 provided for ratification and declared that the duration of the treaty would be five years, with the possibility of extension for a further five years. A protocol in nine articles attached to the treaty laid down the conciliation and arbitration procedure contemplated in article 3 of the treaty and provided for the appointment of a permanent commission of conciliation of five members.

45. The signature of this treaty gave the signal for an outburst of pro-Italian sentiment in Turkey which continued, with little interruption, until the end of the year. The bogey of Italian aggression, it was said, was destroyed for ever, and the foundations of peace in the Eastern Mediterranean were confirmed. M. Mussolini, Fascism and Italian policy and institutions in general were made the subject of continual praise and admiration in the Turkish press. Incidentally, the treaty was pointed out to as a proof, if proof were needed, that Turkey was not following an exclusively Asiatic policy. The Italians, on their side, were not slow to welcome Turkey into their group of admirers, and every opportunity was taken to show the warmth and sincerity of Italian friendship. In September a body of Italian boy scouts, among whom was Mussolini's own son, paid a visit to Turkey. In December an official visit was paid by M. Grandi, the permanent Under-Secretary at the Italian Foreign Office, to return Tewfik Rushdi's visit to Italy earlier in the year. Signor Grandi was at pains to assure His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome before he left that the visit was purely one of courtesy, and this seems to have been the truth. But the occasion was taken for a fresh outburst of enthusiasm in the Turkish press.

46. How far Turkey's suspicions of Italy have been really allayed by the signature of the treaty is another matter. But at the moment it suits Turkey's book to be able to point to Italy's friendly attitude in contrast to the reverse attitude of France. Also, it was pleasant to see Greece left in the cold, though this particular pleasure was short-lived, as in September Italy signed a treaty of friendship with Greece, thus completing two sides of the triangle as originally proposed.

47. Italy's motives in signing a treaty of friendship with Turkey were expressed to Sir R. Graham by M. Grandi early in the year as being that Italian trade relations with Turkey were considerably more important than the remote, uncertain, and even dangerous prospect of endeavouring to find on Turkish soil an outlet for Italy's superabundant population. It might perhaps have been truer to say that she felt it would be easier to secure that outlet by peaceful than by warlike means, for rumours are current that what the Italian Government had chiefly in mind was to persuade the Turkish Government to admit Italian workmen in large numbers into Turkey. As to that, nothing concrete transpired before the end of the year. It cannot, however, be doubted that the Italian Government found the treaty a welcome way of trying to oust France from her traditional position in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Greece.

48. The problems arising out of the exchange of populations were the chief factor in Graeco-Turkish relations in the past year, and the failure to reach a solution put a check to the political rapprochement of which there was at one time a possibility.

49. Early in the year — immediately after, and possibly to some extent as a result of a visit paid by the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs to Rome — the Turkish Government came forward with proposals to solve the whole problem. The proposals were as simple as they were drastic. Briefly, the Greek Government should pay over forthwith the £500,000 earmarked by the Athens Agreement of December 1926; that would settle the property questions; the other vexed questions, that of the definition of *établissements*, should be settled once and for all by the expulsion of 20,000 Greeks from Constantinople; lastly, the Mixed Commission should be than abolished. These proposals were, of course, wholly unacceptable to the Greeks, who had no intention of paying over a penny, still less half a million sterling, without very serious consideration, and who had no desire to see another 20,000 persons added to the million and a half refugees who had already flocked into their country. As for the Mixed Commission, the Greek Government had no objection to its abolition, provided a speedier method were found to estimate the value of the properties. The Turkish offer was therefore rejected, and the press on both sides settled down to its perennial pastime of menace and abuse. The "Eleftheron Vema" hinted that Greece would throw in her lot with Italy. The Turkish "République" cried aloud for the seizure of all Greek property in Turkey.

50. At this point the Turkish and Greek Ministers for Foreign Affairs met at Geneva at a meeting of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament. Tewfik Rushdi there proposed the conclusion of some Graeco-Turkish political agreement. M. Michalacopoulos did not reject the proposal, but insisted that, as a preliminary, a settlement must be reached, or at the least a binding arbitral arrangement agreed upon, regarding the outstanding questions. Both parties then drew up draft agreements, but they turned out to be so different as to be incompatible. It also appeared that Tewfik Rushdi had no authority from his Government to conclude an agreement at all. So the Geneva conversations closed with little to show for them.

51. The scene then shifted to Milan, whither M. Mussolini invited the two Ministers after the Geneva meeting came to an end. M. Mussolini there set himself to bring the two parties together, and suggested into the bargain some form of tripartite arrangement whereby Italy, Greece and Turkey should all bind themselves to live in amity with each other and settle their differences by methods of conciliation or arbitration. M. Mussolini however, found the idea easier to suggest than to execute. Tewfik Rushdi was only too eager to have a pact with Italy, but he wished to leave Greece out of it. And M. Michalacopoulos would have no pact of friendship with Turkey until agreement was reached on the exchange questions. The meeting therefore concluded without any definite settlement.

52. The Italian move, however, had its effect upon the Greeks, for they now believed they had all the cards in their hands. Italy, they thought, would not sign a pact with Turkey unless a pact were simultaneously signed between Turkey and

Greece, while Tewfik Rushdi had staked his whole position upon signing a pact with Italy. The Greeks therefore felt they had only to hold out and the Turks would be bound to accept their terms of settlement of the exchange questions. Their reasoning might have proved correct had not one of their periodical internal crises intervened, followed by the likely prospect of M. Venizelos returning to politics and to power. The prospect so alarmed and irritated both the Italians and the Turks that on the 30th May they signed a pact between themselves, leaving Greece in the cold.

53. The result was naturally to stiffen the Turkish attitude. Before the Turco-Italian Pact was signed, the Turks and Greeks were reported to be on the verge of agreement. Within three weeks of its signature the Turkish Government suddenly broke off the negotiations and insisted upon referring the whole problem back to the Mixed Commission — in other words, to the very body whose abolition it had proposed some months previously. It went further and passed a measure providing for the liquidation of the properties of Hellenes and non-exchangeable Greeks in Turkey. The application of the measure was indeed, postponed, but the threat was a clear one, though the official "Milliet" endeavoured to smooth matters over and explain that there had been no rupture of the negotiations but only an unavoidable pause due to Tewfik Rushdi's visit abroad in search of health and to the political situation existing for the moment in Greece.

54. The arena then changed to the Mixed Commission itself, which had in the meanwhile been reinforced by a new neutral member, M. Vicuna, a former Minister of the Interior of Chile. This gentleman attacked his task with such energy that the foreign members of the commission were themselves soon at loggerheads. In conjunction with one of his colleagues, he proceeded to throw up a scheme for hastening a solution of the questions under discussion. This roused the wrath of the third neutral member, the Spanish General de Lara, who was away at the time undergoing a cure. An accrimonious correspondence ensued, all duly commented on in the press, and General de Lara then hurried back to Constantinople to express his entire disagreement with his colleague's proposals.

55. The upshot of the commission's subsequent discussions was to send a delegate to Western Thrace to enquire on the spot into a situation which the Turks declared to be intolerable. This move, however, unfortunately had no pacifying effect. The Turkish delegates immediately on their arrival started to listen to complaints about such matters as boys without fezes being refused schooling, and men who had worn hats being denied burial. Then they demanded that they should be allowed to move unaccompanied about the country to enquire into the general conditions of the Moslem population. The Greek delegates not unnaturally refused, whereupon the Turkish delegation returned home and the press in both countries took up the battle where the delegates had left it.

56. Happily, the Governments showed themselves more reasonable than their agents and supporters, and both sides seemed anxious to reach agreement. Once M. Veniselos was firmly in the saddle, the *malaise* which had appeared at the prospect of his rise to power disappeared. Cordial messages were exchanged between him and İsmet and Tefvik Rüşdi, who invited him to Angora to conduct the negotiations himself, and finally to sign a pact of friendship. M. Veniselos at first seemed inclined to go, but later excused himself on the ground of his ignorance of the details of the exchange questions; but he intimated that he would be willing to go and complete the negotiations when the heavy work was finished by his representative on the spot.

57. The year therefore ended on a note of greater optimism, with negotiations being seriously pursued once more at Angora and with apparent hope that they would shortly result in a settlement. An element of comic relief was afforded by a decision of the Exchange Commission to remove its headquarters from Constantinople to the wilds of Western Thrace, where it proposed to continue its ungrateful task in the absence of any suitable office or dwelling accommodation and of any social distractions. The Turkish delegates maintained that the commission had stayed in Constantinople long enough, and no one was bold enough to dispute the fact, but the commission is still here, for all that.

58. It is hardly necessary to add that the absence of settlement of the exchange questions prevented any progress being made with the idea of a naval pact, of which there have been reports from time to time.

Bulgaria.

59. The Turkish Government during the past year has pursued in general a policy of rapprochement with Bulgaria. A treaty of commerce - the first to be concluded by Bulgaria with any of her neighbours - was signed in February, the ratifications being exchanged in August. This, however, was not enough for the Turkish Government. On his way to Geneva in March, Tefvik Rüşdi invited M. Bourroff, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, to meet him at the station at Sofia, and there, in early hours of the morning, he enquired whether the Bulgarian Government was prepared to conclude a treaty of arbitration and non-aggression, as provided for in the already existing treaty of friendship of 1925. M. Bourroff's reply was in the affirmative. On the return journey Tefvik Rüşdi sought a further interview with M. Bourroff, when the latter reiterated his readiness to sign a treaty as proposed. In the interval, however, Tefvik Rüşdi had had the meeting with M. Mussolini described in paragraph 51 of this report, and M. Bourroff felt that, while a pact between Turkey and Italy was in the air, the Bulgarian Government would be wise, in the interest of its relations with Yugoslavia, to postpone signing a treaty with Turkey. For this reason he found one excuse and another to delay matters, so

that, though the press has many times reported that a treaty was on the point of signature, it was not yet signed by the end of the year.

60. Apart from the slight but natural irritation caused by this delay, there has been a further cause for disturbing the equanimity of relations between the two countries. This has been the treatment of Moslems in Bulgaria, resulting in their emigration on a large scale to Turkey. Bulgarian national societies, bent upon their schemes for reserving Bulgaria for the Bulgarians and aided by the natural acquisitiveness of the local populations have instituted a regular policy of making life for Moslems so intolerable that they are forced to sell their property at ridiculous prices and betake themselves and their families to Turkey. It is said that the Bulgarian Government regrets these activities which it cannot prevent. Be that as it may, it was reliably reported that more than 2,000 Turkish families had during the year passed through Varna alone on their way to Turkey, while the exodus from the Philippopolis and Bourgas districts was said to be even greater. On the Turkish side some pride might perhaps have been felt by so widespread a desire to seek shelter in Turkey, had not the emigrants arrived in a penniless condition and loud in their complaints of the sufferings from which they had escaped. Nor was the irritation lessened by the propaganda from time to time indulged in by the Bulgarian "Thracian Committee" in favour of the incorporation of Adrianople in Bulgaria.

Yugoslavia.

61. Though there is only one outstanding question of any importance between Turkey and Yugoslavia, the relations of the two countries during the past year have not been marked by any large degree of cordiality. The Turkish Government apparently had been anxious to conclude some form of political agreement with Yugoslavia, and suggested the simultaneous negotiation of pacts with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Serb-Croat-Slovene Government, however, saw no object in concluding such a treaty, and a certain frigidity between the two Governments was the natural result, which was accentuated when Turkey signed her pact of friendship with Italy. The outstanding question of importance referred to at the beginning of this paragraph is that of Moslem properties in Serbia, the settlement of which, so far as is known, has made no progress in the past year.

Roumania.

62. There is little to report on Turco-Roumanian relations. Early in the year some excitement was caused by the discovery in Constantinople of an organisation whose object it was to place Prince Carol upon the Roumanian Throne by means of a *coup d'Etat*. Little importance, however, was attached to the matter by the Roumanian Legation.

63. Two incidents occurred during the year in the Turco-Roumanian Mixed Arbitral Tribunal of a nature to disturb the relations of the two Governments. The two cases were somewhat similar. In both, judgment was given against the Turks, whereupon the Turkish agent refused to accept the judgment. The Roumanian Government, however, refrained from making diplomatic incidents out of these events.

Albania.

64. With Albania Turkey's relations were not unfriendly until Ahmed Zogu decided to accept the Crown. This act caused extreme indignation on the part of Mustafa Kemal, who not only saw in it a contempt for the democratic catchwords upon which he rules his own country, but also found the European press suggesting that he himself was intending to do likewise. The Turkish Government therefore refused to recognise the Kingdom of Albania, and brought home the Turkish Minister at Tirana on extended leave. King Zog, who at first seemed to view the Turkish attitude with indifference, was later moved to some irritation, especially as he was led to believe that the Turks were supporting the activities of Albanian discontents abroad. Accordingly, at the end of the year, he was contemplating withdrawing the Albanian Chargé d'Affaires from Angora. The Minister had been transferred to another post some months before.

United States of America.

65. No commercial treaty has yet been negotiated to replace the *modus vivendi*, periodically renewed, on which Turco-American commercial relations are based; and though in principle negotiations for conciliation and arbitration treaties have been in progress throughout the year, nothing seems as yet to have been achieved. There appears to be little real anti-American feeling in this country, and opposition to regular treaty relations seems to come entirely from the States. Even that opposition is more or less factitious; nonconformist bodies, who are interested in Turkey through their missionary enterprises, seem generally in favour of a treaty, but amongst episcopalians the Armenian agitation against the treaty had had a considerable measure of success.

66. In spite of these difficulties in official relations, America's imports especially of motor cars and machinery, continue to increase, and Mr. Ford has been granted a free zone in the Constantinople area in which to build a Ford factory to act as a distributing centre for the Near and Middle East.

67. Turkey's adherence to the Kellogg Pact followed more or less as a matter of course. However much Tewfik Rushdi Bey may have been exercised in his mind as to how to give the impression that Turkey was signing at the urgent instance of the original signatories in the interests of world peace and harmony, little attention

was paid to the matter by public opinion, whose attitude, to judge by the press, was rather one of condescending scepticism.

Russia.

68. Turco-Russian relations were outwardly friendly throughout the year. This was clear from all public references made to Russia, though a hint was occasionally given in the press that communism was not for Turkey.

69. In August a number of minor agreements were signed dealing with various questions affecting the Russo-Turkish frontier, and shortly afterwards the reciprocal exports and imports agreement between the two countries was renewed. This, however, did not remove all friction, and there were bitter complaints in the Turkish press at the treatment accorded to Turkish traders in Russia. But, in general, it was obvious that Turkey had neither the will nor the strength to quarrel with Russia. On the Soviet side there was an equally obvious desire to maintain the ascendant position enjoyed in the early days of the struggle for independence. Thus, it was the Soviet Government that proposed Turkey's invitation to take part in the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva in March. From another point of view, it was noticeable that the Soviet Government maintained a greater number of consular and commercial agents in North-Eastern Anatolia than were maintained by the Imperial Government before the Great War, though Russian residents were conspicuously absent and trade was insignificant. Early in the year, too, Soviet commercial offices were opened in Smyrna, Mersina and Trebizond. On the spectacular side, a Russian flotilla paid a visit of courtesy to Turkish waters in May. The fleet was well equipped to make a good impression, and the officers and crews, whose appearance and discipline were all that could be desired, received much hospitality from the Turkish authorities.

70. This outward show did not, however, conceal a certain measure of anxiety on the part of the Turks. The Turkish Government, while always protesting that communism could never thrive in Turkey, seemed clearly nervous of the effect that Communist propaganda might have on the numerous discontents in the country. Throughout the year trials were continually being held of persons accused of spreading Communist propaganda, and several condemnations were made. The sentences, nevertheless, were in all cases light, perhaps because the Turkish Government is afraid to deal boldly with agitation that has its origin, or at any rate support, in such quarters, though possibly no more than an indication of the insignificance of the movement and its advocates.

Afghanistan.

71. Turco-Afghan relations have loomed somewhat large since the visit paid to Turkey by King Amanullah in May. Everything the Turkish authorities could do was then done to make the visit a success. The King was escorted from Sebastopol

by a Turkish flotilla, and everywhere accorded the honours due to his Royal position. The fraternity of the two races was acclaimed in the press, it being taken for granted on both sides that Turkey was the elder brother. The Turks, from the Gazi downwards, posed as persons who had seen a great light and were properly equipped to guide a young nation on the right path to independence and progress. On the other hand, they were careful to keep their proselytising instincts within reasonable bounds, and it was noticeable that the Gazi, when expounding the faith at the State dinner given in King Amanullah's honour, was careful to make no hint of any direct assistance to be expected from Turkey.

72. This same tendency to limit obligations was also the striking note in the treaty of friendship which was concluded between the two Powers in the course of the visit. Hitherto the relations had been framed in a treaty of 1921, by which "each of the parties would consider as directed against itself personally, and would oppose with all the means at its disposal, any attack made against the other by any imperialistic State in pursuance of the policy of invasion and exploitation of the East." The new treaty it is true, implied in its preamble that the 1921 treaty still remained valid, and that the purpose of the new treaty was only to elaborate and confirm its terms. But actually the new obligations assumed were of a very restricted character, amounting only to using all efforts to prevent aggression by third Powers and to deliberating on the situation in a friendly spirit should such efforts not succeed in preventing war. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs professed to see in this treaty a compromise between the definite commitment of 1921 and the anodyne neutrality treaties which had been concluded with Russia and Persia in 1925.

73. The outward show of friendship, however, received considerable emphasis. The press was filled with laudatory articles, the Legations in both countries were shortly raised to Embassies, and fifteen Afghan girl students were sent to Turkey to be educated.

74. By a further article in the treaty Turkey undertook to put at the disposal of the Afghan Government specialists of various kinds to help in the intellectual and military progress of Afghanistan. Accordingly, a large Turkish military mission was at the end of the year despatched to Afghanistan under the leadership of a distinguished general. Unhappily, the mission had not arrived in Afghanistan before a serious revolt broke out in that country, a revolt designed primarily against the very reforms with which the Turks were so manifestly identified.

75. The very name of Turkey stank in the nostrils of the fanatical leaders of the rebellion, and it was clear that Turkey's whole position in Afghanistan would depend upon how far King Amanullah successfully asserted his authority. The solution was far from clear at the end of the year and filled the Turkish Government with considerable concern. The Turkish Government, inspired no

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doubt by the Soviets, seemed inclined to suspect that the rebellion had been fostered by His Majesty's Government.

Persia.

76. Negotiations proceeded spasmodically during the year with a view to the conclusion of a Turco-Persian frontier agreement, but the year ended without any such agreement having been reached. According to information furnished by both sides, there was no question of modifying the frontier, which was, on the contrary, to be left as settled in 1913. The negotiations were concerned with working out an amplification of articles 5 and 6 of the Treaty of Friendship of 1926, which were designed to put an end to activities on the part of organisations and tribes in one country directed against the other. But the Turkish Government, still anxious lest Kurdish insurgents in the eastern provinces should receive succour from the Persian side of the boundary, appears to have placed its demands so high that agreement proved impossible.

77. On the other hand, an anodyne protocol was signed at Tehran on the 15th June as an annex to the treaty of 1926. By article 1 each party engaged itself, in the event of the other being menaced by a third Power, to use all its efforts to ameliorate the situation, and, in the event of war becoming inevitable, to endeavour to find a satisfactory solution. By article 2 the two parties agreed to regularise their commercial relations as speedily as possible and to nominate special delegates for the purpose.

78. This protocol, coupled on the one hand with the Turco-Afghan Treaty signed on the 25th May (article 2 of which was practically identical with article 1 of the Turco-Persian Protocol), and on the other hand with a protocol on similar lines concluded between Persia and Afghanistan on the 15th June, formed a kind of tripartite pact between the three countries. The flimsy nature of these agreements was, however, demonstrated by the fact that, even before the end of June Feroughi Khan, the special Persian envoy sent to negotiate the Turco-Persian frontier agreement, admitted his despair of arriving at a solution. In October, to his undisguised dismay, he was appointed Persian Ambassador at Angora.

Egypt.

79. There is little to report regarding Turco-Egyptian relations in the past year. During the crisis in the spring, following upon Egypt's rejection of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, it was noticeable that Turkey's sympathy was all on the side of the Egyptians, as it is on the side of all Eastern peoples struggling to free themselves from the domination of Western Powers. But Turkish sympathies do not extend to the Egyptian dynasty. The Gazi, whether or not through forgetfulness, failed to telegraph his congratulations to King Fuad, either on the Royal accession day or on the King's birthday. This, greatly irritated the King, who retaliated by sending

no telegram to the Gazi on the Turkish National day, and forbidding any Egyptian official to attend the reception given on that day at the Turkish Legation at Cairo.

Arabia.

80. There is nothing to report regarding Turkish relations with the Hejaz or the Yemen during the past year.

Germany.

81. There is everywhere evidence of the continued determination of Germany to lose no opportunity of firmly establishing commercial relations with Turkey, in order that she may command such markets as this country may ultimately afford for her exports. To judge by the conditions, and often palpably uneconomic prices accepted for contrasts by German firms, official support is very readily granted to commercial enterprises wishing to do business here. Added to this, large sums have been expended on an elaborate Embassy at Angora, which has now been all but completed. The Ambassador and his staff took up permanent residence there in December 1928.

Poland.

82. A new Minister, M. Casimir Olszowski, was appointed to take the place of M. Wierusz-Kowalski (who died in Angora in 1927). M. Olszowski came here from Berlin, and presented his credentials when the Gazi returned to Angora at the end of October. When the appointment was made it was understood that the Poles were anxious to raise their mission in Turkey to the rank of an Embassy, though the Turks appear to have been unwilling to reciprocate on grounds of expense. It is uncertain how far the Polish wish was actuated by a desire to compensate M. Olszowski for his removal from so important a post as Berlin, and how far it indicated an increased importance attached by the Poles to relations with Turkey. In any case, the Poles, so His Majesty's Minister at Warsaw reported, are paying increasing attention to their intarests in the Near and Middle East, in the vague hope that they may one day supplant the Russians as the leading Power in Eastern Europe. So far as Turkey is concerned, a large Polish Legation is in process of construction at Angora, though the building has for some time now remained only half finished, perhaps owing to lack of funds. Also, provision was made in the Polish budget for 1928-29 for the creation of a consulate at Trebizond, its object being to increase the Polish export trade to Persia and the Middle East. Poland's direct commercial interest in this country cannot be of any importance, though she clearly is interested politically in Turkey's relations with their common neighbour, Soviet Russia. Turkey's interest in Poland appears to be confined to an occasional press article on Polish treatment of Moslem subjects.

Central Europe.

83. No question of special interest is known to have arisen between Turkey and Austria during the current year.

84. Relations with Czechoslovakia have been strengthened by the entry into force of a commercial treaty and a residence convention. The instruments of ratification were exchanged at Prague on the 5th March and the 6th April respectively. The tariffs under the new treaty applied to Czech goods imported into Turkey, are those provided for in the commercial convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne.

85. Good relations with Hungary were further confirmed during the year under review by the visit of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Budapest on his return from a holiday in Austria in August. Discussions between Tewfik Rushdi Bey and the Hungarian Government appear to have entirely general, and to have included a reference to a pact of arbitration, negotiations for which had already been initiated. This pact has no doubt intended to supplement the commercial and residence conventions which came into force in September 1927.

Belgium.

86. The treaty of commerce and navigation with Belgium concluded at Angora on the 28th August, 1927, was duly ratified by both parties, and came into force on the 12th November.

The Netherlands.

87. A commercial agreement between Turkey and the Netherlands was signed at Angora on the 26th July, but remained still unratified at the end of the year.

Switzerland.

88. As a natural outcome of the treaty of friendship of 1925, and the commercial treaty and establishment convention of 1927, a permanent Swiss Legation was created in 1928 in Turkey, and M. Martin, who had been in charge of the Swiss mission sent to negotiate these treaties, was duly appointed Minister. On the 9th December a further treaty of conciliation, judicial settlement, and arbitration was signed at Angora.

Scandinavia.

89. Relations with Norway, Denmark and Sweden in the past year call for no particular comment, beyond the success of Sweden in obtaining industrial contracts. These are dealt with in paragraphs 150 to 158.

90. Commercial relations are still based on provisional agreements periodically prolonged, although Sweden negotiated a treaty of commerce and navigation

which was signed on the 4th February and ratified by Sweden, but not before the end of the year by Turkey.

Baltic States.

91. A treaty of commerce and navigation with Estonia was negotiated at Angora in March and has been ratified. A similar treaty has been concluded with Latvia. Both treaties are interesting in that they introduce certain reservations, such as the right to grant special tariffs to countries forming a customs union with Turkey, which may eventually be maintained in the commercial treaties to be negotiated with the parties to the Lausanne treaty on its expiry in August next.

Latin America.

92. The treaties of friendship with Mexico and Brazil were ratified in 1928 and have duly entered into force.

China.

93. In March a party of Chinese nationalist leaders passed through Turkey on their way round a visit to Europe and America. Representing as they did no real Government, they were given a very minor reception by the Turkish Government. Later in the year the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Nanking. The Nanking Government, however, refused to let him take up his post, saying that there could be no diplomatic relations without a treaty of friendship. No such treaty had been concluded before the end of this year.

Japan.

94. Turco-Japanese relations have continued normal. The Japanese Ambassador went home on leave in October preparatory to being transferred to another post. His successor was not appointed before the end of the year.

III- INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Introduction.

95. The transformation of Turkey into a Westernised national lay State continues. Special attention is being paid to education, particularly to the introduction of the new characters. The desire to break up the old religion still continues, though it has received something of a check owing to the disturbing signs of opposition that it has aroused. But in spite of opposition, the Government is still master, though the future still depends to a great extent on the length of the Gazi's life.

Ihsan Case.

96. The year 1928 opened with the Ihsan case. This Minister of Marine and several other Deputies were charged with misapprobation in connexion with big contracts for the purchase of a floating dock and for the repair of the "Goeben" in that dock. After a preliminary examination, their parliamentary immunity was suspended and the Minister and his accomplices were arrested and arraigned before a high court constituted for the purpose. While the proceedings dragged on through many months, interest was intense. Corruption being a prevalent offence, few people felt totally unconcerned. Besides that, it was recognised that the Gazi, in striking at Ihsan and his friends, was trying to shake off a certain Jacobin element for which he had no further use. But when sentence was at last delivered in April, it was moderate. Ihsan received two years, Sabanjali Hakki one, and the others a few months. There was little positive proof, but everyone knew they were guilty. The moderation of the punishment disarmed any possible sympathy, and the Gazi passed what might have turned into a crisis, with his customary success, both ridding himself of possible adversaries and giving officialdom a warning as to honesty.

Ali Jenani.

97. No sooner was this case disposed of than the ex-Minister of Commerce, Ali Jenani Bey, had to be arraigned before the special high court. The Ihsan case had let loose recriminations, and his friends in the Government were unable to save him from facing the consequences of the general knowledge that he was not able to account for a large part of half a million Turkish pounds which he had received as Minister of Commerce for steadying grain prices. He was convicted of "misapplication" and condemned to a nominal month's prison and to refund the missing sum. How far his offence was due to carelessness and how far to design cannot be said. To the relief of everyone who feared that certain other scandals might come before it, the high court then closed its doors, leaving Ihsan and his accomplices in durance vile but Ali Jenani with undiminished kudos in the best Angora circles.

Administration.

98. Although these trials gave the country a shock for a time in that there were few consciences entirely free on such scores, it cannot be said that officialdom, at any rate in its lower ranks, did not continue to be as corrupt as before. Indeed, it was declared to be growing even more corrupt, and, taken as a whole, from top to bottom and from Smyrna to the Persian frontier, its inefficiency was no doubt only a little less than, say, in the years just before the war.

Immigrants.

99. One of the scandals which the new Minister of the Interior undertook to end was the failure of the Government to settle the Moslem immigrants. Even those who had survived the original transfer from Greece in 1923 and 1924 were often unable to get a valid title to the property which was nominally allotted to them. Others had kept arriving — and continued to do so throughout the year — from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Less was heard of their grievances as the year advanced, and it is possible that the Minister of the Interior had some success in diminishing the scandal.

Security.

100. Arising out of the destitution of immigrants who had been left to shift for themselves in the districts, there was a certain recrudescence of insecurity in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Travellers were also attacked in the Trebizond district in September, and in the Adana district later in the year. These sporadic incidents were satisfactorily dealt with and perhaps only served to emphasise the extraordinary good state of security which is, in general, maintained by the Government.

Kurds.

101. Throughout the year the Kurdish question, the chief internal problem of the Government, was happily in the background, but it existed none the less. In pursuance of a modified policy adopted at the end of 1927 the Government tried methods of conciliation. Military authority was reduced, a civil inspector-general, Ibrahim Tali Bey, was appointed with headquarters at Diarbekir, and an increased force of gendarmes was put at his disposal. Innocuous Kurds continued to be sent back to the eastern vilayets, an amnesty was proclaimed in May, brothers of Sheikh Said submitted in August, and by September Ibrahim tali Bey had been able to make a tour not only in the southern Kurdish districts, but also as far north as Van and Bitlis. In the late autumn he announced a programme of roadbuilding which, if completed, as he asserted it would be, in a few years, should enable the law of the land to run throughout the eastern vilayets. In general the impression left by the scant information available was that the year's application of the new policy of conciliation had had a certain measure of success.

Communism.

102. From time to time measures were taken against Communists. In July some forty persons were sentenced each to a few months' imprisonment for distributing Communist leaflets in Smyrna, Constantinople, Angora and other towns. Eighty Hungarian Communists were expelled from Angora, nine Bulgarians from Smyrna. In October the Government supported the Constantinople tram company in

breaking a strike of its employees which had been fostered by Communists. In general, the Government consistently followed the line of checking Communist activities before they became at all formidable, and made it plain, as the Minister of the Interior said in the Assembly, that Turkey could not allow aliens to defy the law.

Education.

103. There was no relaxation of the pursuit of the Government's education policy. The number of schools and scholars increased steadily. Advance was, as before, hindered by the lack of teachers rather than of money.

Health.

104. The Ministry of Health was responsible for a large number of new laws. Fresh provisions were elaborated for regularising the practice of medicine, dentistry, midwifery, and nursing. Pharmacies were subjected by law to more systematic supervision. The need for improving the health of a sparse population being ever regarded as elementary, more or less systematic, but quite inadequate, measures were continued in the struggle against malaria, tuberculosis and venereal disease. Here again lack of skilled men rather than of funds is the chief impediment.

Justice.

105. The working of the law courts, apart from the specially established and temporary high court, gave rise to little comment. The general opinion is that, as the judges become less unfamiliar with the new codes the judicial machine improves gradually. The Minister of Justice claimed in public that the number of properly qualified judges had substantially increased, and with it the volume of litigation. Foreigners, however, avoid recourse to the law as much as possible.

Minorities.

106. The year 1928 may be considered a relatively happy one for the minorities, for under this head there is little to record. The election - with Turkish support - to the ephory of the Greek cathedral of Pera of two adherents of the self-appointed Pappa Eftim caused a few days' storm in the Greek community. But on the whole the Greek Church and community were left in peace. A few Armenians continued to trickle into Constantinople from the interior, where they exist in small but unorganised communities. The Armenian Catholic community got a welcome respite from dispute, thanks to the transfer of its Patriarchate to Beirut and to the appointment of an archbishop as head of the Church in Constantinople. Syrian Christians in Cilicia, many of whom own a considerable amount of property, remained the victims of some degree of petty persecution. The Jews, after one or two troubled years, were free of molestation.

Cabinet.

107. İsmet Paşa made three changes in his Cabinet. After the impeachment of İhsan Bey, the Ministry of Marine was suppressed and three Under-Secretaries for Army, Marine and Air were appointed at the Ministry of Defence. Similarly as Sabri Bey, the Minister of Agriculture, was not altogether *persona grata* to the Gazi, his portfolio was withdrawn ostensibly for motives of economy, and his Department merged with the Ministry of Commerce under the title of Ministry of Economy. In the autumn Behiç Bey, the Minister for Public Works, was appointed Minister at Budapest and replaced by Rejeb Bey, a former Cabinet Minister who had fallen out with İsmet Paşa but was now reconciled to him again.

Assembly.

108. The Assembly was in session for the usual period from November 1927 till midsummer. In April it passed a law discarding Islam as the State religion, providing that Deputies should henceforth swear by their honour instead of by Allah, and omitting the application of the sacred law from the constitutional definition of their duties. The laicisation of the State was thereby completed. Other laws which it produced were mainly matters of routine. One of more than usual interest to foreigners was the Nationality Law. It was at first feared that its intention was to claim as Turks all children born in the country of foreign parents, but ultimately its ambiguous phrasing was officially declared to signify only that the second foreign generation born in Turkey would be so claimed.

The Gazi.

109. Despite many prognostications to the contrary, Mustafa Kemal Paşa retained his health and strength. In June, when the Assembly had closed and the heat of Angora become disagreeable, he again took up his residence at Dolma Bagcheh Palace to spend the summer on the Bosphorus. While here he would attend dances and cafés in different parts of the city, and the excesses of his private life were common talk.

Alphabet.

110. It was towards the end of his stay in Constantinople that the alphabet campaign, into which he threw his accustomed vigour, was launched. This had been foreshadowed by a law under which European numerals came into general use in August. By means of the press, the advantages of the "Gazi's alphabet," or, as he called them, "the Turkish letters," were emphasised. Children would learn more quickly, adults would now learn who had never learned yet, the Turkish mind, which had been kept in the trammels of the Arab letters, would now readily develop its full powers. A reading and writing class was started at Dolma Bagcheh for Cabinet Ministers and other friends of the Gazi's. Official departments and various societies set up similar classes. Text-books were printed and teachers

trained with the utmost haste. Gradually it became known that the new alphabet was to come into force not in five years, as had been supposed, but in so few months that it was imperative for everyone to start learning with a will. The Gazi then took on himself the part of headmaster, asking people whom he chanced to meet how they were getting on with their new lesson, and paying surprise visits to Brusa, Rodosto and Chanak, and there putting the local officials through their paces. Having acquired the new art themselves, the Deputies were then sent off to teach their constituents, and in September the Gazi returned to Angora via Samsun, setting up his blackboard in the market place at each town on his way. As İsmet Pasha said in his speech at malatya on the 11th September, the whole country was turned into a school by this campaign against ignorance. The objective was that everyone should be able to read and write. After the customary national celebrations of the 29th October, the Assembly reopened on the 1st November. Its first act was to rush an Alphabet Bill through in fifteen minutes, under the terms of which the new letters came into use in the press and in public notices on the 1st December and into official use at the end of the year. The effect of all this upon the feelings of the country is still hard to determine. At first the ignorant had often been inclined to see in the new letters a kind of talisman while the more enlightened did not at once realise that the innovation meant a break in their whole cultural and religious tradition much more serious than the introduction of hats. The enthusiasm with which the reform was first welcomed by many tended to cool down rapidly, especially in backward places like Trebizond, and rumours got about that this innovation was not to be the last, but that the whole country was to be forced to accept Christianity. This uneasiness showed itself towards the end of the year in outbreaks of which the details were kept too dark for the truth to be known. There was a movement, apparently among military officers, at Brusa, but it was suppressed by the local military authorities themselves. A plot at Constantinople, on which the press was allowed to dwell, was perhaps a ramification of the Brusa movement. In spite of official denials, a movement almost certainly arouse and was suppressed at Sivas, and there was some evidence of similar occurrences at Konia and elsewhere. A plan to assassinate the Gazi also seemed to have been nipped in the bud.

Position of the Government.

111. In spite of the far-reaching nature of the reform involved by the adoption of European writing, the Government had, to all appearance at least, as firm a hold on the country at the end of 1928 as ever. Grumbling was certainly to be heard. Times were bad, as is shown in detail elsewhere. There was much bankruptcy in business. Taxation was up to the limit of endurance. The harvests, unfortunately, were ruined by drought. The Administration was normally inefficient enough to be blamed for much of this. Above all, there was this continued tendency to be forced to adopt the ways of those whom the multitude had been bred to despise as

"giaours." Officers and men in the army must largely have felt this discontent, but, whatever may have been the object of the Brusa plot, there was no sign of whole units of the army becoming disaffected. The Kemalist régime therefore remained firmly established. The country had another twelve months to assimilate the modernism which its ruler has imposed on it. With a budget still devoted as to about 40 per cent. to military uses, the Administration continued to suffer sadly from lack of funds. Efficient maintenance of the existing machine was nearly as impossible as adequate development. Nevertheless the Government managed at last to settle the questions of the public debt and the Anatolian Railway on terms which must diminish its discredit. The Gazi must therefore be considered to have continued his policy of regeneration with success for yet another year.

IV. ECONOMIC SITUATION

Introduction.

112. On the economic side the difficulties are not nearly overcome. Turkey is indeed trying to set her finances on a sounder footing, and to this end has settled the coupons question and bought the Anatolian Railway. Also she continues to balance her budget. The position is however, still precarious. She can still not borrow abroad, and has to finance her ambitious railway schemes on income. She is near, some would say over, the limit of taxation, but shows no signs of reducing expenditure, especially on her defences. The continued spirit of nationalism applied to economic problems can give no confidence, while a particularly poor harvest caused widespread distress in the country and numerous bankruptcies, as well as showing up the unstable character of the lira.

Trade.

113. A persistent drought in the autumn of 1927, followed by an exceptionally long and severe winter, prevented normal sowings, and the very dry weather prevailing during the spring season destroyed considerable portions of the crops.

114. Turkey is, at present, essentially an agricultural country, and her capacity to provide an outlet for British manufacturers depends to a greater extent upon the yield of her crops than upon her industrial capacity.

115. The losses in cattle due to a very severe winter and the failure of the 1928 crops, depriving the population in certain districts of an immediate livelihood, are factors which have prejudiced the commercial activity of the country, and owing to a succession of adverse circumstances general economic conditions, even in preceeding years, were none too favourable.

116. Imports of wheat and flour have already affected the value of the lira, and there have been in the course of the year a series of bankruptcies in Constantinople itself.

117. No customs returns have yet been published which would give a reliable indication of the trend of trade in 1927 and 1928, but it is obvious that both the import and export trade were disappointing. As regards exports, Turkey has much to learn as far as marketing her products is concerned. In the case of those articles, such as mohair, dried fruit, &c. whose export is principally in the hands of longestablished foreign traders, marketing is efficiently carried out, but as regards other products the lack of co-operation amongst exporters and their disregard of world prices and crops nullify the efforts made by the Government and growers to intensify cultivation and production.

118. According to the most recent Turkish customs returns published, those for 1926, the value of Turkey's imports during the year in question was £T. 234,591,722 as against exports to the value of £T. 187,742,801, or a total overseas trade of £T. 422,334,523.

119. The following table establishes the comparison between Turkey's imports and exports in 1926 and 1925:

	Year	Imports £T.	Exports £T.	Total £T.	Percentage of exports to total trade
1925	242,314,117	193,119,756	435,433,873	44.35
1926	234,591,722	187,742,801	422,334,523	44.45

120. It will be seen from this table that the value of imports in 1926 decreased by £T. 7,722,395 (3.15 per cent.) as compared with those of the preceding year, whilst exports decreased in value by £T. 5,376,955 (2.8 per cent.), and Turkey's total overseas trade showed a decrease of £T. 13,099,350, or 3 per cent., as compared with 1925. The proportion of exports as compared to the total trade was comparatively the same in both years.

121. On a basis of comparison by weight, Turkey's imports showed a falling off in 1926 of 100,000 tons as compared with the preceding year, whilst, on the other hand, exports, despite a slight falling off in value as compared with 1925, showed an increase in weight of over 100,000 tons. As regards imports, the decrease in weight was principally due to the fact that in 1926 Turkey imported over 100,000 tons less grain than in 1925, and from the increase in the tonnage of Turkey's produce exported as compared with the decrease in value of those products, it is evident that market prices abroad must have fallen considerably in 1926 as compared with the preceeding year.

122. Turkey's adverse trade balance during the years 1923 to 1926 was the following:

Year		Adverse trade balance £T.	Percentage of exports to total trade
1923	....	60,137,482	36.9
1924	....	34,843,091	45.05
1925	....	49,194,361	44.35
1926	....	46,848,921	44.45

Imports.

123. The principal countries exporting to Turkey were:

Country.	1926. £T. millions	1925. £T. millions	1924. £T. millions	1923. £T. millions
Italy	37.1 (1)	43.4 (1)	40.9 (1)	28.3 (1)
England	33.0 (2)	37.8 (2)	34.2 (2)	25.0 (2)
Germany	32.3 (3)	27.4 (3)	19.1 (3)	9.2 (5)
France	31.9 (4)	26.0 (4)	18.3 (4)	13.2 (3)
Czechoslovakia	16.4 (5)	10.0 (7)	6.1 (12)	1.8 (13)
Belgium	13.5 (6)	11.9 (6)	8.7 (7)	7.41 (7)
Russia	8.5 (7)	6.1 (11)	6.3 (11)	3.0 (12)
United States	8.1 (8)	19.6 (5)	11.3 (5)	11.5 (4)
Holland	6.9 (9)	6.4 (8)	6.3 (10)	3.8 (10)
Japan	6.0 (10)	4.5 (13)	3.0 (14)	1.0 (14)

124. It will be observed from this table that Italy and the United Kingdom maintained their relative positions at the head of the table during the four years in question, but the margin between them and other countries gradually decreased. Whereas exports to Turkey from the United Kingdom increased by only £T. 8 million since 1923, exports from Germany increased by £T. 23 million, from France by £T. 18.7 million, and from Czechoslovakia by nearly £T. 15 million. The value of imports into Turkey from Italy and the United Kingdom shows a decrease in 1926 as compared with 1925, and a still greater decrease was shown in the case of the United States, principally on account of the fact that Turkey was in 1926 able to reduce the value of her imports of grain and flour by over £T. 16 million.

125. As in 1925, Turkey's principal article of import was cotton goods to the value of £T. 71,081,186, representing 30 per cent. of the total imports of the country. In 1925 the value of Turkey's imports of cotton goods was £T. 74,127,634, or 30.6 per cent. of the total imports.

126. The marked shrinkage in our exports to Turkey in 1926 may be attributed principally to the heavy dumping which took place during that year of Italian piece-goods. Local importers took advantage of the depreciated Italian lira, and placed orders for goods far in excess of their normal requirements. Other

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123. The principal countries exporting to Turkey were:

<u>Country.</u>	<u>1926.</u>	<u>1925.</u>	<u>1924.</u>	<u>1923.</u>
	<u>£T. millions</u>	<u>£T. millions</u>	<u>£T. millions</u>	<u>£T. millions</u>
Italy 37.1 (1)	43.4 (1)	40.9 (1)	28.3 (1)
England 33.0 (2)	37.8 (2)	34.2 (2)	25.0 (2)
Germany 32.3 (3)	27.4 (3)	19.1 (3)	9.2 (5)
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124. It will be observed from this table that Italy and the United Kingdom maintained their relative positions at the head of the table during the four years in question, but the margin between them and other countries gradually decreased. Whereas exports to Turkey from the United Kingdom increased by only £T. 8 million since 1923, exports from Germany increased by £T. 23 million, from France by £T. 18.7 million, and from Czechoslovakia by nearly £T. 15 million. The value of imports into Turkey from Italy and the United Kingdom shows a decrease in 1926 as compared with 1925, and a still greater decrease was shown in the case of the United States, principally on account of the fact that Turkey was in 1926 able to reduce the value of her imports of grain and flour by over £T. 16 million.

125. As in 1925, Turkey's principal article of import was cotton goods to the value of £T. 71,081,186, representing 30 per cent. of the total imports of the country. In 1925 the value of Turkey's imports of cotton goods was £T. 74,127,634, or 30.6 per cent. of the total imports.

126. The marked shrinkage in our exports to Turkey in 1926 may be attributed principally to the heavy dumping which took place during that year of Italian piece-goods. Local importers took advantage of the depreciated Italian lira, and placed orders for goods far in excess of their normal requirements. Other

contributory factors were the increasing interest shown in this market by Japanese, Belgian and other manufacturers.

127. Competition is extremely severe, and apart from certain classes of articles for which the United Kingdom has no serious competitor, the deciding factor on this market is, and will continue to be, that of price. No sovereign specific exists to cure this falling off in the United Kingdom's trade, and whilst our foreign competitors can with lower freights and lower production costs continue to undercut us, the only hope for an increase of British trade in cotton goods is to be found in a general improvement in the standard of living in Turkey, a contingency which is at least very remote.

Exports.

128. *Tobacco.* As in 1925, Turkey's principal export in 1926 was tobacco to the value of £T. 67,500,000 (41,562 tons). According to the customs returns the principal importer of Turkish tobacco was Italy, with imports to the value of £T. 36 million. An examination of Turkey's exports by country of destination is, however, of little real value, particularly in the case of Italy, which is shown in the customs returns as being Turkey's principal customer, whereas the amount of Turkish produce really imported into Italy is very small, and the greater part of the merchandise shown as exported to Italy is merely shipped to Trieste, where it is manipulated in bond or stored in transit prior to re-exportation to Central Europe or to America. Of the tobacco to the value of £T. 36 million shown as exported to Italy, at least five-sixths was manipulated in Trieste and eventually re-exported. Apart from Italy, Turkey's principal client of tobacco was Germany, whose imports amounted to £T. 12 million.

129. *Dried fruit.* The following table shows Turkey's exports of dried fruit between the years 1923 and 1926 inclusive:

		1923	1924	1925	1926
		<u>Millions</u>	<u>Millions</u>	<u>Millions</u>	<u>Millions</u>
£T.	.....	28.4	39.4	37.6	34.6
Kilog	.....	74.4	70.3	82.9	83.5

130. The following were the principal countries of destination in 1926:

		<u>Millions</u>
United Kingdom	.....	£T. 9.2
Germany	.....	£T. 7.4
Italy	.....	£T. 4.4
United States	.....	£T. 4.1
France	.....	£T. 3.5

131. *Wool, Mohair and Carpets.* The value in exports in 1926 was £T. 16 million, the principal countries of destination being:

		<u>Millions</u>
United Kingdom	....	£T. 6.0
United States	....	£T. 5.2
France	....	£T. 1.2

132. *Cotton.* In 1926 Turkey exported 17,000 tons of cotton to the value of £T. 12 million, the principal countries of import being:

		<u>Millions</u>
Italy	....	£T. 3.8
France	....	£T. 3.3
United Kingdom	....	£T. 2.3

133. The following table shows the principal countries importing Turkish produce during the years 1923 to 1926, but, as already stated, no great reliance can be placed on these figures:

Country		1926	1925	1924	1923
		<u>£T. Millions</u>	<u>£T. millions</u>	<u>£T. Millions</u>	<u>£T. millions</u>
Italy	....	51.7 (1)	50.4 (1)	34.8 (1)	15.2 (2)
United States	....	24.8 (2)	25.1 (2)	16.3 (5)	6.7 (5)
Germany	....	23.5 (3)	27.6 (3)	20.5 (3)	7.6 (4)
France	....	22.9 (4)	24.1 (4)	18.7 (4)	10.5 (3)
United Kingdom	....	21.3 (5)	17.4 (5)	23.2 (2)	15.7 (1)
Greece	....	8.4 (6)	9.4 (7)	8.3 (8)	2.8 (9)
Syria	....	7.6 (7)	11.6 (6)	9.2 (7)	6.0 (7)
Egypt	....	7.4 (8)	5.9 (8)	4.8 (9)	2.8 (8)
Russia	....	5.2 (9)	4.9 (10)	2.0 (11)	1.7 (11)
Holland	....	4.3 (10)	5.8 (9)	9.3 (6)	6.6 (6)

Government Administration

Finance: The 1928-1929 Budget.

134. Revenue as approved by the Grand National Assembly, attained £T. 207,173,199, against approved expenditure amounting to £T. 207,169,388. This was the fifth budget established by the Republic of Turkey, and the third showing a small credit balance.

Revenue.

135. Approved revenue amounted to £T. 207,173,199 against £T. 194,580,554 for 1927-28. A surplus therefore envisaged, amounting to £T. 12,592,645, the greater portion of which was allocated to the vote for public works. The estimates

of revenue for the 1928-29 budget were based on the revenue actually derived during the first ten months of 1927-28, as well as on increased receipts which the Ministry of Finance hoped to obtain from certain branches of revenue.

Expenditure.

136. Expenditure, compared with the votes for 1927-28, represented an increase of £T. 12,714,799, which was partly compensated by the increase in revenue and by cuts in the votes of certain departments.

137. The Government has undoubtedly made every effort to establish more precise budgets. It has reorganised its system of accountancy on modern lines, progress has been made in the domain of public works with the limited resources at its disposal, but taxation has nearly reached its high-water mark. The population can scarcely support the increase of existing taxes or the establishment of new ones.

The Budget Estimates for 1929-30.

138. Revenue as estimated by the Turkish Treasury attains £T. 220,298,300, and expenditure £T. 220,297,268 which, compared with approved estimates for the current year, represent an increase in revenue of £T. 13,125,101 and of £T. 13,127,880 in expenditure.

Revenue.

139. The Minister of Finance hopes to derive his increased receipts mainly from customs revenue, the land and profits taxes, stamp duties and monopolies.

140. In establishing the customs estimates, the Minister has been guided by the following considerations: The new tariff, when finally drawn up and applies on the expiration of the commercial convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne, will, so it is said, represent a general increase in rates of approximately 30 per cent., which is calculated to furnish an increase, based on the customs returns for 1927-28 of £T. 9,300,000. As, however, the Treasury foresees a drop in the volume of trade as the result of the increased customs rates, a loss of £T. 5,300,000 is allowed, and therefore this sum is deducted from the £T. 9,300,000 to allow for such contingency.

Expenditure.

141. The increased expenditure of £13,127,880 is, with the exception of £T. 2,777, covered by the estimated increase in revenue of £T. 13,125,103. Increased credits have been allocated to the following departments: Public Works, National Economy, Public Instruction, Gendarmerie, Hygiene, Customs, Public Security.

142. The vote proposed under the heading Public Debt amounts to £T. 28,015,714 as compared with £T. 13,468,290 for the current financial year, but in

the estimates for 1929-30 is included an amount of £12,714,364 to cover State pensions. This vote was, in the budget allocations for the present financial year, included in that of the Ministry of Finance, so that the estimate actually earmarked for debt services is £T. 15,301,350, an increase of £T. 1,833,060.

143. The vote proposed for the external debt, £T. 13,631,342, represents an increase of £T. 2,372,388 as compared with the current year, but the credit required for the internal loan shows a decrease of £T. 539,328.

Debts, Loans and Government Obligations.

144. The agreement reached between the bondholders and the delegates of the Turkish Government for the resumption of the services of the Ottoman Public Debt was formerly ratified by the Grand National Assembly on the 30th November.

145. The agreement had previously been discussed by the Popular party and, in accordance with the Gazi's expressed wish, this outstanding difference with Western Europe, when it came before the Grand National Assembly, was not much more than a performance staged for the benefit of the general public. The Assembly added, however, two conditions to the agreement, providing that the interests of the State must be preserved (a) in the division of certain outstanding portions of the Tripoli indemnity, and of the Reserve Fund (b) in connexion with the withdrawal of Ottoman notes issued in and after 1914. In the opinion of the Ministry of Finance, these reservations are not considered likely to affect the validity of Turkey's ratification or the bondholders' rights, and the press, commenting upon the ratification of the agreement, explained the second proviso by a statement that the excess of the old notes presented for exchange, over the Debt Administration's estimate of the total of that issue, was due to malpractice on the part of officials of the administration.

Constantinople Municipal Loan.

146. Negotiations have recently taken place between a delegate of the bondholders and the municipality with a view to effecting a settlement out of court. No agreement had, however, been reached by the end of the year.

Public Works

Railways.

147. A detailed statement on railways was furnished in the last annual report, wherein reference was made to the Swedish and Belgian contracts.

Belgian Contracts.

148. The rumour in respect of the annulment of the Belgian contract was confirmed, the contract having been cancelled at the end of 1927 owing to the

failure of the concessionary group to finance the undertaking; this failure was due, it is believed, to the inability of the concessionary parties to discount the bonds issued by the Turkish Government.

149. At present the permanent way is being parcelled out to native contractors, but during the course of this year more than one foreign group has made overtures to the Ministry of Public Works with the object of taking over the Belgian agreement. Among these groups figured the German consortium, consisting of the firms of Otto Wolff, Julius Berger and Krupps, and the American firm Fox Brothers International Corporation. The latter group had already undertaken contract work in Turkey, and in the course of negotiations with the Turkish Government for the erection of railway workshops at Kaisarié it was suggested to the group that it should undertake not only those sections left unfinished by the Belgian group but also a line from Sivas to Erzeroum, as well as a line linking the Kaisarié-Sivas line with Malatia. Negotiations have been carried on throughout the current year, but no definite agreement has been reached, and from the most recent information available it would appear that Messrs. Fox Brothers are no longer pursuing negotiations, being desirous of concentrating on a scheme for the construction of the ports of Samsoun and Mersina.

The Swedish Group.

150. Early in the year a dispute arose between the Turkish Government and the Swedish group in regard to the cost of the railway lines which this group had undertaken to construct. In spite of the desire of the Turkish Government to avoid a repetition of the collapse of the Belgian contract, the divergence between the original terms of the Swedish contract and the revised estimate of the cost presented by the group was so great that no agreement seemed possible except by a curtailment of the programme to be carried out.

151. The case for the Swedish group appeared to be that the original estimate of £T. 110 million was made by the Turkish Government and not by themselves, and that since the contract was signed the following factors had given rise to a modification in the estimate:

- (a) The Angora-Eregli line was to have been a narrow-gauge line, but the Turkish Government asked the group to construct a normal gauge, this modification necessitating an increase in the cost of the permanent way and of the rolling-stock and bridges. The original *tracé* was also changed.
- (b) The Turkish General Staff had insisted upon the lines being as short as possible, with the result that the number of tunnels and bridges increased, besides adding to the difficulty and cost of the construction of the permanent way itself.

152. The Turkish Government declined to accept a revision of the financial programme, which more than doubled the price which it had contracted to pay. The Swedes proposed as an alternative that the financial side of the contract should remain unchanged, but that the work to be carried out should be cut down. After protracted negotiations, an agreement was reached in August of this year. The Turkish Government decided to retain the financial clauses of the original contract, and under the new arrangement the Swedish group undertook to construct the line from Filios, on the Black Sea coast, through Zafranbolou and Tchangri to Irmak, on the Kizil-Irmak River to the east of Angora, and merely to construct as much of the southern line (the Keller-Malatia- Arghana-Diarbekir line) as would be possible with the money which then remained.

153. The reversion of this contract makes it of some interest to review the actual position of railway construction in Turkey.

General Review of Position of Railway Construction.

Samsoun-Tourhal-Sivas-Kaisarié Line.

154. In August the position was reported to be as follows: Trains were running as far as Zilé, which is 20 km beyond Tourhal and 200 km from Samsoun. The construction of the Samsoun-Tourhal section of the Samsoun-Sivas-Kaisarié line has been systematically carried out by Turkish contractors under the Turkish Government.

155. As regards the late Belgian contract, which comprised constructional work from Tourhal to Sivas and on to Kaisarié, the position is as follows: A group of Turkish contractors has undertaken to carry the line to Moussakeuy, a distance of 80 km beyond Zilé in the direction of Sivas. With the exception of levelling over a track of 70 km from Kaisarié, practically no work had been carried out by the Belgian contractors, and the Turkish Government is for the time being employing troops to lay the rails on the first sections of this stretch, and hopes to bring the line to a point about 150 km from Sivas. According to the most recent report, the Turkish soldiery are able to lay 30 miles of line in twenty days.

The Swedish Contract: The Eregli or Filios-Zafranbolou-Angora Line.

156. Work is being actively pursued on three sections in the Irmak sector as well as on three other sections in the neighbourhood of Filios. Three thousand workmen are employed on these sections and on the construction of a road between Tifen and Zafranbolou, and Swedes hoped that it would be possible to commence work on six other sections, four in the neighbourhood of Irmak and two in the vicinity of Filios. Rails have already been laid in two of the three sections in the neighbourhood of Irmak, a bridge on the River Courmouz has been constructed, and workmen are engaged in constructing another bridge at kilometre 41. Tunneling in the third section of the Irmak sector is progressing.

The Keller-Malatia-Arghana-Diarbekir Line.

157. Constructional work is in progress, 5,500 workmen being engaged in the work. Three other sections were recently put up to tender, and specifications for a further public call for tenders are in course of preparation.

158. At Fevzi Pacha 500 metres of rail being laid per diem, and no difficulty is anticipated relative thereto as far as kilometre 85; the constructors hope to reach kilometre 142 by the end of January, thus allowing locomotives to reach Gueulbachi, where dumps will be established for work beyond this locality.

The German Contract. The Kutahia-Tavchanli-Balikhissar Line.

159. In August the position was as follows: Levelling was completed on about half the stretch Kutahia-Balikhissar, and rails were laid along 120 km. Since then traffic has been opened to Tavchanli.

The Kaisarié-Oulou Kishla Line.

160. No work has been done on this line to date.

161. The construction of the lines included in the programme of the Turkish Government to which reference was made last year continues to remain in abeyance.

162. As already stated above, Messrs. Fox Brothers had been in negotiation in respect of contracts for lines from Sivas to Erzerum (previously referred to in last year's report as the Sivas-Erzindjan-Madenkeuy line) and for one from Hanili, a point on the Kaisarié-Sivas section of the Kaisarié-Sivas-Samsoun line under construction, to Malatia (a new scheme). It is said that the Turkish Government is most anxious to conclude agreements relative to the construction of these lines.

The Anatolian Railway.

163. Negotiations regarding the Anatolian Railway, which had been continued here during the last few weeks by the Turkish Government and MM. Weigelt, Meissner, Jacoby and Günther, have come to a successful conclusion and an agreement was finally signed on the 10th December last.

164. The principal provisions of the settlement are that the Turkish Government undertakes to pay, in Swiss francs and on a general 50 per cent. basis, the interest of the debentures and shares of the Anatolian Railway, the subsidiary Haidar Pacha Port Company and Mersina-Tarsus-Adana Railway Company, arrears being repaid without interest in twenty-five annuities as from 1933. In return the Turkish Government acquires final and complete ownership of the line and all the property belonging to it. At the same time the Government obtains, for what they may be worth, the rights which the Haidar Pacha Port Company possesses in the harbour of Alexandretta.

165. The total thus payable by Turkey is stated to be 150 million Swiss francs. The maximum annuity is £T. 15 million, which will be paid for the next four years; the annuity will then drop to £T. 6 million and will, thereafter, be rapidly decreased by redemption.

166. Following, as it does, closely upon the ratification of the public debt agreement, this settlement seems to be a further important step towards the financial reconstruction of this country.

Roads.

167. Vilayets have made progress in road construction during the last two years. Work on banking and ballasting in different centres on a total length of 2,096 km was in progress during the year, and it was estimated early in the current year that of a total of 1,089 km of new roads 822 km consisted of *chaussées*.

Irrigation.

168. During 1928 the Turkish Government turned its attention to the question of land drainage and irrigation, and in May last a law was passed granting the Ministries of Public Works and Finance a credit of £T. 250 million to be expended over a period of eighty years.

169. According to the Prime Minister, £T. 100 million is required as a first step towards the realisation of the Government's scheme for drainage and irrigation to cover the cost over a period of ten years. This sum is to be met by an annual progressive vote which should, according to İsmet Pasha, attain in three years' time approximately £T. 10 million per annum.

170. Irrigation work on a small scale has already been taken in hand in those regions which suffered so severely as the result of the serious drought in the autumn of 1927 and the unfavourable climatic conditions during the spring and summer of this year, and according to the budget estimates for next year a sum of £T. 1,925,000 has been allocated for works for drainage and irrigation.

Public Works Contracts.

171. During the current year the constructional work in the capital has been actively pursued, mainly in connexion with the erection of public buildings, statues of the Gazi and the laying down of tarred roads, and it is the intention of the Turkish Government to place the following contracts during the course of next year:

Public buildings	.....	.....	.....	£T. 20,000,000
Angora-				
Presidential Palace, Ministry of Defence,				
General Staff, Ministry of Public Works, Ministry				
of Interior (at present available)	.....			£T. 9,000,000

Water supplies (Angora: laying of a 12 km pipe-line, tunnel and barrages)	.....	.....	.....	£T. 1,500,000
Irrigation (Districts: Adana, Ineboli, Bafra, Konia)	.....	.....	.....	100,000,000 dollars
Ports and free zones-				
Constantinople Free Zone	.....	.....	.....	£T. 30,000,000
Port of Ereğli	.....	.....	.....	£T. 10,000,000
Communications-				
Sivas-Erzurum Railway	.....	.....	.....	£T. 80,000,000
Hanili-Malatia	.....	.....	.....	£T. 20,000,000
Aviation (aerodrome)	.....	.....	.....	£T. 3,000,000

Agriculture.

172. With the failure of the staple cereal crop came a heavy drop in the yield of the tobacco and nut crops, both of which are important articles of Turkish export. There was a slight compensating advance in the cotton, opium and olive crops, but this has not been the case as regards other crops. The unfortunate failure of the cereal crops has obliged Turkey to make heavy payments for foreign wheat and flour and this unfavourable factor already affected the value of the Turkish lira.

Port Construction.

173. With the exception of certain small improvements in the Port of Mersina, such as the installation of three electric cranes, the purchase of a few lighters, and the erection of a new jetty, and the establishment at Trebizond of additional transit storage accommodation, no active measures have been taken to carry out the Government's programme of port construction. Messrs. Fox Brothers' International Corporation are reported, however, to be in negotiation with the Government for the contract to construct the ports of Samsoun and Mersina, which constitute the principal items in the Government's programme.

Constantinople Free Zone.

174. During the course of the year the Turkish Government engaged a Danish expert on port administration to report on a suitable site for a free zone and on port organisation and administration. More than one commission had already submitted reports in connexion with the institution of a free zone, but notwithstanding that the National Assembly had ratified the project for a free zone, no active steps have been taken towards the realisation of the scheme originally envisaged by the Government which is likely to prove very difficult of realisation and is hardly likely to attract foreign capital and enterprise.

175. A step in the right direction has, however, been taken in the form of a recent agreement with Messrs. Ford Cars, who have been authorised to establish workshops in the Tophané area, adjacent to the Galata quays, for the assembly of

cars. The site of the factory will be treated as a free zone, and the concession will have a duration of twenty-five years.

176. It is noteworthy that a firm of the importance of Messrs. Ford should have ultimately selected Constantinople for this purpose. It has always been contended that Constantinople, by virtue of its geographical position, would be the most suitable centre of distribution for an area including Black Sea as well as Mediterranean ports, and Messrs. Ford, who have been making exhaustive enquiries for several months past, with a view to the selection of a distributing centre, have, in deciding upon Constantinople in preference to the Piræus or Varna, justified this view. A firm of their international standing and extensive resources, able to establish itself at whichever centre made the best offer, was naturally in a position to strike a more satisfactory bargain with the Turkish Government than a smaller undertaking could hope to do, and it remains to be seen how far Messrs. Ford's example will induce other firms to establish industries upon similar terms.

Industrial Development.

177. Progress has been somewhat slow in this direction, but there is a factor which may lead to progress in industrial development, *i.e.*, the application of a protectionist policy when the present commercial treaties expire.

178. In August Turkey will be freed from the stipulations of the commercial convention signed at Lausanne. She will be at liberty to adjust and to raise her customs duties as she pleases. A commission is at work upon the new tariff, and although its decisions have not been published, there is little doubt as to what the policy of the Government will be.

179. The principles laid down by the Supreme Economic Council for the guidance of the officials who are drawing up the new customs tariff, are that the import of luxuries and of all articles which compete with Turkish products or prevent the Turkish peasant from making full use of his resources, should be burdened with the heaviest duties, while such things as Turkey is not in a position to produce, or as will aid her to develop her own resources, should be freed as far as possible from the payment of duty.

180. A protectionist policy, in addition to the facilities granted under the Law for the Encouragement of Industry, should give a considerable impetus to the industrial development of the country.

Customs and Port Administration.

181. Although there have been fewer complaints in connexion with the administration of port services, the Turkish police continue to prevent the foreign staffs of shipping agencies from carrying out any work afloat, in consequence of

which most shipping lines decided to employ Turkish subjects to control work afloat. Conditions may improve, however, in those parts where Turkish port monopolies exist, owing to a proposed scheme for the unification of port services. A draft law has already been prepared which legislates for the institution of a department of maritime services. The proposed institution will be administered by a council directly dependent on the Ministry of National Economy, and the Unified Maritime Services in Turkish ports will be under this new Department.

182. It is reported that, in regard to the Port of Constantinople, the unified services will consist of salvage, towage, pilotage, captaincy of the port, police and other controls, cabotage and the handling of cargo. The Seiri-Sefaine, in so far as its port functions are concerned, and the Port Monopoly will thus form part of the unified services under a general management, which will take over the assets and liabilities of the Port Monopoly.

183. Already, improvement has to be recorded in so far as sanitary controls are concerned, as well as in respect of the provisioning at Constantinople of vessels in direct transit.

184. The official hours during which port formalities are carried out have also been extended, and uniformity in the system of calculating consular fees in respect of shipping has also been established.

185. During a recent visit to Constantinople of the Director-General of Commerce attached to the Ministry of National Economy, shipping agents were afforded an opportunity of submitting their grievances to him. Whilst taking note of general complaints, he assured shipping agents that everything would be done by his Department to introduce reforms.

V- MILITARY AFFAIRS

186. During the year under review there has been a slight improvement in the relations between the military attaché and the General Staff at Angora. Marshal Fevzi Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff, who has the reputation of being a most taciturn Moslem, accorded both the military attaché and the naval attaché very cordial receptions. In the autumn the Turkish General Staff spontaneously suggested that the military attaché should visit the Military, Engineering and Cavalry Schools at Harbié, and the General Staff Academy and Intendance Schools at Yıldız.

187. An exchange of military journals has been arranged with the General Staff, but no invitation to attend manoeuvres or exercises has been issued.

188. There is now no restriction on travel in Turkey west of the Euphrates, except in certain areas known as military zones.

Strength and Organisation.

189. There has been no considerable change, as far as can be ascertained, in the strength of the army, but the General Staff policy has been definite in aiming at a higher standard of training, homogeneous and up-to-date equipment and co-operation between the various branches of the staff.

Infantry.

190. The infantry organisation has now definitely been altered to include 1 battery per infantry regiment. A certain number of regiments now possess a pack battery, and it is known that the Turkish Government has placed an order for a large number of mountain guns to be carried on pack.

Cavalry.

191. The cavalry school was visited and appeared to be highly efficient. The only cavalry regiment which it has been possible to see is the Guards Cavalry Regiment, which appeared at the various reviews. The Turkish cavalryman, in addition to a short rifle, carries a sabre and a lance, so that the light horses available are somewhat heavily laden.

Artillery.

192. There have been no important changes during the year, but the Turkish Government is known to be contemplating extensive rearmament and to have been actively repairing existing armament.

Armament and Equipment.

193. There has been considerable improvement in the uniform of all units which have been seen during the year. New clothing and equipment appear to have been issued to all troops which have taken part in the reviews. The General Staff is known to be aiming at the standardisation of arms throughout the army.

194. The factory at Angora has not been enlarged, but an ammunition factory is known to exist at Kayash, some few miles east of Angora. The Yakhshi Khan Arsenal has been completed and is working.

195. The late Sub-Chief of the General Staff stated during the year that 40 per cent. of the army estimates will be devoted to rearmament.

Training.

196. As no military attaché was invited to attend manoeuvres, there is still no reliable information on this subject. It is known that manoeuvres were carried out in Thrace, near Adalia and west of Eskişehir, and that a General Staff exercise was held in Thrace under Marshal Fevzi Pasha, Chief of the General Staff.

Operations.

197. The VIIth and part of the VIIIth and IXth Corps have been engaged during the early part of the year in keeping order in the eastern vilayets. Some measure of success has apparently been obtained, and troops in the eastern portion of Turkey have now been reduced. The VIth Army Corps and the VIIIth Army Corps were moved in the autumn from Tokat and Erzinjan respectively to Kaiserîé and Tokat. This is a significant move, especially in view of the extensive railway construction programme which is now being actively pursued.

Reviews.

198. Three reviews were held during the year, two at Constantinople and one at Angora. On each occasion it was possible to observe troops of all arms and their organisation. Two of the reviews were held in honour of King Amanullah on the occasion of his visit, the third was a victory review held at Constantinople. On each occasion the military school, lycées, boy scouts, girl guides and other school children marched past the saluting point after the troupes.

199. The clothing and equipment of the troops were in excellent condition, and the troops themselves marched past quite creditably.

VI-AVIATION

200. The Aviation League has continued its activities, and its funds appear to have been expended in part on the purchase of aeroplanes. Although no official visit has been paid by the military attaché to the Eskishehr Aerodrome, a British aviator visited that aerodrome with the purpose of giving a demonstration of a British machine. According to this aviator the Eskishehr Aerodrome is fully equipped and run on efficient lines, but the standard of flying which he witnessed was poor.

201. The organisation of the air force is believed to be in three group commands: one at Eskishehr (Air Force Headquarters), one at Diarbekir, for the eastern vilayets, and one at Smyrna (a mixed group which includes the seaplane squadrons), with a total number of one seaplane and nine aeroplane fighting squadrons, and one seaplane and four aeroplane instructional squadrons. There is also one cadre aeroplane squadron (at Yeshilkeuy) which is used for unpacking and assembling machines arriving from abroad. There are also three aeroplane depots, one at Eskishehr, one at Yeshilkeuy, and one at Smyrna.

202. The construction of a new aerodrome at Eskishehr is expected in 1929.

Material.

203. It is known that a number of aeroplanes have been received during the year, and the total number of machines, instructional and fighting, on the strength of the Turkish Air Force at the end of the year is believed to have been about 180. Of these some sixty-five are instructional machines, and a proportion of all classes of machines is probably unserviceable.

204. Orders are known to have been placed for thirty Breguet-19 bombers and for four Smolik fighters. Vickers machine guns have been ordered for the purpose of equipping these machines. It is also known that during the past year twenty Turkish machines were fitted with Vickers machine guns.

205. The Junkers aeroplane factory at Kaiseric has been closed down, and the company to which it belonged has been declared bankrupt in the Turkish law courts.

Training.

206. All instruction is carried out at Eskişehir and Smyrna, and from the accounts of eye-witnesses the standard of training is limited to elementary flying, air navigation, in the sense in which it is used in our air force, being totally unknown.

207. Negotiations are at present in progress with a view to sending some officers to be trained in England.

208. The air force co-operated with the army at the various reviews which were held during the year. There was no stunting, the machines merely flying over the troops in triangular formation and dropping leaflets.

VII- NAVAL AFFAIRS

General.

209. It may be said that Turkish naval circles, influenced perhaps by public opinion, are reinclining slightly towards British naval guidance and British material. The Turkish air force are certainly keen and interested admirers of British pilots and machines. Suspicion remains, but the recent request by the Turkish Government for naval officers to be sent to Great Britain for training in His Majesty's ships and naval schools, which has been acceded to, has been followed by the selection of two officers who are leaving for England shortly. Two officers are being sent to France, and two to Italy to study Italian and afterwards to receive naval training in schools and seagoing vessels. It is understood that four naval cadets will be shortly sent to Germany for training. The unofficial German

naval mission, consisting of retired specialist officers and petty officers, remains at Ismit, but they are reported to have lost their influence and to be somewhat indolent and unpopular. Their extended contract expires in January 1930.

Administration.

210. Several changes took place in the personnel of the Admiralty as a result of the implication of a number of senior naval officers in the "Yavuz" contract scandal. The Under-Secretary of Marine and Chief of Naval Staff, amongst others, were placed on the retired list shortly after the end of the trial, which ended in the conviction of Ihsan Bey, the ex-Minister of Marine.

211. Under the new system the Under-Secretary of the Navy, one of the four existing naval post captains, is responsible to the Minister of Defence for administration and finance, but to the Chief of the Army General Staff in other respects, such as operations, discipline, &c. Where considered necessary a naval officer is attached to a General Staff branch to represent naval interests. Needless to say, the navy is practically under army control.

212. An Under-Secretary for Air was appointed this year, with the result that the air force is now under separate control, and the naval units manned by naval officers are permanently separated from naval control.

Estimates.

213. The naval estimates for the financial year commencing the 1st June, 1929, amount to £T. 6,475,082, a slight increase over last year. They will provide for 4,000 men and 800 officers. On the 10th May last a Naval Appropriation Bill was passed by the Assembly voting an additional £T. 25 million towards new construction, of which not more than £T. 3 million is to be spent annually. Tenders have been invited from British, French and Italian firms for the construction of four torpedo-boat destroyers, six submarines (one to be a minelayer) and six coastal motor boats, and, although nothing is yet settled, there appears to be a definite intention to increase the navy. It is said that a ten years' credit for payment is being demanded.

Mines.

214. Mines are a favoured weapon of the Turks. They are at present interested in Russian mines, of which a number have been purchased from the U.S.S.R. Government and the designs of which have been modified. A firm, originally established in Hambourg but now transferred to Stockholm, manufactures these mines for Turkey.

Ships.

215. "Yavuz Sultan Selim" remains in the dock at Ismit. About thirty workmen of a French firm are at work on her, the material used being sent from Germany. A

French fire-control system is being installed. A speed of 25 knots is confidently anticipated on her completion, which is said to be August 1929, although outside opinion doubts her reappearance before 1930.

216. The submarines "Birinji-In-Önü" and "İkinci In-Önü" arrived in the Bosphorus in June 1928 and were formally commissioned. They both developed numerous minor defects on the voyage, when bad weather was experienced, and were subsequently found to be leaking badly, due to shoddy construction and bad rivetting. These boats have subsequently carried out some diving exercises. Anticipated orders for a third boat of this type to Fitenoord of Rotterdam have not been given. Both the torpedo gunboats "Peik-I-Shevket" and "Berk-I-Shevket" have now been fitted as minelayers, each to carry thirty mines.

Naval Visits.

217. During the autumn cruise of the Mediterranean fleet His Majesty's ships visited Bodrum, Marmarice and Imbros Island in September and October. At the same time permission was obtained for officers and men of H.M.S. "Frobisher" to land on the Gallipoli Peninsula for the purpose of visiting the war cemeteries.

218. In May a cruiser and three torpedo-boat destroyers of the Soviet navy visited Stamboul and were received with unusual hospitality. The admiral commanding, contrary to the precedent in other naval visits, was received by Kemal Pasha at Angora. The U.S.S.R. cruiser "Komintern" also visited Stamboul in September last, and the French sloop "Montmirail" paid a short visit.

219. The general opinion of those who saw the men of the Soviet ships maintains that the men were smart and orderly when on leave. The discipline of officers and men and the cleanliness and general appearance of the ship are reported to have been notably good.

Exercises.

220. In the autumn the cruisers "Hamidieh" and "Mejidieh", the former conveying the Chief of the General Staff, and accompanied by the three destroyers and two torpedo gunboats, which comprise the active seagoing fleet, proceeded to Smyrna. It is reported that manoeuvres were performed *en route*, but since the squadron was absent from the Golden Horn only two and a half days, it is presumed that no schemes of importance were tested.

221. The submarines have carried out diving exercises in the Marmora. Shortly after their arrival the local British salvage firm was asked if it could supply salvage craft and apparatus for the recovery of sunken submarines. It had been the intention not to commence diving until this plant was available, but, as the sum named for providing it was prohibitive, diving exercises have perforce been proceeded with.

VIII- BRITISH CLAIMS

222. It was stated in an earlier part of this report (Part II, section I) that the Turkish Government had shown little goodwill during the year in settling the various outstanding claims in which His Majesty's Government were interested. The following are the most important, though by no means all, of such claims:

Ipranossian and the Bank of England.

223. The case was discussed in paragraph 20 of the annual report for 1927. In February 1928 the Turkish Government, after repeated reminders, finally replied to the request of this Embassy to be furnished with a copy of the foreign legal advisers' report on the matter. The reply was, as was anticipated, a refusal. Accordingly, in June a note was addressed to the Turkish Government setting forth all the facts of the case, formally protesting against the judgement and claiming the restitution to the Bank of England of the sums involved. This note produced an immediate and indignant reply from the Turkish Government, protesting in turn against the protest of His Majesty's Government and declaring their claim for restitution to be impracticable. In September a further note was addressed to the Turkish Government justifying the demand put forward by this Embassy. This received a further reply from the Turkish Government regretting, this time in courteous terms, its inability to reopen the question.

Pre-war Claims.

224. See paragraph 288 of the annual report for 1927. The Turkish Government finally replied in August 1928 to the numerous representations made to it by this Embassy. The reply was far from satisfactory in that it made even the consideration of any claim dependent on the two conditions that (a) it has arisen on territory still comprised in Turkey, and (b) it had been accepted in principle by the Ottoman Government. The two conditions between them would have the result of excluding more than half the total number of British claims. A note was accordingly addressed to the Turkish Government in September pointing out the inadmissibility of these two conditions, but adding that His Majesty's Government were ready to appoint a representative in the meanwhile to examine with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs those claims which the Turkish Government were prepared to discuss. There the matter stood at the end of the year.

Expropriation of British Property at Smyrna.

225. (See paragraph 290 of the annual report for 1927.) The law, promised in January 1927, which was to provide for the restitution of 75 per cent. of the properties in question, had not been passed by the end of 1928. The local authorities, however, had meanwhile shown themselves rather less intransigent in the matter. For example, the Mayor of Smyrna agreed to His Majesty's consul-

general acting on behalf of the poorer absentee claimants, to set aside a block of land as compensation for the various scattered holdings, and, in the case of inaccessible sites, to waive the condition that the building must be completed within a year. Accordingly instructions were addressed to his Majesty's consul-general in August to take such steps as he could locally. But the question bristled with difficulties, particularly as many of the British subjects concerned were unwilling to go to the trouble or expense of proving their title to property in the burnt area and of obtaining bonds or property in exchange.

Constantinople Municipal Loan, 1909.

226. This was a 5 per cent. loan subscribed almost entirely by British capital. Payment of interest and amortisation charges were secured on the Galata Bridge tolls and guaranteed by the Ottoman Government. Interest was paid regularly up to the war, but during the war the money which continued to be collected for its payment was placed in a suspense account. Payment was resumed during the occupation, but in 1924 it was suddenly discontinued. Since then, despite constant protests, the municipal authorities had refused to meet their obligations or offer any solution of the matter that could be seriously considered by the bondholders.

227. The latter had accordingly decided to submit the case to the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, and it has already been seen (paragraph 18) how the Turkish Government was determined to prevent the matter being decided in that way.

228. The attitude of the municipal authorities, however, seemed to undergo a certain change for the better after the conclusion of the Ottoman Debt Agreement, and towards the end of the year they invited the bondholders to send out a representative in order to reach a final settlement. He came in December, but, in spite of the generous terms that he was authorised to offer, he was unable to secure their acceptance by the municipality. Negotiations were however, not definitely broken off, and further conversations were planned for the new year.

Employment of British Shipping Agents, &c.

229. Little improvement can be reported in the attitude of the Turkish Government towards foreigners engaged in the work of ships' agents, surveyors, chandlers or tally clerks on vessels in Turkish ports. As pointed out in paragraph 237 of the annual report for 1927, the Turkish authorities are inclined to include among the monopolised port services the functions exercised by ships' agents and to prevent the latter, unless they are Turkish subjects, from going on board ships of the lines which they represent. In certain cases foreign agents have been able to obtain temporary permission by private arrangement with the police officer in control, but the majority of agencies have now been obliged to engage Turkish clerks to do all work on board, and are therefore compelled either to discharge the

British members of their staff who formerly fulfilled these duties or else to retain two men to do one man's work.

230. Repeated notes have been addressed to the Turkish Government pointing out the real difference between the work done by an agent and the actual services of the port, and urging that all British subjects who were anxious to do work which was outside the scope of these services could not fairly be prevented by a law which reserved purely port work to Turkish subjects. The decision of the Turkish Government in the summer to grant a permit to a certain British ship chandler at Smyrna is a hopeful indication that the authorities are beginning to realise the force of these arguments.

231. At the same time His Majesty's Embassy has taken up the cases of British subjects with proved acquired rights, and has insisted that these individuals should be allowed to continue the exercise of the avocations in which they were engaged prior to the 1st January, 1923.

232. The more general question of the rights of non-Moslem Turkish citizens to obtain employment does not, unfortunately, offer so good a ground for representations, and it must be left rather to time and to the slow growth of some comprehension of economic truths to teach the Turkish Government that its restrictions on foreign and minority shipping interests mean loss of efficiency and loss of revenue from which the republic is bound, in the long run, to be the greatest sufferer.

The Right of Palestine to Benefit by the Lausanne Commercial Convention.

233. In paragraph 243 of the annual report for 1927 the hope was expressed that the Turkish Government would come to recognise Palestine's rights to the benefits conferred by the commercial convention. Unfortunately, the repeated representations of His Majesty's Embassy have led to no such result, and it was only towards the end of the year that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs disclosed the reasons for this obstinate attitude. The Turkish Government has always been unwilling to recognise the British mandate over Palestine, as over Iraq, and it put forward the argument that it had no official cognisance of the authority of His Majesty's Government over the country. At the time of the signature of the Lausanne Convention, Palestine was only under *de facto* authority of His Majesty's Government and only became detached from Turkey *de jure* when the treaty came into force. Palestine could not therefore claim the privileges which article 16 of the commercial convention gives by implication to territories under British authority. It was unofficially suggested in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the Turkish Government would be ready to sign a convention with the Government of Palestine granting to her products the privileges of most-favoured-nation treatment, but by the end of the year no official reply had been received by His

Majesty's Embassy. It seems probable that, apart from a desire to postpone as long as possible the recognition of the rights of Palestinian products to more favourable treatment, the real cause of the obstructive attitude of the Turkish Government may be a desire to benefit by every occasion to urge Palestine and Syria along the path already trodden by Iraq, and so gradually to increase the circle of Turkey's satellite States.

IX- MISCELLANEOUS

Gallipoli Cemeteries.

234. The situation at Gallipoli improved considerably during the year, and the continuous pinpricks to which the local representative of the Imperial War Graves Commission had been subjected during 1927 at the hands of the local authorities were happily discontinued. Nor did any difficulties arise on the occasion of the various pilgrimages made to the graves during the year. This did not mean, however, that the Turkish Government had lost interest in the presence of the commission's representative on the peninsula. On the contrary, the General Staff was determined that he should at the earliest possible moment be removed to the Asian side of the Straits, if not removed from Turkish soil altogether. The Turkish Government officially broached the question in September, arguing that, as the Imperial War Graves Commission had completed its task, the maintenance of its buildings at Kilia had no further utility, and requesting that the situation at Kilia be placed in harmony with the treaty dispositions.

235. The note was obviously based upon a misinterpretation of the situation, and confused the Mixed Commission provided for by article 130 of the treaty (which had, indeed, almost completed its task) with the solely British War Graves Commission. A reply was accordingly sent to the Turkish Government in November pointing out the error, but adding that the Imperial War Graves Commission had decided, on administrative grounds and for the convenience of its work, to transfer its representative's residence from Kilia to Chanak. It was not felt possible to base upon treaty grounds a claim that representative had a right to reside permanently at Kilia.

236. The move to Chanak has not yet been effected, and the Turkish Government has not again returned to the charge.

Flight of Foreign Aircraft over Turkey.

237. Turkish regulations impose upon foreign aircraft flying over the Straits certain restrictions, which, in the view of His Majesty's Government, are inconsistent with the provisions of the Straits Convention. In particular, the Turkish Government maintains, in spite of all protests, that that convention entitles it to make such regulations as may be necessary for the security of the State

over and in the territorial waters of the Sea of Marmora outside the demilitarised zone.

238. The British, French and Italian Embassies, which had already in previous years protested against these regulations, renewed their representations last February. Though these representations received no reply and produced no change in the regulations, there have been indications that the attitude of the Turkish Government is gradually becoming more accommodating. In September it increased the routes available for flights over Turkey by two further routes: (a) the southern coasts of Anatolia over the Mediterranean; and (b) the line Selefke-Mut-Karaman-Konia-Afion Karahissar-Kutahia-Panderma-Rodosto-Adrianople, thus giving an alternative route across Anatolia which avoided all military zones and the San Stephano Aerodrome, where foreign aircraft had hitherto been bound to descend. The Turkish Government was also said to be considering the reduction or even abolition of the prohibited zone round Ismidt.

239. Such relaxation of the Turkish attitude can, however, only be expected to continue if foreign airmen observe the regulations actually in force.

Straits Commission.

240. Only one change occurred in 1928 in the personnel of the commission, Commander Yamada, Imperial Japanese Navy, replacing Commander Yamamura. The Council of the League of Nations decided at its June session that the annual reports of the Straits Commission would in future be distributed not only to the States which are members of the Council and the States signatory to the convention, but to all States which are members of the League of Nations and to the technical departments of the League. Relations with the Turkish Departments dealing with navigational matters continue to be cordial, and all facilities have been given to the commission for obtaining recent and revised instructions for shipping. The Soviet Ambassador has supplied all necessary data regarding the strength of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet.

Adrianople Consulate.

241. It was decided during the year to close the consulate at Adrianople. Trade in the vilayet is dying, British interests are non-existent, and its retention as an observation post was not felt to justify its expense. The post was accordingly closed, though not abolished.

Commission for the Assessment of Damage in Turkey.

242. The Paris Commission for the assessment of damage in Turkey has continued its labours during the year but, though the claims are gradually being disposed of and the local representatives of the commission, having completed their task, have been withdrawn from Turkey, claimants have not yet received their

final dividends. In August a protocol was signed in Paris by which Roumanian nationals were admitted to share in the proceeds in spite of the fact that the Roumanian Government had failed to adhere to the 1923 convention in the time-limit originally laid down.

243. The delay in bringing matters to a conclusion, coupled with the decision to admit Roumanian claims and the report that the claims of concessionary companies in Turkey were to be considered, caused considerable dismay among the British and other claimants, and in October a deputation from the British Chamber of Commerce at Constantinople waited upon His Majesty's Ambassador and requested him to support their complaints in the proper quarter. The commission subsequently issued a statement defending itself against the attacks to which it had been subjected. The statement showed among other things that, out of 15,000 claims submitted, all but about 1,000 had been disposed of. The commission hoped to complete its labours before the end of June 1929.

Drug Traffic.

244. His Majesty's Government showed some concern during the year over the reports that reached them that Constantinople was being used as both a producing and distributing centre of illicit drugs. The chief producing agency was believed to be the Oriental Products Company, which was owned by two Japanese brothers, and could, it was said, produce 15 kilog. of heroin a day. In June an agent of the factory was arrested on arrival in Egypt, being discovered in possession of hashish. In July two tins of heroin were discovered at Port Said, having been shipped by the Oriental Products Company for Shanghai among twenty tins of oil.

245. His Majesty's Government felt that the Turkish Government could not be held guiltless in the matter. It had engaged itself by the Treaty of Lausanne to adhere to the International Opium Convention of 1912 and to the protocol of 1914. Not only had it failed to do so, but its legislation, while strictly prohibiting local traffic in drugs for all but medicinal purposes, left their import and export free.

246. A member of the Embassy staff accordingly broached the matter in November with the Minister of Health, whom he was glad to find decidedly helpful. Dr. Refik Bey declared that he was fully alive to the dangers of the situation, and was determined if possible to put an end to it. He also stated that a Bill was already before the Assembly which would considerably increase his power to deal with the situation. Shortly afterwards the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated that the Turkish Government had every intention of acceding to the 1912 convention and to the 1914 protocol.

247. The Bill referred to in the preceding paragraph was actually passed in December. So far as the production of heroin in the country is concerned, there is

reason to think that if factories are efficiently controlled the authorities should be able to put a check on illicit traffic; but the provisions regarding the export of raw opium are ambiguous.

Correspondence between Embassy and Consulates.

248. The Turkish Government has for some years made difficulties about the carriage of official correspondence between this Embassy and the consular posts, and would never agree to the suggestion that such correspondence should be entrusted where possible to the captains of British steamships. In July it addressed a note to the Embassy formally rejecting that proposal. As there were no grounds upon which His Majesty's Government could insist upon such an arrangement as a matter of right, it was decided to make no reply to the Turkish note, but to talk the matter over unofficially with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was then found that the Turkish Government was unwilling to recognise any sort of official messengers between missions and consulates, because (1) it thought it savoured a trifle of Capitulations; and (2) it would mean extending the privilege to all missions, particularly to the Russians.

249. The Turkish Government seems, however, to be more interested in the theory than in the practice of the question. Actually, in the case of Smyrna (the only port of Turkey served by a regular British line running direct from Constantinople), the captains of ships are regularly given sealed letters which they hand to consular officers on board on arrival; the local authorities have hitherto made no difficulty about this. In the case of Trebizond, use is made of French or Italian couriers, who are apparently not in practice molested. In the case of Mersina, however, the only method of sending confidential communications is by means of cypher despatches sent through the post.

Steamship "Kaplan".

250. There have been indications that the Turks hope sooner or later to use Turkish ships to carry their export trade. Their first venture into this field ended in something of a fiasco. Towards the end of 1927 the Turkish steamship "Kaplan" sailed forth from Smyrna with a cargo of nuts and vallonias destined for the United Kingdom. Arrived at Barry, she was found by the port authorities to be unequipped with a wireless installation, as required by British law, and to be deficient in lifesaving appliances and navigation lights. The authorities accordingly ordered the captain to make good these deficiencies before the ship left British waters. This he was forced to do at considerable expense, and he, moreover, found himself obliged to engage a British wireless operator, as there was no member of his crew who knew the trade.

251. This all caused intense indignation in Turkey, and, as soon as the ship reached Constantinople, the wireless operator was arrested on a charge of

contravention of the Turkish cabotage law, which prohibits the employment of foreigners in Turkish ships. He was acquitted, but abusive articles were frequent in the press against the arbitrary action of the British authorities. The Turkish Government, however, refrained from making an official protest.

Ex-Enemy Rolling-stock.

252. When the Allied armies entered Turkey in 1919 they took over the Turkish railways and placed them under the control of an Inter-Allied Railway Commission. A considerable quantity of German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian rolling-stock was found on the system, and this was accordingly sequestered. To this was soon added a large number of German and Austro-Hungarian wagons which had been captured during the operations on the Salonica front, and were now brought in to supplement the rolling-stock in Turkey. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Allied Governments laid claim to both these categories of material. This claim was, however, disputed by the Turkish Government, so the Allies suggested that the matter be referred to arbitration. The Turkish Government, which had come into automatic possession of the material when the Allies evacuated the country, found one reason and another for evading this form of decision. Finally, in November 1928, the Liquidating Commission, which had charge of the Allied interests in the matter, succeeded in selling to a private individual both the rights and obligations of the Allied Governments in respect of the material. Thus was a minor but tiresome relic of the war finally disposed of.

British Institutions in Turkey

(1) *Seamen's Hospitals at Constantinople and Smyrna.*

253. Both these hospitals were crippled by the war with the result that it has as yet been impossible to run them again as British institutions. The Constantinople hospital is administered by a consortium of Greek doctors, and the Smyrna hospital is occupied and operated by the administration of the Italian St. Antoine hospital. It is of course, unsatisfactory that these two old-standing British institutions should be under foreign administration, but it should be added that they do, in fact, still fulfil the purpose for which they were originally built, viz., that of assuring hospital accommodation and treatment to British seamen who require it.

254. The question was seriously considered, during the year, whether it would be possible for the British committees to take over the hospitals again. It was found however, that without assistance from the Imperial Exchequer this would not be practicable. It was therefore, decided to continue for the time being the arrangements actually in force.

(2) *British Schools in Constantinople.*

255. There are three British schools in Turkey, all of them are in Constantinople, and their future is a matter of constant anxiety from two points of view. In the first place there is always the fear that the Turkish authorities may entirely nullify their utility by insisting on the full application in them of the conditions prescribed for purely Turkish schools. Secondly, there is the question of finance, which has been an ever-present source of difficulty since the war. It is clearly desirable that the schools should not be limited to giving education to British-born children. It would in fact, be desirable from every point of view and especially from that of increasing British influence, greatly to extend the facilities already given for educating the natives. But this all needs money, and native parents cannot pay high fees, nor will the British Exchequer grant a subsidy. The idea has been mooted of endeavouring to interest the city and other centres, but nothing had materialised before the end of the year.

Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

256. The Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal continued its labours during the year and certain important judgments were given. In particular, a test claim submitted against His Majesty's Government for loss and damage by certain of the Turkish subjects deported to Malta during the armistice was rejected. But while the hearing of cases proceeded not unsatisfactorily, doubts began to arise whether judgments given against the Turkish Government and Turkish nationals would in fact be executed in Turkey. There were reports that a law to provide for the enforcement of such judgments was under preparation, but it was not clear that its terms would save successful foreign claimants further difficulties and expense. A note was accordingly addressed to the Turkish Government in January to warn it of the dangers anticipated.

257. As the year continued, however, it became clear that the Turkish Government was in fact not taking steps to pass any law on the subject at all. Indeed an official at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs cynically admitted that it was not a Turkish interest to do so, as most of the judgments given were against the Turks, and in the absence of special legislation they could not be enforced. So at the suggestion of His Majesty's Ambassador, identic notes were in June addressed to the Turkish Government by the representatives of all the interested Powers, requesting it to take the necessary steps without delay to assure the execution of these judgments in Turkey. The Turkish Government replied in September stating that a Bill had been drafted and would be submitted to the Grand National Assembly when that body next met. The Bill had not, however, become law before the year ended.

258. Apart from that, the attitude of the Turkish Government to the whole system of arbitration cannot be termed satisfactory. The action of its agent in

refusing to accept unwelcome judgments in the Turco-Roumanian Tribunal has been commented on in another section of this report (Part II, paragraph 62). A similar attitude was threatened in the important case before the Anglo-Turkish Tribunal regarding the Constantinople Municipal Loan of 1909. The case was down for hearing at the end of May, but shortly before that date the Turkish judge announced his inability to try it on the ground that he had been personally concerned in the presentation of the Turkish case. It then felt to the Turkish Government, in accordance with article 92 of the treaty, to appoint a substitute within two months. A substitute was finally appointed in September, but in December he too resigned owing, it was said, to a difference with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The resignation did indeed seem to be a genuine one, but the general impression given throughout the year was that the Turkish Government would find one pretext or another for preventing the tribunal from giving an adverse judgment on this case. Negotiations were meanwhile in progress for settling the matter out of court (see Part VIII, paragraph 226).

259. In September His Majesty's Government suggested to the Turkish Government, in the interests of economy, a certain modification in the organisation of the Anglo-Turkish Tribunal. The proposal was that its members, instead of being permanently established at Constantinople, should meet there for a couple of sessions each year and then dispose of the cases, which would, in the meantime, have been prepared for them by the secretariat. The Turkish Government agreed to this proposal, which was accordingly put into force.

F.O. 371/13824/E.906

No. 114

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 60

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 9, 1929

(Received February 19, 1929)

Sir,

During my recent visit to Angora the friendly attitude of the President, Ministers and other important Turks was very noticeable, but I am sorry to say that it has been succeeded by a wave of xenophobia, which for various reasons has been directed chiefly against Great Britain.

2. The causes for the stirring of Turkish sentiment are hard to assign definitely. Certain accidentally coincident events have combined to rouse Turkish nationalism, never very dormant, but these events are in themselves so trivial that they would seem to furnish an excuse rather than a reason. Among them may be mentioned an article by the "Times" correspondent about Turkish doctors, in itself

little more than a repetition of criticisms in the Turkish press, and various developments of the incident of the Tatavla fire, on which I reported in my despatch No. 48 of the 31st January last.

3. As regards the latter, the Turkish press has fully accepted my position and made no further attack upon me, but it would seem that the Greek press has had references to the Hellenism of the Tatavla quarter which have kept controversy alive, while an alleged shortage of water was immediately and without investigation attributed to the French Dercos Water Company, and a report, as far as I know unjustified, that there was undue delay in telephoning the news of the fire to the fire brigade was made occasion for bitter attacks on the telephone company, the capital of which is practically all British. All of this has developed into a violent press campaign against the rapacity and mismanagement of all the "foreign companies" in Constantinople, on whom, indeed, the convenience and comfort of life here largely depend. All of them, the Dercos Water Company, the telephone company, the tramways and electric light companies, these both administered by Belgians, and the quays company, Anglo-French, have been abused in unmeasured terms, so much so that the council of the British Chamber of Commerce at its last meeting decided that all members of the chamber should cancel their subscriptions and withdraw their advertisements from the Government paper, the "Milliet" which has been conspicuous in its attacks. The council, moreover, proposed to get the French and Italian chambers to adopt the same line. When I learned of this, I pointed out that the "Milliet" already subsidised by the Government, would have no difficulty in obtaining an increase of subvention sufficient to meet the loss of revenue which such action might cause, and would receive a first-class advertisement for its anti-foreign campaign. I also observed that the other chambers would probably let the British chamber down if and when the Turks began to give practical effect to their resentment. I understand that the British Chamber of Commerce has in consequence modified its attitude. The proper people to meet these attacks are the companies affected. They are, nominally, Turkish companies, with Turks on their board, and they can present their case to the "Milliet" and to the Ministry under whom they work. There is no doubt that there is some foundation in the Turkish complaints, more especially in regard to the water supply, but in the case of all the companies the difficulties arise mainly from the fact that the Turkish authorities will not agree to reasonable conditions upon which alone the companies can raise the necessary fresh capital needed to make them adequate to the present requirements of the city.

4. Possibly all this may be nothing more than an outburst of grumbling, accidentally made acute by the strong lights and shadows thrown on the municipal services by the Tatavla disaster, and the storm may die down after the usual declarations of the Turkish authorities that they will insist on vigorous reforms which will never be carried out.

5. The hard weather which we are now experiencing has incidentally furnished the Turks with a fresh complaint against a foreign company. The pitifully futile efforts of the Oriental Railway Company, a French concern, to dig out the three Simplon Orient expresses and various other big trains, snowed up between here and the Bulgarian frontier, have naturally set the question why there were no proper steam snow ploughs available, and the answer has been found that the Turkish authorities had suggested to the company last year that such ploughs should be obtained, and the company replied that the snow was never bad enough on the Turkish railway system in Europe to call for such expenditure. The unfortunate passengers, whatever their nationality, probably share the Turkish complaint.

6. Far more serious than all these recriminations have been the attacks and innuendoes, led by the "Milliet" levelled at British policy in Afghanistan. As I said in my despatch No.46 of the 30th January last, the Turks have put all their money on Amanullah, the apostle of Turkish progress, and are not hampered by any scruples in their attempts to cover the possibility of his failure, and as, according to them, all that is best in Afghanistan has long been sighing for reform and modernisation and is one with Amanullah in his efforts, the thwarting of these noble ideas must be due to some extraneous influence. Obviously, that influence can only be British imperial policy.

6A. The comments which the Turkish press are making on the situation in Iraq are all couched in a similar strain. Thus, in the "Milliet" I read that despatches from a British source speak of a dictatorship to be proclaimed by King Feisal, news which the "Milliet" professes to believe true, for this system of dictatorships is a remedy discovered by the English, as is shown in Egypt. The English foster the interests of kings so as to have them on their side when Parliaments and the press rise against them. In another issue the "Milliet" gives a report from Moscow that, in consequence of Amanullah's victory, the British Minister at Kabul has decided to withdraw. The paper says that at first it did not believe this, but that it has now learnt from London that it has been decided to recall Sir F. Humphrys. "Thus," it continues, "one understands better the important part played in all this sad business by this diplomatist, who was at his post at the moment when insurrection and reaction affected the country, but finds himself obliged to leave in consequence of the victory of the lawful Government. After having suppressed the revolt, the Afghans will have to think long over this point."

7. The "Milliet" of the 7th February contained a declaration made by my Afghan colleague in Angora protesting against the arbitrary and illegal action of the Government of India, since British aeroplanes fly daily over his free and independent country. "What law," asked the Ambassador, "recognises the right of a country to allow its aeroplanes to fly in the sky of another country which is fighting

within its borders for civilisation." To-day, the "Milliet" comments on this "important official declaration," and says that the Government of India has from the start of the troubles set out to show that it considers Afghanistan as a State under the sovereignty of England.

8. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. It is more important to discover what is at the back of it all. The Turkish press, least of all the "Milliet" would not let itself go like this unless it was sure of the acquiescence, if not of the practical encouragement, of the Government. But I find it hard to believe that all the professions of the Ghazi, of Ismet Pasha, and of Tewfik Rushdi mean nothing, not because I have any profound belief in their sincerity, but because the whole foreign policy of Turkey during the last two years has shown that she considers that her true interest lies in friendly relations with us. Although, therefore, this outburst of xenophobia is disquieting, I am not as yet prepared to attach too much importance to it. Much of it is, I think, due to a fortuitous concatenation of events, much of it to anxiety for Turkish prestige, and some of it possibly to a feeling that the Turkish Government has inclined a little too far to our side of the fence, and that it is time to give a soothing mixture to the Soviet Ambassador, who is said to have let it be understood that Moscow is not pleased with the latest developments of Turkish foreign policy. Moreover, the Turks are neophytes in government and journalism, and possibly have not realised the effect which their present attitude might have upon Great Britain.

9. Unfortunately, the complete dislocation of the railway service and the upsetting of all my plans owing to Sir G. Clayton and Sir H. Dobbs being held up by the weather, have made it impossible for me to go to Angora to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The railway company assures me daily that Sir G. Clayton may be expected on the morrow, but the days go by and he is still three and a half hours away in a place to which one can neither fly nor go by train or motor or sleigh, nor have I, in spite of strenuous efforts, been able to establish any communication with him. I therefore do not know whether he will still have time to go to Angora before proceeding to Baghdad, but as soon as he arrives and I learn his plans, I propose myself to go up to Angora, with or without the High Commissioner, in order to get some idea of what is at the back of all this venom.

I have, &c

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p.27-29, No. 20

No. 115

*Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain*No. 66
*Confidential.*CONSTANTINOPLE, February 14, 1929
(Received February 19, 1929)

Sir,

With reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum by Mr. Helm, second secretary of His Majesty's Embassy, on the general position of Turkey to-day.

2. I am in general agreement with the account given by Mr. Helm of the situation of Turkey, and also with his belief that, on the whole, Turkey would sooner have our help than that of any other Power. The difficulty is likely to be that, though we may, as I hope, be very willing to help Turkey, the form in which Turkey would demand such assistance, and the form in which we could give it, will probably differ widely, and Turkey may find other Powers more ready to give on easier terms. But until the Turkish Government gets beyond the stage of vague hints through unofficial channels and puts forward some concrete demand, I see little use in trying to formulate the line our reply to any overtures should take.

3. Mr Helm's theory that the recent outburst of Anglophobia has been partly designed as a sort of inverted blackmail to make us realise that Turkey has still considerable power to help or to hinder is ingenious and consonant with the mentality of its rulers, but I rather doubt anything so machiavellian, even on the part of Tewfik Rushdi.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p. 31, No. 23

ENCLOSURE in No. 115

*Memorandum on Present General Position of Turkey**Confidential.*

ANGORA, February 10, 1929

The present seems not altogether an inopportune moment for a general review of the position of Turkey to-day, of her internal situation, of the stability or otherwise of her Administration, and also for an estimate of probable developments of internal and external policy, more particularly in so far as those are likely to affect His Majesty's Government.

2. It may be asked why this moment has been chosen for such a review. The answer is that a clearing of the air is desirable in itself, and that, as I envisage the

present situation, Turkey has now reached, or will shortly reach, a stage in her development when the decisions which she may have to take will not only be the key to her future existence but may well have considerable effects on the history of the world.

3. It is now five years since the Turks became masters in their own house. During that time they have managed it would let or hindrance from without. This is not the place for a description of the radical spring-cleaning and refurnishing which have taken place. Suffice is to say that, having seen the furnishings of other houses, the Turks have endeavoured to copy them in their own way, with results which have not been uniformly successful. The work has, however, been the Turks' own, and, until now, no external factor has been allowed to interfere with its execution.

4. Hitherto, on only one occasion has the Ghazi — for in the regeneration of this country the Ghazi and Turkey have been synonymous — been obliged to withdraw from a position which he had taken up in the campaign of reform — I refer to his surrender on the matter of the change of women's headgear. On that occasion the withdrawal was so skilfully effected that few were actually aware of it, yet it is certain that for once Mustafa Kemal found himself up against something which bade fair to wreck even his strong craft if he persisted in his course. In the same way, recent developments in Afghanistan have given him pause, and excursions into further fields of reform which would affect the everyday life of the Turkish citizen have been vetoed. Even such a comparatively minor change as the adoption of Sunday as the weekly day of rest has been indefinitely postponed, though, except in the country, where, moreover, according to all competent judges religious feeling is weakest, the effects of this reform had been almost completely discounted a few months ago. For the first time Mustafa Kemal's course has been deflected by happenings far away from Turkey's frontiers, and the event is of much significance.

5. The first thought that strikes one is that such a halt must be due to a loss of confidence on the part of the Ghazi in his reforming mission. That possibility can, however, be readily dismissed. He is certainly not assailed by doubts of the beneficial nature of his reforms. What he has probably now realised is that some time must elapse before any considerable proportion of the people reach the same conclusion. The pace has, in fact, been too hot to be continued indefinitely. The régime is, it is true, stable enough, in so far as that term can be applied to any Eastern country, but this stability is dependent on force, and a force which is completely under control. If the situation should ever get so out of hand that this control were relaxed, the whole edifice of the reforms, and with it its architect, might collapse with a crash, leaving a free field to the apostles of reaction.

6. For, though the present régime is perhaps better than any conceivable alternative, it would be a gross exaggeration to say that it is popular, as that term is understood in a Western democracy. The eastern provinces are a open sore which refuses to yield satisfactorily to treatment, and reports are current of further troubles in these areas. We have recently heard of abortive risings in Constantinople, Brusa, Konia and Sivas, which, even though they were as unimportant as was officially represented, reveal a state of affairs which is not altogether satisfactory. In the country districts, the poor harvest of last year cannot fail to have added to the fuel of discontent caused by increased taxation; in the larger centres, trade has not been developing as quickly as it should; while everywhere, a new survey, and apparently largely increased valuation of land and buildings, will inevitably cause greater hardship, the blame for which will be laid at the door of the Government. Finally, the full effects of the alphabet reform will not be felt for some months. Hitherto, this reform has been in the nature of a new toy and has been appreciated as such. But to-day even high officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs still make personal notes in the old script. What, then, can be said of the Governor and his clerk in Marash or Erzerum, or of the *kaïmakam* and his assistant in Kozan or Ulu Kishla, who have never learnt a European language? All ~~that~~ that, it is true, ~~passed-examinations~~ passed-examinations in the new script, but many months must elapse before they can use it with the facility of the old. In the meantime, what will happen to the petitions of the Mehmeds and the Rizas, which have, after great efforts, been addressed to them in the new characters? Even at its best the wheels of the Turkish administrative machine revolved slowly under the old conditions. It is not impossible that, outside Angora, Constantinople and a few of the larger towns, they may in a few months get so clogged up as to stop altogether — a state of affairs which would give little satisfaction to the long-suffering Mehmed and Riza.

7. This period of stress will, of course, pass, but, before doing so, it may prove a hard test for the Central Administration. It may therefore be well to study for a moment the latter's composition. The keystone is, of course, the Ghazi himself, and here, fortunately, there are grounds for optimism. His driving power is apparently unimpaired, and his health, so far as an outsider can judge, is better than at any time in the last two years. More than ever will his presence at the helm be necessary during the next few months, as without him the future could only be envisaged with the deepest concern. Leaving aside the person of the Ghazi himself, a strange phenomenon meets the eye — the clear division of the Central Administration (in which I include what is known as the Chan Kaya clique) into two categories — the workers and the parasite sycophants. Realising, as he must, that just as the second is necessary for his pleasures, so the first is essential if he is to exist at all, the Ghazi has hitherto kept the balance between these two groups and prevented the one from interfering with the other. With the passing of the

years and of the conditions which made unity essential for existence, many good workers have, however, permanently alienated by the Ghazi, and, temporarily at least, lost to the country. Some of the old workers, such as Ismet Pasha, Abdul Halik and Refik Bey, remain faithful, and as a close friend of the Ghazi remarked to me the other day, "God knows what we should do without them," but the successors of those who have been alienated are not up to standard. Even so, there would be no cause for pessimism if only one felt sure that the balance between the two groups would be maintained as before. But this is not so. The present Minister of the Interior is regarded as lazy and as owing his position to his private services to the Ghazi. The Assembly would like to see him removed but is powerless, and now there is a fresh bone of contention. Contrary to the wishes of Ismet Pasha, the Ghazi is understood to have insisted on the appointment to the Ministry of Education of Vasif Bey, the Ambassador in Moscow. The appointment is doubly unfortunate at the present time when education looms so large in the public gaze, as he is an incompetent and worthless person. But he is an old friend of the Ghazi and belongs to the second of the two groups. This, unlike the first, has not been diminished in numbers by the passing years, and any addition to its numbers at the expense of the other might be likely to upset the balance, seriously weaken the administrative machine, and even, perhaps, lead to extravagant flights of internal and external policy.

8. Nevertheless, I do not regard this as an immediate danger. If the Mustafa Kemal—Ismet combination is maintained intact, any period of stress which may lie ahead will be resolutely faced. Those who, like Halide Edib Hanem, contend that excitement and novelty are necessary to the Ghazi may be right, but, if they are, Ismet Pasha can be relied upon to break the machine before it gets completely out of control. The danger of an ultimate collision between the two groups is, however, a more real one. As far as one can judge, Mustafa Kemal will maintain his ascendancy as long as he lives, or at least until his energies fail. When that moment comes danger will threaten, and developments are quite problematical. Possible successors — Kiazim, Ismet or Fevzi Pashas — are numerous, but one looks in vain for any one person who could be confidently expected to fill his place. Ismet Pasha would be favoured by the workers, but he would have no use for the favourites and place-seekers of to-day. These would not be slow to join forces with the discontented elements already existing, and in the absence of some strong steadying influence, confusion would almost certainly result. From this, even if we make the wide assumption that certain foreign States would not seize the opportunity to realise territorial and other ambitions, a weaker and disillusioned Turkey would probably emerge, but nevertheless, I think, a Turkey which in outward form would not differ materially from that of to-day.

9. Considerations such as these are doubtless far from entering the Ghazi's mind, but it is inconceivable that they should be long absent from the thoughts of

other leaders, who must contemplate a time when the magnetic personality of the Ghazi will no longer dominate the national stage. At a moment, therefore, when the Ghazi possibly sees a danger of his reforms not coming to complete fruition, and even in fact, almost in danger, these other leaders, whose lifework is likewise bound up with the reforms, must be taking stock of the situation, and can scarcely fail to be aware of its latent dangers. They wish to provide for future contingencies, and thus, by another route, they arrive at the same conclusion as the Ghazi — that the structure must be made more secure.

10. Further, unless I am much mistaken, other considerations will shortly make themselves felt. Of these, the most important is the realisation that Turkey has almost reached the limit to which she can hope to attain by her own unaided efforts. In spite of the confident, and even arrogant, declarations of certain misguided patriots, whose nationalism is stronger than their intelligence, Turkey will shortly have to choose one of two courses. The first amounts to little more than an avowed continuance of the present policy with a gradual weakening of control, the abandonment of cherished dreams, disillusionment, decay, confusion, and in fact, on a small scale, the hand-to-mouth existence of the Ottoman Empire of pre-war days, without many of those compensating factors which led to that Empire's artificial maintenance long after it had become an anachronism. This is a picture which is far from representing what the makers of new Turkey have set out to accomplish.

11. And there are abundant signs that this is not the course that Turkey will choose to follow. If Turkey has been unable to disinterest herself in events in Afghanistan, much less is she able to ignore the West, whither the eyes of the revolution have been turned from the outset. For the past year Turkey has been busy settling her accounts with Europe, not because she wanted to, but because of the realisation that, if she were to live the life she desired, she must do so. In a word, money is the key to the future of Turkey. She must have it or she will collapse, and though she would rather borrow in some quarters than in others, she will ultimately take the money where she can get it.

12. And with this question of money is closely linked that of policy, both home and foreign. I have already suggested that the time is soon coming when Turkey will be unable longer to stand alone. At home, she requires money for the development of her natural resources, for the construction of her railways and for other public works. But — and this is the fundamental condition which must govern the whole of this question of foreign financial assistance — Turkey will not at any price contemplate a foreign Government loan with conditions attached thereto which would be of a nature to weaken in any way her sovereign rights. She does, however, realise that her credit in the European money markets, though better than it was, is still low, and that, unless the Government of the country in

which she desired to raise a loan adopted something more than a neutral attitude, she would probably encounter insuperable difficulties and be unable to induce any financial house of good standing to accept her terms. Security she would be willing to offer, and she would almost certainly be ready to give in the course of the negotiations a promise to purchase from the lending country the foreign materials necessary for the works covered by the loan. Simultaneously with the conclusion of the loan, or at a later date, foreign experts and advisers would be engaged as a matter of course. They would be servants of the Turkish Government in the true sense of the word, and as such the Turkish Government would welcome them, realising as it would that the monies could only be usefully expended, and in fact, would probably only be available, if such persons were allowed to assist in the building up of the new Turkey.

13. If my conclusions thus far are sound, I am in a little doubt regarding this further one — that it is the desire of the Turkish Government to cultivate closer relations with Great Britain, to whom she looks as the Power who can help her in her immediate need and whose moral support she considers will be most efficacious at some future date. In saying this I do not wish to suggest that Turkey desires now to bind herself to any State or group of States, nor that the Turks have forgiven or forgotten the events of the armistice. Far from it. But the rulers of the country are not oblivious of the wider national interests. In the space of five years British prestige in Turkey has recovered to an extent which could never have been imagined, and with it, thanks to some extent to leading Turks having become better acquainted with the outside world, has developed a sincere admiration for Anglo-Saxon methods and culture.

14. Such feelers as the Turks have hitherto put out towards us have been vague in the extreme. This is hardly surprising if one remembers the not distant past and the extreme sensitiveness of the Turks in anything appertaining to foreign influence in Turkey. They have affected to regard us as cold and unresponsive, partly perhaps, because they have an exaggerated idea of the use which Turkey could be to Great Britain in the sphere of Near and Middle Eastern politics.

15. At first sight it might appear that the campaign of Anglophobia in the Turkish press, and especially in the semi-official organs, to which recent events in Afghanistan have given rise, is fatal to the view that Turkey desires to cultivate closer relations with Great Britain. I venture, however, to suggest an alternative theory. Making due allowance for Soviet propaganda messages (often reproduced from the British press), for the sensational and highly-coloured publications of such papers as the "People", and for the necessity to an impoverished press with no news service of taking its news where it can find it, may not the object, at least of these semi-official papers, have been to show that we cannot afford altogether to dismiss Turkey from our minds when we are dealing with questions of imperial

policy? In other words, might not the campaign have been something in the nature of political blackmail?

16. This is the stage which matters have reached at present, but it seems to me improbable that they will long rest there. If it were a question of money alone, America might be approached, but it seems to me likely that Turkey wishes finance and foreign policy to go hand in hand, hoping that she can borrow money in a quarter which, while appreciating her freedom from territorial ambitions, will have a political interest in her existence as a strong and independent State. If, however, other schemes break down, Turkey may have recourse later to America, or even to an international group. France does not count at present and may be dismissed, as may also be Italy, for though a treaty of friendship has been concluded, and although the Turkish press makes such of the alleged close relationship, Turkey still entertains lively, if concealed, suspicions of Italian designs. Russia, even if she had the funds available, remains what she was, though in a lesser degree — a useful support in time of trouble, but one with whom close contact is dangerous — a support, moreover, whose usefulness will diminish and with whom contact will become increasingly dangerous as she develops her strength and once more begins to nourish ideas of expansion. Next there is Germany, who like Russia, has not funds to spare and whose political designs would probably not be above suspicion. There remains Great Britain. Turkey has of late become increasingly convinced of our desire to maintain existing frontiers and of the fact that we have no territorial or other ambitions in Turkey. She also at present nourishes no idea of expansion, and if she could be assured of our moral support in the field of international politics, she would feel reasonably certain that, as regards internal politics, our assistance would be disinterested, and that, if for instance, she engaged British experts or advisers, they would render such whole-hearted service as was done by the late Sir R. Crawford.

17. The next step might therefore, conceivably take the form of more direct overtures to ourselves. In what I have said above I have endeavoured to show what Turkey might be expected to desire in the economic field. In the political field she might wish, thanks to the moral support of a Great Power whose interests march with her own, to make her position more secure, but she would not, I think, put her expectations very high; she would certainly not ask for an alliance, but would probably make suggestions for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact on the lines which have recently been proposed by the Persian Government to His Majesty's Minister at Teheran. If negotiations developed, and even perhaps in the early stages, she would probably indicate her willingness to join the League of Nations. She would, of course, point to the advantages which would accrue to us from such an arrangement — the establishment, under her aegis, of a *bloc* of friendly States (Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan) to the south of Russia, the greater security of India from possible Russian aggression, stability in the Near and Middle East, a

guarantee of non-aggression against Iraq, and a privileged position for British commercial expansion in a wide field — none of them unimportant in themselves, but all of them involving considerations of imperial policy which it is quite outside my competence to discuss.

18. It is because I see a distinct possibility of matters developing on the lines which I have indicated above that I submit that serious consideration should be given to our future policy towards Turkey and to the manner in which such overtures would be received. For the past five years our policy of passivity has served us well, and our interests would, perhaps, best be served in Turkey could continue to be self-sufficing and to steer an independent course among the nations. Circumstances may, however, very shortly make it desirable for us to adopt a more positive policy, while avoiding unnecessary commitments. Turkey is going to need a helping hand. She does, I believe, desire that that hand shall be ours. Will it be worth our while to offer it if and when it is asked for, or shall we look complacently on while it is offered by another, who may as a result reap considerable economic and political advantages? Whether or not, might we not, by so doing, lose a valuable opportunity, which may not recur, of securing our interests in the East on an infinitely sounder and safer basis than was contemplated ten years ago?

A. K. HELM

F.O. 424/270, p. 32-36, No. 23/1

No. 116

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 67

CONSTANTINOPLE, February 15, 1929
(Received February 19, 1929)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 19 of the 11th January, I have the honour to inform you that the trial of the persons accused of fomenting a revolutionary conspiracy at Broussa has now been concluded. The court was open to the public and accounts of each day's sitting were reported in the press. It is, therefore, possible to piece together the essential features of the case so far as they were revealed in court.

2. Whether and how far the authorities thought fit to suppress important facts in the public interest it is difficult to know. I can only say that the case as disclosed in the proceedings was a very minor affair as compared with the rumours that were pervading this city when the arrests first took place in December last. For example, the connexion of Kiazim Karabekir and other well-known pashas with the plot was

only mentioned to be refuted. Nor was it suggested that ex-Sultan's family was in any way implicated. Also the name of colonel Pir Mehmed (see Mr. Edmonds's despatch No.1 of the 1st January) was never even mentioned.

3. The case as revealed at the trial was briefly as follows: The conspiracy was organised by a certain Djemal, who seems to have been the only man of any standing or education in the whole affair. He had, it appears, a good war record in the War of Independence, and had at one time held an official appointment as municipal counsellor. Later, however, he had got into trouble with the authorities (for what reason was not disclosed) and been condemned to twelve years' imprisonment. His appeal against the sentence had been quashed by the Court of Cassation and it was then that he had set about plotting his release by forcible means. To this end he succeeded in forming an organisation which he named the "Revolutionary Committee for the protection of the Moslem Religion." Communication with his supporters outside the prison was effected through one of the prison warders, and he endeavoured to impress his uneducated followers and at the same time throw any undesirable enquirers off the scent of recording his ideas in the form of dreams. His ideas as thus recorded were of a most bloodthirsty and compromising nature and seem to have related entirely to such matters as assassinating the opponents of his own fanatical beliefs. The object of all these machinations was, in the words in which the procureur général summed up the case for the prosecution, to open the gates of the prison, terrorise the population, pillage all the Turkish banks, win over the army, march on Smyrna at the head of the forces there gathered together, thus *join the English* and overthrow the Government. I would draw attention to the words in italics.

4. The police having got wind of the plot, set informers to work to unravel it. It was on the basis of other denunciations that Djemal and his associates were accused and condemned.

5. Djemal himself denied everything. He pointed out that all his supposed followers came from the riff-raff of the population, and that, if he had really intended to organise a plot of such dimensions, he would not have attempted it with such inferior instruments. That something had been in the wind, however, was apparent from the admissions, often self-contradictory, of the other accused persons, to say nothing of the revelations of the *agents provocateurs*. The result of the trial, therefore, was that Djemal, the guilty warder, and three others were condemned to death, while nine others were condemned to varying terms of imprisonment. The remainder were discharged on insufficient evidence.

6. How far the case was tried on reasonably strict principles of justice is not easy to say, but the attitude of the president of the court seems to have left a good deal to be desired. He appears indeed to have confused his functions with that of public prosecutor. Significant was his initial warning to the counsel for the defence

that he was convinced that in undertaking the defence they would act in conformity with justice.

7. That, however, is of small practical importance. From the political point of view what matters is that the police system was good enough to discover the plot, and that the plot was successfully dealt with without recourse to extraordinary measures.

8. I should add a word as to the alleged implication of Great Britain in the affair. I have already drawn attention to the procureur général's statement when summing up that the conspirators had intended to join the English at Smyrna. This point came up in the first days of the trial and I had imagined that "the English" had come into the matter because one of the accused was named "Laz Ali," and this name and "İngiliz" might easily be confused in a telegram. But the reference to the point by the procureur général shows that I had given the Turkish authorities more credit than they deserved. That they should have permitted the procureur général to include such an accusation in his summing up can only, I fear, be a further example of the wave of Anglophobia that has revealed itself in so many ways in the last few weeks. The report of British inspiration in regard to the plot, moreover, came out in a further incident in the trial. One of the accused was said to have visited this Embassy and got in touch with one of the secretaries. The accused, for his part, categorically denied such a visit. Nevertheless, I instructed Mr. Roberts to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs and tell him that any participation of this Embassy in the affair was unthinkable, and at the same time ask him to ascertain and let me know what reason, if any, there was for the court to admit such a statement without at once subjecting it to the most searching control.

9. Mr. Roberts accordingly raised the matter with Tewfik Rushdi and took the same opportunity to mention the report that the conspirators had intended to secure the support of the British at Smyrna. Tewfik Rushdi was disposed to make little of the whole business and said that he did not believe it had found credence even with the general public. He suggested that to pursue it further would only be to give it an undeserved publicity. As to that I feel he may be right and I have not pursued the matter further.

10. Meanwhile the persons who were arrested simultaneously at Constantinople on the charge of illegal reactionary activities were released on the 19th January last, having, it seemed, successfully established their innocence. The decree issued by the president of the Penal Court appears, however, to have had a technical defect, with the result that the Ministry of Justice intervened and the accused are once again under arrest and being subjected to further examination.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 117

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 114

CONSTANTINOPLE, March 7, 1929

(Received March 11, 1929)

Sir,

On the 4th instant the law "for the consolidation of tranquillity" expired, and on that occasion İsmet Pasha, in a speech of which I have the honour to enclose a translation, announced that under the Ghazi's inspiration the Government had decided not to prolong this exceptional measure. It will be recalled (see my despatch No.97 of the 2nd March, 1927) that the law gave the Government the power to deal, without any reference to the Assembly, with any kind of reactionary movement and to hand the culprits over to the Independence Tribunals. It may be assumed that the Government, having since then eliminated all opposition from the Assembly and having more recently abolished the Independence Tribunals, feels that this special law adds little in reality to the ample powers afforded by the ordinary laws of the land for any measures it may want to take against subversive movements. The Prime Minister, of course, laid emphasis on this indication of internal security and of the Government's truly democratic ideals. He proceeded to recall the events which led up to the Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925, the immediate reason for the passing of the law, and in so doing he did not omit to ascribe to Allied machinations and to the Allied occupation a very generous share of responsibility for the paralysis of Turkish national life, which, he claimed, made such a thing as the Sheikh Said rebellion possible. The law, he recalled, had been renewed again two years ago, but as a matter of fact the Government had made no use of it since then, so much had the situation improved.

2. The Pasha continued by saying that, in his view, the greatest achievements of the past four years had been that the great internal reforms had been firmly planted in the life of the people, and he then mentioned, amid applause, the emancipation of women, the divorce of religion and politics, and the reform of the alphabet.

3. İsmet Pasha proceeded to deny tendentious rumours — of which there are always plenty — about the Ghazi's health. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a robust as ever, he asserted, and so far as I am aware this is not far from the truth. Another rumour which the Prime Minister took occasion to deny with equal firmness was that there were differences between the Gazi and the Government. He was doubtless alluding to differences which I have mentioned in earlier despatches between the Ghazi and himself about the transfer of Vassif Bey from the Embassy at Moscow to the Ministry of Education.

4. This led İsmet Pasha on to a pointed reference to Syria as the country from which propaganda was conducted against the Government. Emissaries, he said, would report to exiles and committees at work in Syria that in Turkey mosques were being closed down — which is true enough — that crucifixes and eikons were being set up in those that remained — the enclosed translation omits this — that taxes were intolerable and that public debts were not honoured — which allegations are also not without elements of truth in them. The Turkish Government is considerably exercised by reactionary activities of Turks in Syria, and I presume that by this tirade İsmet Pasha hoped to encourage the French to take effective measures against them.

5. After referring to Communism as another kind of propaganda which was being carried on, but was being successfully controlled by the police and courts, İsmet Pasha concluded by a disingenuous appeal to all who were discontented with the present régime to submit their case to the electorate.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/270, p.70-71, No.34

No. 118

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 164

ANGORA, April 16, 1929

(Received April 23, 1929)

Sir,

In his despatch No.50 of the 31st January, His majesty's Ambassador had the honour to inform you of the appointment as Turkish Ambassador at Moscow of Husein Ragib Bey in succession to Vasif Bey, who, it was anticipated, would become Minister of Public Instruction. Vasif Bey did in effect take up this portfolio in the last days of February, but has held it during an even shorter period than he did his post of Ambassador, for the unexpected announcement was made on the 9th instant that he had tendered his resignation and that it had been accepted.

2. For once in a way the conventional grounds of ill-health could not be given as the reason for Vasif Bey's resignation. On the contrary, the press was allowed to state at some length that fundamental issues of education policy had given rise to it. The new Minister had, it appears, not unnaturally desired to have concentrated in his own hands all matters affecting national education. He wanted to have the disposal of taxes and funds specifically collected for public instruction, and may even have coveted controlling the military schools. The administration of primary

schools has however, hitherto been in the hands of the valis and local officials of the Ministry of the Interior, and Shukri Kaya Bey was loath to surrender this part of his duties, more especially as at the present time the Minister of Public Works is endeavouring to secure for his department complete control of the roads of the country, which also have hitherto been the special care of the valis. As a local newspaper has remarked, the valis would be workless without the primary schools and the roads to occupy their attention. So it happened that the raising of the primary schools issue by Vasif Bey resulted in his falling foul of his colleague of the Interior. The position of the latter has been none too strong lately, but he was secure enough to emerge successfully from this trial of strength with Vasif Bey.

3. So much for what has been allowed to be known. But the truth probably is that the resignation of Vasif Bey is something of a triumph for İsmet Pasha. It is understood that he did not see eye to eye with the Ghazi over Vasif Bey's nomination. But he evidently had to wait for arguments with which to overcome the Ghazi's predilection for an old favourite. Vasif Bey's clash with Shukri Kaya Bey soon supplied İsmet Pasha with the excuse he wanted. In any case, Vasif Bey's record leaves little reason to suppose that the republic will be seriously injured or the education of the Turkish citizens of to-morrow vitally prejudiced by his disappearance.

4. Vasif Bey's place at the Ministry of Public Instruction has been taken by Jemal Husni Bey, who for the past year has been chief Turkish delegate on the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity he has proved himself impulsive and headstrong and has at times bid fair brusquely to extinguish the feeble flame of hope in the Turco-Greek negotiations. A thruster and by no means well educated, Jemal Husni Bey would appear hardly to possess the qualifications required by a successful Minister of Education in a Western country. Nevertheless, his appointment has been well received, and his character may suit the situation as well as did the rough energy of Nejatî Bey, the last Minister but one who, totally uneducated though he was himself, has left a great name as Minister. Whether or not, the prospects for the ultimate success of the Turco-Greek negotiations have been materially improved by the transfer of Jemal Husni Bey to another sphere. The Greek Minister, at any rate, is at no pains to conceal his satisfaction, more especially as it is announced that the new chief Turkish delegate will be Tewfik Kiamîl Bey, a serious-minded Deputy who, before entering politics, was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

No. 119

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 191

CONSTANTINOPLE, April 30, 1929

(Received May 6, 1929)

Sir,

Turkey's first children's week ended yesterday. Such an event in a Western country would not be worth while recording, but here the event is far from insignificant, and may, indeed, be regarded as one more step taken by Turkey on the path of development and progress.

2. On the 23rd April 1920, the National Assembly met at Angora. This date, more so even than the 29th October 1923, when the republic was proclaimed, is perhaps the most important in the history of modern Turkey. It is from it that the elementary school histories make their beginning, and henceforth it is to be known in Turkey as the Children's Day. Even if memory is so short that the Turkish newspapers seem to be uncertain whether the 23rd April 1920, was eight, nine or ten years ago, the intention to devote this and the following days to the youth of the country shows, in spite of all the muddling of the past few years, what anxiety there is to make the new spirit in this country something more than a flash in the pan. The workers of the revolution are still young, and should have many years of usefulness before them, but even so, their policy has always shown that they realise that the future is not so much with them as with those who are to follow them. A generation will soon be growing up which never knew and possibly never heard of the Sultan, which will be untouched by the old religious influences, and which will only know the new language and characters. But something more was required, for, with all its drastic changes, the revolution has only touched the outer fringe of the family life of the Turkish people. For centuries the women and children of Turkey have been left to their own devices. Ignorance and superstition have ruled in the home, illness and disease have been rampant among those who in this sadly underpopulated country should have been the first objects of care, and infant and child mortality have been appalling. This was why Mustafa Kemal's efforts to deal summarily with the harem gave him his first serious check. It was then that he showed that there is something of greatness in him, for, perceiving his mistake, he for once abandoned his direct methods and set about finding a way round this mountain of difficulty. The encouragement of women to appear in public, the active health campaign waged by the Minister of Health, the establishment of clinics in every provincial town, the development of education, and now the emphasis thrown on the interests of the children — all these have as their object the future generation.

3. But all this is not the work either of the Ghazi or of his Government, though both have been closely identified with it. More than to anyone else perhaps the credit is due to Hamdullah Subhi Bey, the president almost since its inception (its first president was Ahmed Ferit Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in London) of the Association of the Turk Ojaks. Of late years these clubs have sent off a strong shoot in the Society for the Protection of Children. Perhaps nothing can better convey the new spirit that has been created than an incident which occurred at the Angora Hotel on the eve of Children's Day. Some of my staff had been lunching with Hamdullah Subhi Bey. As he entered the saloon the children, who were rehearsing for a performance to be given the following day, rushed up to the organiser of the Turk Ojaks, whom they obviously regarded as their leader and playmate. This simple incident, which even five years ago would have been impossible in Turkey, is to me symptomatic of the change which has taken place, and, what is more important, a symbol of the new Turkey which is in process of being born.

4. As regards the celebrations themselves, little need be said. They were organised in every town and village, but were probably on the grandest scale at Angora and Constantinople. To the capital children's delegates came from all parts of the country, and on the morning of the 23rd some hundreds of children were conveyed to the residence of the Ghazi, İsmet Pasha and the President of the Assembly, whom they all saluted in turn. In the afternoon a large children's party was given at the Palace Hotel, at which the President of the Republic and all the Ministers were present. The Ghazi who appeared to be in excellent health, was in his happiest vein, made friends with the children, and sat out, with apparent enjoyment, the long programme of twenty-five items given by the children, none of whom was more than 12 years of age, and who included the 6 year old son of İsmet Pasha. In Constantinople there were fêtes, baby competitions, lectures for mothers, processions of boy scouts and girls guides, decisions to start boys' clubs and addresses in which the stress was thrown upon the need for the young to grow up good citizens of the republic.

5. By the State schools, by organisations like the boy scouts, the girl guides and the Society for the Protection of Children and by hospital reform the Government is trying to bring up the rising generation on modern lines. The rising generation, for their part, are mostly keen supporters of a régime which gives them such modernism. They know well enough that, instead of having football and dances and picnics, their parents were tied to apron-strings in the harem. But, when all this has been said and done, there remains a grave question. The attack on the harem and the gradual dissipation of the spirit of intrigue nurtured there which permeated Turkish life and character is all to the good. So is the introduction of notions of hygiene. But the harem, besides containing so much that was bad, also enshrined most that was best in Turkish life. It remains to be seen whether a

people which is rapidly throwing away its religion and family traditions will find moral support enough in a half-baked westernism.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERCK

F.O. 424/270, p. 83-84, No.46

No.120

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 192

CONSTANTINOPLE, May 1, 1929

(Received May 6, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the foundation stone of the Persian Embassy building at Angora was laid on the 25th April by Ismet Pasha, Rejeb Bey, the Minister of Public Works, and a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs were also present. The ceremony itself was very simple, and though many invitations had been issued only some thirty to forty persons attended, including representatives of all foreign missions in Angora except the French Embassy and the Belgian Legation.

2. The Persian Ambassador made a very short speech, in which he said that the laying of the stone was an important event, as it symbolised the brotherhood of the Turkish and Persian nations, both of which had in the course of the last few years produced great men to lead them along the path of development and progress. It was their common desire that this brotherhood should be cultivated, and he felt sure that the establishment of a Persian Embassy in Angora could only further this cause. The speech was simple and without trimmings of any kind, and concluded with good wishes for the health of Reza Shah and of the Ghazi. The stone was then laid, and after a short time at the buffet the company dispersed.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERCK

F.O. 371/13811/E.2271

F.O. 424/270, p.83-84, No.47

No. 121

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 302

Confidential

ROME, May 3, 1929

(Received May 6, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs arrived in Rome on the morning of the 27th April on an official visit. He was accompanied by his wife and daughter; Tewfik Bey, Ambassador and Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic; Numan Rifat Bey, Director-General of Political Affairs, and Kemal Aziz Bey, of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

2. At 11 A.M. on the morning of his arrival Tewfik Rushdi Bey was received by the King, and at noon he visited Signor Mussolini. In the afternoon Signor Grandi visited Tewfik Rushdi Bey, after which the latter, accompanied by his wife, was received by the Queen, and in the evening the Turkish mission were present at the opera.

3. On the afternoon of the 28th the Governor of Rome gave a reception at the capital, and in the evening Signor Mussolini gave a dinner at the Excelsior Hotel, after which speeches were made by Signor Mussolini and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs:

"I am very pleased to be able personally to express to your Excellency this evening the sentiments of deep sympathy with which the Italian Government and nation welcome you to Rome.

"Your Excellency's visit is a new proof of the friendly relations which exist between our two countries, and it reminds me of the other meetings which I had the pleasure of having with your Excellency and which formed the basis of a more cordial understanding between our two countries, consolidating their ancient friendship.

"I have already had the opportunity of expressing to you my sincere admiration for the rapid development of Turkey in all branches of her activities, and the sympathy inspired in the Italian people by the progress made by the Turkish nation under the enlightened guidance of the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal.

"I wish to repeat to you once again these sentiments, and I am sure that since our friendship is a solid guarantee of peace in Europe, and above all in the Mediterranean, the cordial relations existing between us are destined to develop to an ever greater extent along the lines of reciprocal appreciation of common interests in the spheres of politics, economic and culture.

"It is in this spirit that I raise my glass to the health of his Excellency the President of the Turkish Republic and salute, in the person of your Excellency, the noble Turkish nation, expressing at the same time the warmest wishes for its prosperity."

4. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs replied:

"I thank your Excellency most sincerely for your kind expressions of welcome and for the gracious courtesy with which you have been good enough to accompany your words. Already yesterday, on the occasion of the brilliant reception which we were given, we felt, at the first contact with the high authorities of this friendly country, that warm atmosphere of cordiality and confidence in which alone reciprocal sentiments of sympathy and sincere friendship can prosper. I have just experienced the same feeling while listening to your Excellency, when you defined absolutely correctly the character of the visit which I have the honour of paying to the Royal Government. I am very moved by the words and praise with which your Excellency remarked on the rapid development of Turkey along the road of progress, and the work which she has completed in a short time under enlightened guidance of our great chief, the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal.

"A spontaneous expression of confidence and respect by the nation constitutes for those elected by destiny a pedestal of unshakable strength which raises them to the rôle of leaders and to the apotheosis of unquestioned chief. It is certainly your destiny, Excellency, and you can be sure that we understand better than anyone the profound significance of the high and full confidence with which we see the eminent Italian Prime Minister surrounded.

"After this there is no need for me to add that the Turkish people sees with equal sympathy the Italian nation advancing along the road which has been brilliantly traced by your Excellency under the enlightened aegis of His Majesty King Victor Emanuel III.

"The Government of the Republic, which have already given many proofs of their sincere and loyal attachment to the cause of peace (the only one which gives to the people the assurance of the normal development which is their right and which constitutes the primary condition of all international relations and collaboration, as well as the foundations of human well-being and of the progress of civilisation), consider Italo-Turco friendship to be a factor of the greatest importance for Mediterranean and European peace.

"I am truly and sincerely convinced that our common efforts and our cordial collaboration will be successful in this large sphere, and that in this atmosphere our relations will continue to develop, relations of which the solid basis lies in the objectivity which we attribute to the vision of positive reality, and in the mutual appreciation of our real interests."

Then followed the usual toast.

5. On the morning of the 29th Tewfik Rushdy Bey received representatives of the press, and said that as far as relations between Italy and Turkey were concerned it was unnecessary for him to add anything to the speech made the night before by Signor Mussolini. Commercial relations between the two countries would soon be regulated by a treaty of commerce. An Italian delegation would visit Angora and discuss the basis for such an agreement. During his visit to Germany he had agreed with Stresemann to conclude a treaty of arbitration which would not have any political clauses. As regards Greece, in spite of the exuberance of certain Greek and Turkish newspapers, their relations were perfectly good, and the two Governments intended to sign a pact of friendship as soon as the outstanding questions were settled, which he hoped would be very shortly. The treaty would most probably be signed at Angora, and then Greece, Turkey and Italy would be bound by three pacts. As regards Albania, he said that the Turkish people were in full sympathy with the Albanians. When asked why the Turkish Government had not yet recognised the new Albanian régime, he replied that it had not been recognised exclusively owing to certain reasons of internal policy in Turkey, which had forced Angora to be intransigent. Bonds of relationship united many subjects of the Albanian Monarchy to many subjects of the Turkish Republic, and that explained why the problem required special examination. The fact that the diplomatic relations between the two countries were perfectly normal proved that there was no disagreement. He stated that an agreement had already been come to between Belgrade and Angora as regards the question of urban property, and it was hoped soon to reach an agreement as regards rural property. Relations with the Soviet Government were excellent, and he stated emphatically that although the Turks were against the reactionaries, they were at the same time Nationalists and sympathised with every form of nationalism from China to South America. When asked his opinion on the situation in Afghanistan, Tewfik Bey stated that Turkey was for the independence of Afghanistan and added that, *vis-à-vis* the Great Powers, Angora — which followed Afghan events with the deepest attention — made no mystery of their attitude. He concluded by stating that he believed in a future victory for the reigning house of Amanullah.

6. Signor Grandi gave a luncheon on the 29th, and in the afternoon (after attending a meeting of the Chamber) the Turkish Minister had another meeting with Signor Mussolini at the Palazzo Chigi, after which the latter and the Turkish Ambassador in Rome exchanged ratifications of the Italo-Turkish Treaty of Neutrality, Conciliation and Judicial Settlement, which was signed on the 30th May, 1928 (see despatch No.437 of the 2nd June, 1928).

7. In the evening Signor Mussolini attended a dinner at the Turkish Embassy. A reception followed, at which I was present.

8. I had an opportunity of conversation with Rushdi Bey, who was almost effusively cordial, and expressed his warm feelings towards His Majesty's Government, and especially his personal liking and esteem for Sir Ronald Lindsay and his successor Sir George Clerk.

9. Both Signor Mussolini and Signor Grandi have assured me that the visit was of no political significance and meant no more than was expressed in the official toasts exchanged. Signor Grandi broke into English in order to describe Rushdy Bey as a "queer bloke," and Signor Mussolini said that he was more impressed with Tewfik Bey, who said little but kept a watchful eye upon his chief.

10. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs left Rome on the 30th instant.

11. A memorandum containing the press comments on the visit is enclosed.

I have, &c.

R. GRAHAM

F.O. 371/13811/E. 2278

F.O. 424/270, p. 86-88, No. 50

No. 122

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain

No. 257

Confidential

Sir,

ANGORA, June 4, 1929

(Received July 11, 1929)

A short time ago the President of the Republic issued formal invitations to the heads of missions and the senior members of the Embassies and Legations in Turkey to a garden party in the late afternoon of the 1st June at his recently-finished villa outside Angora.

2. The invitation placed me in a position of some perplexity. It was obviously impossible to refuse, while, on the other hand, acceptance made it equally impossible for me to be at Constantinople for the usual garden party in celebration of His Majesty's birthday on the 3rd June, without great discourtesy, as there was no express on the evening of the 2nd June, and I could only do so by leaving the President's party early and going straight on board the train. There was the further consideration that to do this would be to hurt Turkish susceptibilities in their tenderest point, for I could not more markedly emphasise my disregard of Angora as the capital of the country.

3. I therefore reluctantly decided that I must break with the practice of many years, and hold my official reception on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday at

Angora instead of Constantinople, at which place I arranged that the British community should be received in the Embassy garden by His Majesty's consul-general and Mrs Waugh.

4. The still somewhat primitive conditions at Angora, and more especially the lack of space in the Embassy house there and the rocky and uncultivated condition of the ground, entailed elaborate and expensive arrangements beforehand which were only carried through by the devotion and strenuous work of my staff. These preparations were in full swing and the invitations to the Turkish authorities and my diplomatic colleagues had been issued, when a heavy rain-storm washed away the terrace of the Ghazi's newly-laid-out garden and his party was called off, too late, however, for it to be possible for me to alter arrangements.

5. I accordingly came up to Angora on the 1st June and held my reception yesterday. Fortunately, the weather, which had been threatening, proved kind and, whatever the shortcomings of the entertainment, the view in the evening light from the little terrace across the plateau to the citadel in Angora and the mountains beyond made a setting whose beauty was worthy of the occasion.

6. It is also satisfactory to me to be able to record that the Turkish authorities did everything possible to show their appreciation of my action. The Director of the Protocol called upon me officially in the morning to express the congratulations of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, while the President of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the leading Turkish Deputies and official authorities attended the party and were almost demonstrative in their expressions of friendliness. The President of the Republic not only lent me his band, but also sent his aide-de-camp general to the party to convey his personal congratulations to His Majesty and his best wishes for His Majesty's complete restoration to health.

7. The only notable absentees from the reception were the high officers of the General Staff, and they went out of their way this morning to express to my military attaché their great regret, since they had every intention of attending, but they had been working against time late in the evening completing all the papers, maps, &c., required for the signature of the Franco-Turkish Agreement which has just been concluded, and I have no reason to consider that this explanation is not genuine.

8. In short, the Turkish Government took the party as a marked demonstration of our genuine goodwill and were correspondingly pleased*.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

* Bu belgenin altına İngiltere Dışleri Bakanlığı'nda şu notlar dip edilmiştir:

The King

See also Sir G. Clerk's good letter within.

Sir G. Clerk appears to have taken the only course open to him in the circumstances.

Q. instruct him to express to the President and others who offered their congratulations His Majesty's appreciation of these in suitable terms, and approve H.E.'s action.

(Indd.) W.L.C.K.

17/6

(Signed) E.W. Light

14/6

(Signed) F.E.F. Adam, 14/6

This despatch is of some political importance as it marks a further and definite stage in the recognition of Angora as the capital of Turkey, and shows that our position in Turkey generally is steadily improving.

I think the despatch should be printed in the "Turkey" series, and a copy might perhaps also be entered "Eastern" for reference and record.

(Signed) G.W. Rendel

17.vi.29.

(Signed) Montague

18/6

I agree and annex an amusing letter from the Ambr.

(Indd.) L.O. 18 June.

F.O. 371/13811/E. 3486

F.O. 424/271, p.2-3, No.4

No. 123

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. Lancelot Oliphant, Foreign Office

Private

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 5, 1929

(Received June 10, 1929)

My dear Lancelot,

You will see from my despatch No.257 of June 4, that I held the King's Birthday Party in Angora, to the undisguised delight of the Turks. It could of course at best only be a very makeshift sort of performance, and incidently, a very costly one for me, for I had to move practically my entire establishment up from here, take plate, glass, china, flowers, fruit, the chef and liquors with me, erect temporary shelters on the spot and so on, but my staff, and especially Helm, worked like trojans, and the result, for Angora, was very good, to the bitter disappointment of the 'chers collègues', who had prophesied disaster and most of them, eagerly hoped for it.

On the other hand the Turks were delighted and it was clear from the 'quality' of the Attendance at the party that the 'môt d'ordre' had been given to make it as successful as possible; all the notabilities in Angora turned up, all correctly dressed in the weirdest assortment of top hats and 'cutavays', excepting my Czecho Colleague, who had finished off an otherwise appropriate costume by a vivid and

completely shapeless green hat with the brim falling over his eyes. I don't know if statistics interest you, but I made out that, deducting for ladies, and a few like myself who prefer tea to Champagne in the afternoon, the consumption per head of alcohol was $4/5$ of a bottle of Champagne, 3 large glasses of a most potent Champagne cup of a deadliest nature, prepared by Roberts, and $1/4$ of a bottle of Whiskey. I saw Tewfik Rushdi pledge Chambrun, the Greek Minister, and the neutral members of the Exchange Commission in 5 successive bumpers, and the 6th was dedicated to me. If they'd known the words and the tune, I feel sure that the Members of the Turkish Government and the President of the National Assembly and their satellites would have finished the proceedings by marching off arm-in-arm down singing "For he's a jolly good fellow".

There is one point you may notice in my official despatch. I have done nothing more than record there the Ghazi's sending of his A.D.C. with his personal congratulations to the King. I did not do more, of set purpose, for two reasons: -one, during the King's illness, no what one might consider as an official enquiry was ever made of me as to how His Majesty was progressing, and I saw no reason myself unduly impressed by the Ghazi's message. The other was that I was reluctant to add to the work which the change of Government, the King's Birthday, and the renewed enquiries caused by His Majesty's fresh chill must have entailed upon the King and the Household. But if in due course I can be authorised to convey an expression of His Majesty's thanks, it would give much gratification.

Yours ever

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13811/E. 3486

No. 124

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 310

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 18, 1929

(Received July 22, 1929)

Sir,

In my despatch No.67 of the 15th February I reported the condemnation to death of one Jemal and three of his associates in the so-called "Brusa conspiracy." I have now the honour to inform you that this sentence has in fact never been carried out. It was referred by the public prosecutor to the Court of Cassation and there quashed. It was repeated by the lower court at Brusa, again sent to cassation and again quashed. It has now been abandoned by the Brusa court and replaced by a sentence of eighteen years' imprisonment for Jemal and of four years each for the other three.

2. This dilatory procedure is hardly to be ascribed to the subtlety of the Turkish legal mind, nor to blundering, but rather to policy. The real leaders of the movement were probably disposed of unobtrusively long ago when it was repressed. These four wretches have been kept on tenterhooks for six months and finally let off with something less than death in order that the public at large should have a wholesome reminder of the power of the law.

3. The trial of Kadrie Hanem, the woman mentioned in my previous despatches as being charged with attempting to assassinate the Ghazi last winter, is proceeding in the same dilatory manner at Smyrna. I have been told that it was the Minister of Justice himself who insisted on transferring the case to Smyrna in order to afford a better chance of a fair trial, and that his impartiality brought him into violent conflict with "Bald" Ali, the old "hanging judge." If this tale is true, as it may be, it reflects considerable credit on the Minister.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O.424/271, p.40-41, No.12

No. 125

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 337

CONSTANTINOPLE, August 1, 1929

(Received August 6, 1929)

Sir,

At the end of my despatch No.310 of the 18th ultimo I alluded to the trial of Kadrie Hanem. This case has now ended in smoke. whatever were the motives which prompted the lady to seek an interview with the Ghazi, the authorities seem to have become convinced that she did not want to murder him. She was duly acquitted in the 30th ultimo.

2. Semi-official newspaper comment has, of course, emphasised this verdict as an example of modern Turkish justice. In another connexion the "Milliet" extols Turkish justice of to-day by quoting in a leading article (of which a copy is enclosed) from a report of the foreign legal advisers. What else the report says I cannot tell, as its contents have not been disclosed, but at any rate, it may perhaps fairly be claimed that there are countries in Europe with whose standard of justice that now administred in turkey would compare not unfavourably.

3. To us the end of the Kadrie Hanem case is especially welcome, because both the Public Prosecutor and the press have throughout its course made stupid allegations that certain British ex-officers were acting as intermediaries between

Turkish political exiles in London and Paris and Kadrie Hanem. The truth seems to have been that Kadrie Hanem's husband was employed by one or more of these ex-officers, who represented certain oil interests, and that he and they went to Paris and London once or twice on this business.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/271, p. 49, No. 26

No. 126

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 390

CONSTANTINOPLE, September 16, 1929

(Received September 23, 1929)

Sir,

With reference to your circular despatch of the 22nd August last, I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum on the system of electoral representation in vogue in the Turkish Republic.

2. The system of double election by which the Turkish nation delegates its sovereign rights to the Grand National Assembly would seem, on paper, to follow the principles generally in use in modern democracies. Borrowed from European models, it has been applied, with few adaptations, to a semi-oriental people, whose twenty years familiarity with its workings has done little to grant it any solid roots in the country.

3. In actual fact the Turkish electoral system is probably the most complete and most unabashed travesty of democratic government to be found in a modern republic to-day. The system functions, not through any natural enthusiasm of the electorate, but through the driving power of the Government party. This organisation, known as the People's party, exercises such an iron control of the electoral machine that it must be considered as the real electorate of the country. Since the disappearance of the Progressive party four years ago, there has been no Opposition. The present Grand National Assembly is composed solely of members of the People's party.

4. This state of affairs has been brought about without any overt tampering with the electoral system. The stolidity and apathy of the Turk and his innate devotion to a strong and established régime, as well as the initiative and prestige of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister — at the same time president and vice-president of the People's party — have obviated the necessity of any recourse to racks, thumbscrews or bribery. In every country town and large village exist offices of the People's party, through which the political ideas of Angora are advertised and explained to the people, in varying degrees of sincerity or

sluggishness. In such a manner the representative system functions in Turkey, as a support of the Government, rather than as a frank indication of the opinions of the people.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/271, p. 62, No. 50

ENCLOSURE in No. 126

Electoral System in Turkey

The electoral system in operation in Turkey is defined by the Electoral Law and the Organic Statute, passed by the Grand National Assembly on the 3rd April, 1923, and the 20th April, 1924, respectively. It originates however, in the Electoral Law of 1909, promulgated by the Imperial Ottoman Parliament after the establishment of the Constitution of 1908.

The electoral unit is the vilayet, formerly the sanjak; there are sixty-five vilayets in the Turkish Republic. Each vilayet returns Deputies to the Assembly in proportion to its population, viz.:

One Deputy per 20,000 adult males (should a vilayet contain less than 20,000 electors, a Deputy may still be returned);

One Deputy for 30,000;

Two Deputies for 30,001-50,000;

Three Deputies for 50,001-70,000;

Four Deputies for 70,001-90,000;

and so on in the same ratio.

The representative system is based on double election, primary elections being held in the caza or commune. One secondary elector is chosen per 200 primary voters, the number increasing proportionately, as in the case of the table given above. The primary elections are controlled by the communal council under the supervision of the vilayet.

All males of 18 and over may vote, but a Deputy must have attained the age of 30.

Civil servants, teachers, priests, judges, mayors and public prosecutors may not stand for election in the localities where they carry on their professions, unless they resign two months beforehand. Furthermore, no bankrupt, foreign employee or illiterate, or person who has lost his civil rights or has been sentenced for abuse of confidence, theft, &c., is eligible for election. Officers of the army, navy and air force must relinquish their rank if they wish to stand for Parliament.

Elections take place every four years, while the Assembly meets every year at the beginning of November. No Deputy may be away from the capital for more than six months in the year, nor may absent himself from the Assembly for over two months, unless he can produce an adequate excuse. The penalty in both cases is compulsory retirement.

Each Deputy has to consider himself not merely the representative of the vilayet, but the embodiment of the nation. The Assembly is the sovereign power, therefore the Deputy has certain privileges and obligations. He is not, for example, responsible for opinions expressed inside or outside the Assembly, and he may only be impeached for crime or misdemeanour by a plenary sitting of the Chamber.

As the sovereign power, the Assembly elects the Head of the State. The President of the Republic is nominated every four years, and chooses his Prime Minister from among the members of the Assembly. The Prime Minister, in turn, designates the Cabinet, all of whom must be Deputies.

F.O. 424/271, p. 63, No. 50/1

No. 127

Mr. H. Satow, British Consul-General in Beyrout to the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

No. 95

BEYROUT, September 18th, 1929

Confidential

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I to-day received the visit of a certain Omar Adil Daghestani recently arrived from Constantinople, whose card describes him as "an Emir of the Caucasus". His object in calling upon me was to inform me that the Moslems of Turkey were entirely disgusted with the present régime, that they desired to end it and to set up in place of Mustafa Kemal some member of the former Turkish royal family. Having done this they would then like to place their country under British protection. Adil Bey did not seem to anticipate that the projected upheaval would be a matter of any great difficulty and expressed the opinion that, as the rising would be under the flag of the Caliphate, the Turkish army would inevitably go over to the insurgents. I told him that, while I would report to you that he had called on me, I did not for one moment imagine that His Majesty's Government would countenance a scheme such as he had outlined even though they were to benefit by it. An upheaval such as he contemplated must inevitably lead to bloodshed and possibly to war, and the whole policy of His

Majesty's Government was to ensure peace by limitation of armaments and all other means in their power. He said that, if His Majesty's Government declined to interfere, the Moslems whose mouthpiece he claimed to be would turn to the Bolshevik government.

2. Adil Bey while holding nothing to prove that he represented anyone but himself, said that credentials from influential people in Turkey who were in sympathy with his schemes would be forthcoming in quantity if desired. He suggested that these could be deposited with British merchants in Constantinople, some of whom established before the war were still there. He seemed to have broached the matter with a Mr. Whittall, Passport Control Officer, who had granted him a visa for Irak. I understood him to say that Mr. Whittall had informed him that such matters were outside his province.

3. In case it may help to identify Adil Bey, I should mention that he produced a document in the handwriting of Sir A. Ryan recommending him for facilities for a journey to Mecca. This was given at a time when Constantinople was still in allied occupation. Adil Bey claims to have been well known to General C. Harington and to have resided in Mecca prior to the war. I shall be grateful if you will give me any information as to him and instruct me as to the reply, if any, which should be returned to him.

4. I enclose extra copies of this despatch for His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople as I have no safe means of communicating with him direct*.

I have, &c.

H. SATOW

FO. 371/13828/E. 5288

* *Bu belgenin altına, Foreign Office'de şu not düğülmüştür:*

"It seems surprising that Mr. Satow should have thought it worth while to report this interview.

Qy: Reply to Mr. Satow, approving language held, stating that we have no additional information about Omar Adil (see 210025 of 1918), and that no reply should be returned to him on behalf of His Majesty's Government."

KNIGHT

(17.X.1929)

"I am a little surprised that Mr. Satow should have answered as he did. His reply was indeed discouraging, but I should have thought it would have been better to inform Omar Adil straight out that His Majesty's Government could not in any circumstances have anything to do with any movement directed against the established government of a friendly Power.

It is important that it should be made perfectly clear that these fairly numerous Turkish or Turco-Kurdish revolutionary intriguers (Cf. the members of the so-called "Khoybun" organisation) should be made to realise that they cannot expect a sympathetic hearing from any British official in the Near East or elsewhere. If we allow them to send communications of this kind through our Consuls, we may easily find ourselves in very deep water.

I do not think we need approve Mr. Satow's language, but I think that in replying to this despatch it might be well to instruct him firmly to discourage any further overtures. As he asks for information about Omar Adil, we can also give him the substance of such information as appears from paper 210025 of 1918.

Write to Mr. Satow as in attached draft, and send copies of correspondence to Constantinople and to Colonial Office."

RANDEL

(19.X.1929)

F.O. 371/13828/E.5288

No. 128

Mr. Monteagle, Foreign Office, to Mr. Satow, Beirut

No. 117

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th October, 1929

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Henderson to acknowledge receipt of your despatch No.95 (1472/E.1) of September 18, reporting a visit which you received on that date from a certain Omar Adil of Daghestan.

2. It appears from the records of this department that Omar Adil Effendi of Daghestan lived in Mecca for some thirty years before the war, but claimed that he possessed in Transcaucasia a considerable influence, which he at one time offered to place at the disposal of His Majesty's Government. It is, however, most undesirable that any individuals who are known to be intriguing against the established government in Turkey should be allowed to suppose that they can obtain any countenance or support in their activities from His Majesty's Government, and, should Omar Adil Bey approach you again, Mr. Henderson will be glad if you will inform him that it is entirely out of the question for His Majesty's Government to give the slightest countenance to any activities on the part of himself or his associates directed against the established government of a friendly Power.

3. Copies of your despatch and of this reply are being sent to His Majesty's Ambassador in Turkey.

(Sd.) MONTEAGLE

F.O. 371/13828/E.5288

No. 129

*Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson*No. 428
*Confidential*CONSTANTINOPLE, October 23, 1929
(Received October 28, 1929)

Sir,

In the inky blackness of a wet December evening in 1923 the last survivor of the British forces of occupation, H.M.S. "Ceres," raised anchor and left the Bosphorus, where, for the preceding five years the White Ensign had flown supreme. At the moment of its disappearance it was cordially detested by the Turkish population of Constantinople and of Turkey. Nearly six years — a short period in the history of a country — were to pass before that ensign was to be seen again on a British ship of war in these waters, but when, on the morning of the 12th instant, the Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, flying his flag in H.M.S. "Queen Elisabeth," led his squadron (consisting of H.M. ships "Courageous," "Wild Swan," "Veteran," "Wanderer" and "Bryony") into the Bosphorus, he came on a mission of peace, at the invitation of the Turkish Government, and with the good wishes of the Turkish people. It seemed fitting that, in these circumstances, the rain and darkness of 1923 should have given place to bright morning sunshine as the squadron moved to its anchorage under the welcoming salutes of batteries ashore and afloat.

2. As the visit of Admiral Sir F. Field was of a formal nature, the greater part of his time was necessarily taken up with official ceremonies. On the morning of his arrival, and immediately after an exchange of visits with the Senior Turkish naval officer, the Commander-in-chief called officially on the Vali and Acting Prefect of Stamboul, on the Acting Commandant of the IIIrd Army Corps and on myself. These calls were immediately returned, and in the afternoon Admiral Field received the representatives of the Turkish and foreign press, to whom he spoke of his satisfaction at visiting Stamboul and his hope that the visit would help to consolidate the existing friendly relations between Great Britain and Turkey. In the evening I gave a dinner and ball at the embassy in honour of the admiral and his officers. A feature of the ball which attracted my particular attention and much gratified me was the presence, for the first time at an Embassy or Legation in Pera since the foundation of the present régime, of a considerable number of Deputies and of prominent Turks. This I ascribe primarily to the special nature of the occasion, and, secondly, to the recent beginning of work on the new Embassy at Ankara.

3. It was unfortunate that, on the night of the 12th October, the weather broke and that heavy rain fell during the next three days. Except, however, for the laying

of a wreath on the Monument of the Republic at Taxim, which had to be postponed, the programme arranged for these days was not seriously interfered with. On the 13th October I and my staff attended a luncheon given by the Vali in honour of the admiral, on which occasion the official atmosphere grew perceptibly warmer. Later in the day the Commander-in-chief, accompanied by his Chief of Staff, Flag Captain, Captain of the Fleet and Flag Lieutenant, and by myself and three members of my staff, left for Ankara.

4. At Ankara station Sir F. Field was received with full military honours, and immediately afterwards proceeded to the Ankara Palace Hotel, where the Royal or "Amanullah" suite had been reserved for him, as had suitable accommodation for his officers, all of them being throughout the stay the guests of the Turkish Government, which was lavish in its hospitality. Indeed, I am informed that the naval visit created no less stir than did that of Amanullah and his consort seventeen months ago. Orders had been issued that everything must be done perfectly; the widening of the road in front of the hotel, which had been in progress for some time, was completed at the last moment as a result of feverish midnight activity, and the Ghazi himself inspected the work to see that it was satisfactory.

5. The morning of the 14th October was devoted to an exchange of official visits with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and of National Defence, the latter of whom had an opportunity of airing his English, learnt in the course of a lengthy stay in Malta during the armistice as the "guest" of His Majesty's Government. For this, however, he seemed to bear no grudge, and was, in fact, in better form than I have ever seen him. He entertained the admiral and myself and our respective staffs at an official luncheon, at which were also present the other Cabinet Ministers in Ankara, the higher officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the senior military and naval officers in the capital. Immediately afterwards I took the Commander-in-chief to Chankaya, to be received in audience by the President of the Republic. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Colonel Tewfik Bey, the Secretary-General of the President, were present throughout the interview, which lasted eighty minutes. The Ghazi was in his most genial mood, and, though he kept his conversation to generalities, he was at pains to show that the visit of the Commander-in-chief and the British squadron was very welcome to him.

6. On our return to Ankara we visited the President of the Council, whose reception of the admiral was most friendly. A long and tiring but successful day was brought to a late conclusion by a dinner given by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. At this dinner were present all those who had attended the official luncheon, as well as one or two prominent Deputies.

7. In comparison with the activity of the previous day, the 15th October was spent quietly in Ankara. Just before luncheon the Prime Minister returned the admiral's call of the previous day and afterwards honoured me with his presence at

a luncheon at which all the prominent Turks in Ankara were present. The fact that İsmet pasha, whose health obliges him to refuse resolutely to attend such functions, was present lent the luncheon particular significance, while a certain measure of stiffness and formality which had, naturally enough, accompanied the functions of the previous day completely disappeared. So much so, that in spite of a tacit understanding that no formal speeches should be made, I could not help saying a few words of warm thanks to the Prime Minister and his assistants for the cordial welcome which they had accorded to the Commander-in-chief. The Turkish Ministers seemed genuinely touched by my remarks, to which Tewfik Rüstü Bey made a fitting and very appreciative reply. This done, the admiral's party and my own were taken by the "Chef de la Présidence" to the President's farm, where, until the time for the departure of the Stamboul train, we were suitably entertained and enabled to appreciate the efforts which, in recent years, the Ghazi has made to set a high standard of agricultural methods to the Turkish people.

8. Except for the ceremonies on arrival at Haydar Pasha on the morning of the 16th October, that day and the next were almost devoid of formality, and Admiral Field enjoyed a well-earned rest, varied with exercise on the local gulf course. Even so, however, the morning of the 17th witnessed the return from manoeuvres of the Turkish fleet. Visits were exchanged, and in the evening the naval commandant gave a three hour banquet of far too many courses in honour of the Commander-in-chief.

9. Next to the visit to Ankara, the most important events on the official programme were the aeronautical displays given by the officers of H.M.S. "Courageous" on the mornings of the 18th and 19th instant. On the former day and in perfect weather, thirty aeroplanes gave a display of formation flying and of "aerobatics" over Stamboul, Pera and Scutari, which excited the amazement of all - and they were thousands, for the day was a Friday - who were able to witness it. Nothing of the kind had been seen in Constantinople before, and when, at the conclusion of the display, the aeroplanes formed a perfect crescent with a star in the centre and made a complete tour of the widely scattered city, the populace became, for a Stamboul crowd, enthusiastic.

10. Later in the day, the admiral and myself visited the Naval School at Halki, where a tea was given in the admiral's honour. A crowded day closed with an official dinner on board H.M.S. "Queen Elisabeth," followed by a most successful ball, thronged by Turks, the Diplomatic Body and the British colony.

11. Excellent whether favoured the second aviation display on the morning of the 19th October, which took place in the Sea of Marmara. The Turkish military authorities were so anxious that officers should attend this display that, in view of the limited accommodation available, they had to be asked to reduce numbers. In

the result, well over one hundred officers, as well as many leading Turks, were taken on board H.M.S. "Courageous" and her attendant destroyers, where they witnessed a display which cannot fail to have left on them a profound impression of the organisation and efficiency of the fleet air arm, and, afterwards, of the generous hospitality which characterises the officers and men of His Majesty's navy.

12. In the afternoon the Vali gave a tea party at his private house in honour of the admiral. This function, commonplace enough in appearance, was, in fact, one of the most noteworthy incidents of the visit, though it needs a knowledge of modern Turkish mentality to realise it. In the first place, it was not part of the original Turkish programme, but a spontaneous outburst of private hospitality on the part of the Vali, induced by the genuine pleasure given him by the visit. The Vali is a high Government official, but he would never have manifested his feelings in this way or incurred this expense unless he was both himself genuinely moved and also sure that his action would be smiled on by the highest authorities. The other remarkable feature connected with the party, which included an exhibition of old Turkish dancing in national dress, the singing of Anatolian folk-songs, and playing of Turkish melodies on the peculiar instruments appropriate to such music, was that, for the first time in my experience, it was really a party where everyone, Turks included, were enjoying themselves, and not a function which everyone sought to leave as soon as decency allowed.

13. The last official ceremony of the visit took place on the morning of the 20th instant when Admiral Sir F. Field laid a wreath on the Monument of the Republic. Ceremonies of this nature are little known in Turkey, and it may be that, in the first instance, curiosity attracted many of the thousands who were present. Curiosity however, gave way to other feelings on the appearance of the Commander-in-chief, and when the band of the Royal Marines played the first bars of the Turkish March of Independence, spontaneous and enthusiastic cheers, mingled with a few "Yashas!" ("Long live!"), broke out from all parts of the large crowd. The complete success of the visit had been definitely proved, and when, a short time later, Sir F. Field again received the press he did no more than give expression to what he sincerely felt. He spoke with satisfaction and gratitude of the reception which had been accorded to him, of the happy memories which he and his officers were taking away with them, and of the hope that the fleet would soon and often return to pay visits of a more private nature. Later in the afternoon the squadron sailed for Greek waters.

14. Though I fear that this despatch may seem already unduly long, I cannot close it without paying a tribute to the great efforts made by the British colony to entertain and amuse the officers and men of the squadron. That, in spite of the difficulties and discouragement with which they have had to contend in recent years, their efforts should have been so completely successful, says much of the

generosity of a body of British subjects who have known hard times, and for their hopes - not, I trust, ill-founded - that the visit itself may be an augury of better times in store.

15. Finally, I do not exaggerate when I say that the remarkable success of the visit has been due above all to the personality, tact, and charm of the Commander-in-chief, supported by the excellent impression made by the officers and men of His Majesty's ships. Certainly the Turkish Government wished for the visit as an outward sign of the friendliness of the relations with the British Empire, but beyond that, the temperature was distinctly cool, and the best that I hoped for was that Turkish ignorance or lack of tact would not prevent the visit from passing off in a way that could be officially called successful. But, from the moment that Admiral Sir Frederick Field came in contact with the Turks, the temperature rose perceptibly, and by the end of his visit here he had become a popular and much-respected figure. Whether the effect of the visit is to be lasting depends on the future, but for the moment British stock stands higher in Turkey than it has done at any time since the armistice.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 371/13828/E. 5546

F.O. 424/271, p.76-78, No. 66

No. 130

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 429

CONSTANTINOPLE, October 23, 1929

(Received October 28, 1929)

Sir,

In my despatch No.428 of to-day's date I have given a record of the various events which marked the visit of the Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet to Turkish waters. That visit has been an undoubted success in all its outward features, but the question whether it has a deeper significance than an exchange of cordial courtesies under somewhat delicate conditions is difficult to answer.

2. When the Minister for Foreign Affairs suggested the possibility of such a visit in May last, I was gratified by so marked a sign of the improvement in our relations, but I was not unduly elated, for I knew that Tewfik Rüstü Bey is apt in the enthusiasm of the moment to go rather farther than he himself on reflexion intends or than is approved by his colleagues and rivals in the Cabinet. As the summer went on my doubts were increased by rumours of the carefully concealed

but growing tension between the Ghazi and the Prime Minister, for I felt that the idea of the visit as a demonstration of the growth of friendly relations between Turkey and ourselves had originated with Tewfik Rüstü, had been, doubtless, warmly approved and backed by İsmet Paşa, and accepted readily enough by the Ghazi when it was suggested to him. But should the differences between the President and the Prime Minister come to an open breach, I feared lest the Ghazi, who is nothing if not personal resentments, would include in his dislike for the Prime Minister a dislike of his policy. When therefore, shortly before the visit was due, an attempt was made on very inadequate grounds to postpone it, it seemed to me that my fears might be justified. It was then with mixed feelings that I awaited the arrival of the British squadron on the 12th instant, the more so as it coincided with a break in the weather; rain and wind and mud combined to quench any enthusiasm that might exist.

3. However, from the moment of Admiral Sir Frederick Field's arrival it was clear that the Turks were going to play up so far as it was in them to do so, and I was particularly pleased to find that this was the spirit in Ankara. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet were markedly forthcoming and cordial, and the reception of the Admiral by the Ghazi could not have been more friendly. The Ghazi left Constantinople almost an old man in appearance, and on his arrival at Ankara had to be helped from his carriage by two people, and I was therefore glad to see him a few days later looking vigorous and healthy and anxious to give the admiral a genuine welcome. His method of doing so is peculiar to himself, for when he wishes to unbend and to show that he is at ease and wishes his guests to feel the same, he embarks on a monologue on human and national conduct, and lays down the principles upon which a people should conduct its affairs if it is to develop its civilisation to the utmost of its capacity. It was such a monologue to which his Excellency warmed up on the occasion of his reception of the admiral, but the wisdom of his observations was perhaps less valuable than the fact of his making them, for his doing so was his method of showing that he was pleased by the admiral's visit and its significance as regards the relations between the two countries.

4. The Ghazi having definitely struck the note, from the moment the admiral and I left his room the temperature became almost visibly warmer, and the remaining days of the visit were marked at Constantinople by a steadily increasing cordiality, mounting almost to enthusiasm. But even though the President of the Republic gave the note, the chorus would not have swelled so high but for the impression made by the personality and charm of the Commander-in-chief himself and the qualities of the officers and men in the squadron. I cannot adequately measure the part played by Admiral Field in the success of the visit. I can only say that he met a situation that was in reality none too easy in a manner that

compelled my admiration. We could not have been more fortunate in the representative chosen.

5. I should however, to my mind at least, be conveying a false impression if I led you to believe that the visit of the fleet has at one stroke renewed the traditional friendship between Great Britain and Turkey. What has surprised and pleased me has been the extent to which the suspicious and the undemonstrative Turks have let themselves go. The visit marks a definite advance along the path of friendship, but complete trust in our sincerity has still to be achieved.

6. Public opinion, so far as it exists in Turkey, is reflected in the press, though one must also allow for the care of the press to reflect in questions of foreign policy only what it considers to be the mind of the Ghazi. I have reported on the press at length in my despatch No. 427 of to-day, and need say no more here than that its attitude has been, while correct enough, very cautious and has to that extent reflected Turkish public opinion. Some of the Government are more, and some less, friendly to us, and the visit was the inspiration of the former, but the policy of the Government as a whole has not crystallised one way or the other, and the public opinion and the press have not had the definite lead which their absequiousness desires.

7. In short, an opportunity that had to be seized when it offered, but which at the same time bristled with traps, has been successfully taken and we have given public expression to the sincerity of our policy and its friendliness as regards Turkey. The visit marks a stage in our relations with this country where we may hope that, if there is no set-back, bitter memories left by the war have been obliterated. This is all to the good, but time and patience are still needed before Turkey looks towards us with complete confidence and genuine friendship.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/271, p. 79-80, No. 67

No. 131

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 440

ANGORA, October 30, 1929

(Received November 11, 1929)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 482, of the 30th October last year, I have the honour to report that I and the available members of my staff attended yesterday the official celebrations of the sixth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

2. The events of the day were a repetition of those of last year and need not be recapitulated, though I might mention one or two small points which mark an advance. For instance, instead of being kept waiting in a small and stuffy room for our reception by the President, we were formed up and received ten minutes before the official time and one or two of my colleagues were caught napping. They were rather indignant, but the rest of us were delighted to experience this development of Turkish punctuality. Then the seats from which we witnessed the review were placed in a reasonably commodious covered stand where we could sit through the rather weary hours with a measure of decent comfort. The review itself marked no great departure from that of last year, except that the aeroplanes which manoeuvred overhead while it was going on had evidently been diligently practising the evolutions carried out by the aircraft of H.M.S. "Courageous" and flew in very steady and level groups of three and five, a feat which would not have been possible for them last year. The other noticeable feature of the procession was the increased number of school children of Angora of all ages, very simply and tidily dressed and clearly conscious of their share in Turkey's great day. It was noticeable that these children came in for far more cheers and applause from the Deputies' stand and from the general public than did any of the military elements of the procession. I might also include in the improvements to be noted the fact that the band this year played twenty bars in turn of three different tunes instead of limiting themselves to the March of Independence. The dinner given in the evening by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the subsequent ball of the Türk Ojak were much the same as last year, but better organised and far more natural.

3. So far as I have any personal impressions to record, they are that the friendliness of the Turks of all sorts and the warmth of their references to the naval visit took me by surprise. The Ghazi engaged me in a personal conversation of the most friendly nature shortly after dinner and said that he and the country had meant by their cordial welcome of Admiral Field and the British squadron to show their great appreciation of the compliment to Turkey which the visit implied. He added that there could not have been a better representative of my country on such an occasion than Admiral Field himself. Apart from that, our conversation was of a general nature, chiefly concerned with the possible economic

development of Turkey and the difficulties to be overcome, and contained nothing of direct political interest, but I have never found the Ghazi so simple and friendly, so clearly desirous to show his appreciation of the relations between our two countries, and so devoid of the Napoleonic pose which has hitherto been present in even his most expansive moments. I am sorry to have to add that he was obviously tired and feeling the strain of the long day of ceremonies and for the first time his most intimate *entourage* admitted to me that he had been overtiring himself and needed rest.

4. The friendliness of all the other Turkish leaders was as marked as that of the President of the National Assembly actually came spontaneously to greet me and pledge me in the inevitable glass of sweet champagne. There is no doubt that the naval visit has made a deep impression, and the friendly, almost enthusiastic, greetings which I met with on all sides from the Turkish leaders were, I think, owing to their sudden realisation of the growth of friendliness between the two countries which that visit has demonstrated.

5. In my despatch No. 385 of the 14th August last year I said that:

"I was perhaps not unnatural that the speeches made on this occasion should have referred to the detested period of the Allied occupation of Constantinople. A Deputy and another unofficial speaker used no measured terms in alluding to the Allies' treatment of the city and its inhabitants, and when the Allies are spoken of in this connexion, it was always ourselves who are in mind. It is a fact to be reckoned with that the bitter memories entertained by Turks of all classes of the British military occupation are dying very hard and that, moreover, they are in some measure kept alive by the annual ceremony in memory of the Turkish sentries who were killed in the first moments of the occupation."

That was true at the time it was written, and I am nearly as much surprised as the Turks themselves at the development of our relations during the past year—a development the extent of which neither they nor I would have realised unless the naval visit had brought it out.

6. I do not mean to convey by this that we are now established as the 'Turks' best friends or that we can expect any especial favours in the way of concessions or supply of materials or provision of technical advisers. For all such things Turkey will still go to what she thinks, unfortunately usually wrongly, the best and cheapest market, but what it does mean is that the Turks feel that we have confidence in their pacific policy of putting their house in order and seeking nothing but peace alone, while they for their part equally see that we have no hidden intentions against Turkey and ask for nothing better than to be the best of friends with them.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

No. 132

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 442

ANGORA, November 5, 1929
(Received November 11, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the new session of the Assembly was opened on the afternoon of the 1st November. The fact that the day was Friday created a precedent which had, I gather been the subject of serious discussion by the legal pundits, for Friday is by law a holiday. Since the foundation of the republic, however, each session has been opened on the 1st November, and sentiment was so strong that the law was overcome to the extent that the President of the Republic delivered his speech, the president, vice-presidents, questors and secretaries of the Assembly were elected, and the Chamber then adjourned till the 4th instant, when the members of the various parliamentary commissions will be appointed.

2. I enclose herein an official translation of the brief speech which was delivered by the Ghazi on this occasion. As was the case last year, this translation was handed to my colleagues and myself as the President took his seat, and the clearness and even tone of the latter's delivery made it easy for me closely to follow the speech throughout. No fundamental changes are contemplated in the course of the new session. A vague reference to the possibility of changes in land tenure — a reform which has been canvassed for some time — was warmly applauded, but the announcement of the decision to create a State Bank, and the plea for further subventions for the Seyrisefain Administration — the Ghazi may have had in his mind his new toy at Yalova which has been put in the hands of the State shipping concern — were received in silence. Loud applause greeted the reference to the armed forces of the republic, while those to the labours of the Ministries of Health, Public Instruction and Public Works were almost equally well received.

3. The Ghazi's reference to foreign affairs was as brief as possible in order not to spike the guns of Ismet Pasha, who will give to the Assembly on the 9th November his annual review of the year, nor to steal the thunder of Tewfik Rushtu Bey, who tells me that he will deliver a full-dress speech when he presents the estimates of his department to the Assembly. But though the Ghazi's words were few, they elicited loud cheers which were most marked when he said that the idea of peace was the fundamental basis of Turkish foreign policy.

4. For some time in Constantinople, and occasionally here, the air has been thick with rumours, with which I have not thought it necessary to trouble you, of Cabinet discussions and of changes which would certainly be announced at the opening of the Assembly. Ismet Pasha, whose health is none too good, was to

disappear, taking with him his Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose stock had weakened as a result of failure of his Greek policy. From our point of view the loss of these two would certainly be deplored, and I have been relieved to feel the rumours of the gossips dispelled by the general atmosphere of tranquillity which prevailed the day before yesterday.

5. I do not mean to say that there is no fire behind the smoke, nor that important developments at an early date are out of the question. The reports which have reached me — there is, for instance, the suggestion that, if Ismet Pasha should resign, the Constitution might be modified on American lines so as to make the President of the Republic the direct head of the Administration — have within the last few days come from such good sources that I cannot altogether ignore them. They have indeed reached such a pitch as to call for an official denial, in leaded type, in to-day's "Hakimiet-i Milliet." For the moment, however, I do not take them at their face value but prefer to await the delivery of Ismet Pasha's speech, after which the air should definitely become clearer.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/271, p. 85, No. 74

No. 133

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 461

CONSTANTINOPLE, November 21, 1929
(Received November 25, 1929)

Sir,

In my despatch No 311 of the 18th July last, I reported a severe sentence which had been passed upon the proprietress of the local Greek newspaper the "Chronica." It appears now that the authorities have relented. The original verdict was quashed when considered by the Court of Cassation, and the lower court has now been able to persuade itself that the terms used by the "Chronica" were not necessarily offensive of the Turkish army. The proprietress has consequently been acquitted and released and Greek opinion is relieved, but it is to be noted that the lady spent some four months in prison.

2. In my despatch referred to above, I also mentioned what is known as the "Powder Monopoly Scandal." This too, at last seems likely to be settled more or less to the satisfaction of the unfortunate members of the Jewish community, who for the last two months have been kept in jail. It is fairly certain now that when the recriminations of Ministers and ex-Ministers threatened to result in comprehensive exposures, a friend reminded the Ghazi that he, too, had received something from the concern, though it was only a gold cigarette case. Thereupon the Ghazi flung

the cigarette case away and bade the Minister of Justice enquire into the allegation of the six Jews that they had had to distribute backshish at Angora. Hence the exemplary rigour with which these gentlemen were treated. They have now been let out of prison on payment of £1,000 sterling each by way of bail, and I trust that the whole matter will be settled without much more ado.

3. While the present Turkish attitude to the minorities at Constantinople is as indicated above, there are signs that towards the remnants of the Christian population further east it is much less favourable. The enclosed despatch from the acting British consul at Mersina shows pretty clearly that the objective of the authorities in Cilicia is gradually and by dint of petty persecution to squeeze out the local Christians, most of whom are Syrians of the Orthodox faith. Indeed, it is perhaps remarkable that these people have not been driven out long ago. The explanation is possibly that they are convenient to plunder and useful in other ways. I have heard no confirmation here of the story of the murder of the Orthodox priest at Mardin, reported in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Catton's despatch. It seems to me not entirely impossible that it may be another version of the story of the murder of the Armenian Catholic priest at Diarbekir, which has been brought to the notice of the League of Nations (see your despatch No.704 of the 4th instant). Until more evidence is forthcoming I prefer to withhold judgment as to the veracity of both these stories.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK

F.O. 424/271, p. 91-92, No.78

No. 134

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 488
Confidential

ANGORA, December 17, 1929
(Received December 23, 1929)

Sir,

In his despatch No.455 of the 13th ultimo, His Majesty's Ambassador discussed at length the economic condition of this country. If any justification was wanted for the misgivings expressed therein, it has been furnished in ample measure by the collapse of the Turkish exchange at the end of last month. Since the commercial secretary of this Embassy reported on that occurrence in his despatch of the 7th instant, there has been time for a thorough investigation. The poor harvests, the flood of imports and the panic created by the Government's mishandling of the situation appear largely responsible for the sudden drop in the exchange. In addition, this year Turkey has, for the first time, had to make heavy payments abroad on account of the oriental Railways, Anatolian Railway and public debt.

2. While the above analysis of the situation may be taken as correct, it was some time before the Turkish Government really understood a situation which mortified and thoroughly scared it. Its first inclination was to denounce speculators — supposed to be mainly Greek — on the Constantinople bourse. It then perceived that the volume of imports and exports might have something to do with the trouble, and it proceeded to start a campaign for "buying Turkish." The Ghazi and the Minister of the Interior ordered suits of native cloth, all officials were told to dress in native stuffs, the nation was called on to forgo foreign luxuries, Government departments were forbidden to make purchases from abroad, and measures were taken to limit dealings in exchange to *bonâ fide* business. The government also issued emphatic denials of the rumours of an impending forced loan, assured the country that it would follow a firm and consistent policy in dealing with a matter which it regarded as one of life or death, and took the practical measure of borrowing £500,000 Sterling from the Ottoman Bank, a step which must have been as distasteful to the nationalism of the authorities as it was encouraging for the future of the bank. These measures gradually eased the position.

3. On the 12th instant the Prime Minister dealt with the whole question in a long speech, which he read to the National Assembly. He correctly attributed the fall in the exchange to over-importation, under-exportation, unusual foreign payments, and, in particular, panic. He announced that the Government was going to do all in its power to encourage the production and use of Turkish goods (but there would be no boycott of foreign goods), to promote economy and saving—ideas quite foreign to the Turk — among the people, and to punish speculation. He stated that the aim of the Government was to make the country self-supporting by preventing it from spending more than it earned. Government and municipal authorities had been prohibited from giving any further foreign orders. An "exchange budget" would in future be drawn up besides the ordinary budget, and henceforth public authorities would be unable to buy foreign exchange without specific Cabinet permission. Ismet Pasha declared that the State Bank would be founded with Turkish capital, shares being offered to the public, but that it would not be employed to effect stabilisation. Stabilisation would be achieved by the operation of the measures he had already mentioned. The Pasha made a great appeal to the Assembly and the country at large to help the Government in its policy and particularly to the women of Turkey to maintain economy in the home. It was a great national question, but Turks were not shaken nowadays by the diffidence which used to assail them in the days of the Empire when they were called upon to tackle a new problem. They were confident, and he appealed to them all to approach these difficulties as true sportsmen. These and many other rhetorical appeals to patriotic sentiment left the Pasha completely hoarse, but

moved the Deputies to frequent applause and secured him a unanimous vote of confidence.

4. There is no doubt that the Government has passed through anxious moments since the crisis began. The economic nature of the old Turkey was such as to allow Turks to indulge a supreme indifference for economic laws. As the country has been getting on to modern lines they have begun to feel an occasional pinch. Tewfik Rüstü Bey admitted that when the crisis came he and his colleagues in the Cabinet had not the least conception of what it meant or how to deal with it. In any case, the Government are now in real earnest, recognising, as they do, the vital importance of the matter for themselves and for the country. There has been some tendency, especially among the French here and in Constantinople, to see in a recent and unusual absence of the Ghazi at Yalova an inclination to saddle Ismet Pasha with all the odium of an unpopular situation and then to recall Fethi Bey from Paris to replace him. But this idea seems to be far-fetched and more likely due to a pious wish of the French, who believe that, if Fethi bey were in power, the Ghazi would support him in contracting a foreign loan to remedy the economic situation. However, the Ghazi early associated himself with Ismet's "Buy Turkish" movement and telegraphed from Yalova a blessing of the policy which Ismet Pasha announced in the Assembly. There seems therefore to be little ground for supposing that he is not giving Ismet Pasha full support.

5. The most satisfactory thing, at any rate, is that the lira has recovered about 100 points, and now stands at £T. 10.90 to the £ sterling. Whether the Turkish government will manage to bring to a final solution a problem which is admittedly strange to them remains to be seen. Meantime, I learn confidentially that the acting director-general of the Ottoman Bank, thinking the psychological moment had come for assuring the bank's future, recently recommended the directors to offer the Government a loan of £2 million sterling, as being the smallest sum which would suffice to get the Government out of its difficulties.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

No. 135

Mr. Edmonds to Mr. A. Henderson

No. 490

ANGORA, December 18, 1929

(Received December 23, 1929)

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs the other evening if he could account for the rumours published in the "Daily Telegraph" of the 7th instant to the effect that Turkey was contemplating joining the League of Nations. For the next twenty minutes Tewfik Rüstü Bey gave me his views with his utmost volubility. The gist of his eloquence was that Turkey's attitude was just the same. She would not join until she was assured of a place on the Council. She could not subordinate her liberty of action to the decision of other Powers. She had been told to trust the League over Mosul. What better warning could she have had?

2. Tewfik Rüstü Bey's ingenuousness is not so complete as to oblige one to take his remarks at their face value. His complete silence about the origin of current rumours almost suggests that, even if he is in no way responsible for them, they do not displease him. He is probably stating his terms rather high now with a view to a bargain later on. Turkey, as His Majesty's Ambassador observed in his despatch No.412 of the 10th October last, is gradually approaching the League. On the one hand, her desire for westernisation, which is at the root of her internal policy, carries her towards Geneva. On the other hand, she foresees the possibility that with the accession of Egypt and Iraq she might appear on the Council as the representative of a group of Eastern - but not "oriental" - States. However, Turkey's inclination towards the League is subject to her desire not to put an undue strain on her relations with Russia. It seems possible that one of the objects M. Karakhan had in coming here was to keep Turkey away from Geneva.

3. The "Daily Telegraph" suggests that Turkey is thinking of a League loan. The one thing İsmet Pasha has been trying to avoid throughout his premiership is a foreign loan. But if he should be forced by the economic situation to borrow abroad, he might prefer to do so under the auspices of the League rather than to put his country in the hands of one Power alone.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

F.O. 371/13828/E. 5591

F.O. 424/271, p.102, No.89

No. 136

Mr. Edmonds to A. Henderson

No. 494

ANGORA, December 20, 1929

(Received December 30, 1929)

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.491 of the 18th instant, I have the honour that M. Karakhan arrived at Constantinople in a destroyer on the 12th instant, reached Angora the next day and left Angora on the 17th. During his few days' stay he was the object of the utmost courtesy and hospitality on the part of the authorities. It is safe to say that it is a long time since any particular attention paid to an Armenian in Turkey has been of this nature. If by the protocol which he took away in his pocket M. Karakhan has in any measure humbled Turkey, it is to be hoped that members of his race see some poetic justice therein.

2. The visit was certainly a success. The Government and the Soviet Embassy sustained an intensive exchange of official hospitality. At the two balls, at which members of the Diplomatic Corps were present, M. Karakhan, with his back to the wall, watched the dancing beys and hanums with a sphinx-like air. He talked to people through an interpreter or in pretty good English, and was shadowed himself by his own Assistant Director of the Protocol. As soon as the date of M. Karakhan's visit was fixed, the Ghazi had suddenly gone off with his cronies to see how his new hobby, the development of a watering-place at Yalova, was getting on. He seemed to have done nothing particular while there, and he returned to Angora only just in time to give M. Karakhan an audience. This absence caused a little speculation. The Ghazi may have wished to be associated as little as possible with pro-Russian demonstrations. Or he may have wanted to reduce to a minimum his contact with the representative of a State which he cannot consider innocent of agitation against his own person. Again, he may have been influenced by his particular aversion for Armenians. Apart from the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, members of the Cabinet were rather conspicuous by their absence from the various functions.

3. The truth seems to be that Angora regarded this visit as a thing it was obliged to be happy about. When the Turks say through the glib lips of Tewfik Rushdi Bey how much they love the Russians, what they really mean is that potentially they fear them so much that they are delighted to be friends with them. The bullying of the Tsars is not forgotten. It is an enormous relief to be on such friendly terms with Russia. The Turks have no fear of her at present. They merely dread the day when internal consolidation will allow her to resume her old pushfulness in the south. In the meantime they regard it as of paramount importance to keep Russia well-disposed.

4. There is not much doubt that the initiative for this visit was taken by Russia. It was not surprising that after Admiral Field's visit Russia should see in Turkey a westward tendency which needed checking. The idea of renewing the Paris treaty of 1925 had been in the air for some time, but I gather that M. Karakhan sprang on the Turks the self-denying clause regarding the other's neighbours. I believe that he demanded considerably more, but I have little doubt that he and M. Surits had to bring all their guns to bear to get as much as they did. In the last resort the Turks are probably always brought to book by the military consideration that, until their relations with the rest of the world are secure beyond all possibility of doubt, they must be able to count on having the moral and material support of Russia in an emergency. They remember that their struggle after the Great War was only possible because Russia helped them. Indeed, references to this help have been noteworthy in recent utterances on both sides.

5. Many Turks seem to have thought at first sight that the new protocol meant a kind of vassalage. But it is quite certain that the Ghazi and Ismet Pasha, whose policy is westernisation, have no such intention. The Government probably argues that, in undertaking to get Russian permission before making political agreements with Russia's neighbours, it is only renouncing a right which it has no intention of exercising, at any rate within the next three years. On the other hand, the Government very likely comforts itself with the hope that on balance it will gain thanks to the check it will have on Russia's treaty-making powers in Persia and Afghanistan. These seem to be the two countries where the protocol may prove of some practical importance. In particular, the Turks are uneasy about the strength of Russian influence in North-Western Persia, where they have affinities with most of the population, or where the Kurds may be used to make the Kurds on the Turkish side of the frontier disaffected. Tewfik Rushdi Bey tried to make out to the Roumanian Chargé d'Affaires that, as article 2 deals only with the two countries and their immediate neighbours, the protocol by implication, makes it easier for Turkey to cultivate close relations with the Western Powers. But this argument is an indication of his ingeniousness rather than his ingeniousness.

6. The authorities know that Communist propaganda continues unabated, but, as it has no field outside the few places which are in a measure industrial, they can keep it within safe bounds. Several recent articles in the Turkish press contained a passing warning about each country minding its own business, and M. Karakhan was careful to echo this seemly maxim in a speech. The Under-Secretary told me that negotiations for a further commercial treaty would be pursued in Moscow. He said that the Russians treated Turkish traders abominably, but that the difference between the economic systems of the two countries being so great he had no real hope that a fresh commercial treaty would make things any better. These things show how much the Turks feel obliged to put up with.

7. Believing that they have successfully avoided any real embarrassment, the Turks are, on the whole, probably well satisfied with the results of the visit. In his parting message to the press M. Karakhan said that his five days in Angora had seemed like ten years, but that was probably one of those things which might have been expressed otherwise.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Moscow.

I have, &c.

W.S. EDMONDS

P.S. - M. Karakhan and his destroyer were storm-bound in the Bosphorus for some days after his return from Angora, but left for Sevastopol on the 23rd December.

W.S.E.

F.O. 424/271, p. 104-105, No.91

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DR. BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR

Dr. Bilâl N. Şimşir, büyükelçi, tarihçi ve araştırmacı yazardır. 1933 yılında Osmanpazarı'nda (Bulgaristan) doğdu. 1957 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi'nin Diploması Şubesi'nden mezun oldu. Aynı Fakültenin Diploması Tarihi Kürsüsünde üç yıl kadar asistan olarak görev yaptı. 27 Mayıs 1960 öncesinin tedirginliği içinde akademik kariyerdan ayrılarak Dışişleri Bakanlığı'na geçti (Mart 1960). Bakanlığın merkez ve dış teşkilâtının hemen her kademesinde görev üstlendi. Paris, Şam, Lahey Büyükelçiliklerinde Başkâtip ve Müsteşar; Londra'da maiyette başkonsolos; merkezde şube müdürü, daire başkanı, genel müdür yardımcısı ve genel müdür olarak görev yaptı. Büyükelçi olarak Arnavutluk'ta, Çin'de, Avustralya'da ve Güney Pasifik ülkelerinde Türkiye'yi temsil etti. Devlete fiilen 41 küsur yıl hizmet verdikten sonra 1998'de emekli oldu ve kendisini bilimsel çalışmalara ve yazarlığa verdi. 1976 yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu asli üyeliğine ve daha sonra eski Türk Dil Kurumu üyeliğine de seçilmiş olan Dr. Şimşir, İngiliz, Fransız, ABD ve Osmanlı-Türk arşivlerinde derin araştırmalar yapmış, binlerce belge toplamış, kendi imkânlarıyla bir mikrofilm arşiv sistemi kurmuş ve gezginci mesleğine rağmen çok yoğun yayın yapmış bir tarihçi ve araştırmacı yazardır. Kendisini yakından tanıyanların belirttikleri gibi Şimşir, adeta bir ekoldür; tek başına bir enstitü gibi çalışmakta ve üretmektedir; bugüne kadar, çoğu Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları arasında yer alan 68 cilt kitap ve 190 kadar bilimsel makale yayımlamıştır. Türkiye'de bilimsel metodlarla sistematik belge yayınlama çağrısını açmış olan Şimşir'in İngiltere, Hollanda, Macaristan ve Pakistan'da da kitapları yayımlanmıştır. Araştırma ve yayınlarını Yakın Çağ Türk Tarihi üzerine yoğunlaştırmış olan Dr. Şimşir, Atatürk üzerine en fazla eser vermiş olan tarihçilerden biridir. Atatürk konusunda, 6 ciltlik (tamamı 8 cilt olacak) *İngiliz Belgelerinde Atatürk* ve 4 ciltlik *Atatürk ve Yabancı Devlet Başkanları* gibi birçok esere imza atmıştır. 1922-1923 Lozan Barış Konferansı'nda Türkiye Başdelegesi İsmet Paşa (İnönü) ile Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Hükümeti arasında teati edilmiş olan ve Lozan konferansının iç yüzünü ve özünü oluşturan yaklaşık 1600 resmi şifre telgraf Şimşir tarafından araştırılıp gün yüzüne çıkarılmış ve *Lozan Telgrafları. Türk Diplomatik Belgelerinde Lozan Barış Konferansı* adıyla 2 cilt halinde Türk Tarih Kurumu'na yayımlanmıştır. Şimşir, bir diplomat ve tarihçi olarak, Türk diplomasisini günümüzde de uğraştıran ve zaman zaman pek alevlenen belli başlı sorunların tarihi kökenlerine eğilerek rafları dolduran eserler yayımlamıştır. Türkiye ile Yunanistan arasında hâlâ sürüp giden Ege sorunu tarihi üzerine 2 cilt, Ermeni sorunu üzerine 16 cilt, Rumeli'den Türk göçleri ve özellikler Bulgaristan Türk azınlığı üzerine 12 cilt eser vermiştir. Ermeni

teröristlerin Türk diplomatlarına karşı kanlı saldırılarını meslektaşlarıyla birlikte yaşamış olan Şimşir, bu saldırılarda şehit düşen 34 Türk diplomatının ve yakınlarının acıklı öykülerini *Şehit Diplomatlarımız* adlı 2 ciltlik eseriyle kitaplaştırmıştır. Şimşir, son olarak Kıbrıs milli davamız üzerine eğilerek *AB, AKP ve Kıbrıs* adlı çok okunan bir kitap yayınlamıştır. Şimşir'in en son *Türk-Irak İlişkilerinde Türkmenler* adlı kitabı çıkmıştır.

Önemli bir bölümü yabancı dillerde olan Dr. Şimşir' in eserleri dünya kitaplıklarında ve kataloglarında yer almıştır ve hem Türkiye'de hem de Türkiye dışında kaynak olarak kullanılmaktadır.

DR. BİLÂL N. ŞİMŞİR'İN KİTAPLARI

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TIPKI BASIMLAR

TURKEY.

[March 1, 1926.]

CONFIDENTIAL.

Section 2.

[E 1386/202/44]

No. *X* 5

Sir L. Lindsay to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 81.)

Sir,

Constantinople, February 24, 1926.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 17th instant the National Assembly at Angora was the scene of a remarkable legislative feat, when the new Civil Code, consisting of more than 900 articles, was passed without amendment and without anything but laudatory comment in the course of a single short sitting. It is further enacted that its application in the Turkish courts is to begin six months hence. No wonder M. Henri de Jouvenel, who was present on this historic occasion, perhaps thinking of the French Chamber's travail over the budget, perhaps with his tongue in his cheek, exclaimed to an interviewer that the Parliaments of Europe have much to learn from that of Turkey.

2. The new code is more than based upon—it is, practically—a literal translation of the Swiss Civil Code. Certain alterations, generally of an unimportant character, have been introduced, but it can already be said that the new code introduces monogamy, entrusts marriage and divorce to secular instead of religious authorities, and puts the Turkish woman on an equality with the Turkish man, besides completely altering the law of inheritance. In one alteration that is understood to have been introduced the elemental Turk shows himself. The marriage of a Moslem woman to a Christian man is declared to be illegal.

3. The old code which is thus replaced was promulgated in 1869 and was a belated product of the reforms which began a hundred years ago. It was a compromise between Moslem law and the Code Napoléon. As such it was most unsatisfactory so far as European interests were concerned. It was unsuited to modern business and to Western private life, and it was full of inconsistencies. On the other hand, it had for the Turk the important merit of safeguarding the principles of the sacred law.

4. The step just taken by the Turkish Government is therefore a bold one, and the Government is well aware of it. Its spokesmen admit that they are breaking with the tradition of thirteen hundred years. But, they say, if the recent revolution was to be completed and bear its fruit, the fetters of the old code had to be broken off from Turkish life. The private life of the Turk is henceforth to be regulated not by Moslem law, which his present rulers regard as the main cause of his backwardness, but by the same sort of law as runs in every civilised land. The adoption of the new code is therefore part and parcel of Mustafa Kemal Pasha's policy of Westernisation.

5. Had the country been free to express its feelings, there would undoubtedly have been disturbances, for if there is one thing which will move the Turk of the old school it is the thought that the sacred law is in danger. But once the parliamentary judicial commission had finished with the Bill, the Government allowed no chance for any kind of criticism. It was introduced before the Assembly by the Minister of Justice, two other speakers eulogised it, and it was passed without a word of discussion. Reverend Deputies, to whom it must be anathema, were convinced of its acceptability by the thought of the gibbets outside and by the eagle eye of the Ghazi in his box.

I have, &c.

R. C. LINDSAY.

TIPKI BASIM I

İngiliz Büyükelçisi, Türk Medeni Kanununun TBMM tarafından kabulünü rapor ediyor.
(Belge 5'in 4'üncü basımı).

The Turkish Plot.

The discovery of a plot to assassinate the President of the Turkish Republic, MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA himself, is bound to cause considerable anxiety in those States that are neighbours of Turkey or are particularly interested in the maintenance of internal peace and stable political conditions in the new Republic, which must have been gravely jeopardised if the conspirators had succeeded. The remarkable career of the Turkish Dictator, the stubborn pertinacity with which he defended the Turkish cause against Allied diplomacy and Greek arms, his destruction of the Sultanate, his Cromwellian abolition of the Turkish Caliphate of Islam—all this has made him one of the most remarkable figures in the recent history not only of Turkey, but of all the Near East. If his reforming zeal has injured the interests or offended the sentiments of many of his countrymen, his efforts to promote the welfare of the patient smallholders, who form the great majority of the inhabitants of Anatolia, and his military and political exploits have won the respect—he is not of a type that looks for gratitude—of a multitude of Turkish farmers and fighting men. Certain incidents in the career, certain traits in the character of this modern replica of SOLEIMAN the Great have undoubtedly added to the number of his critics and of his enemies. But, however severe the Turkish Censorship, however active the Turkish Home Office may be, the indignation of the Turkish Press and the popular demonstrations in honour of the Great's escape are undoubtedly more than conventional manifestations. The Turk of the Asiatic uplands has never been over-critical of his leaders—provided that they led him—and to MUSTAFA KEMAL's capacity to lead men the recent history of the Levant bears eloquent and convincing testimony.

But if what seems to have been a serious plot against the life of this redoubtable leader has aroused indignation and alarm, equal concern will be felt, and not in Turkey only, at the startling sequel to its discovery. According to the latest news from Constantinople, practically all the members of the Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary Opposition have been arrested and will shortly be brought before the Tribunal of Independence—one of those special Courts for the trial of political offences which, under one name or another, have been a feature of Turkish

constitutional practice since the final fall of the Hamidian despotism in 1909. Among those apprehended are men who have played a very distinguished part in the Turkish Nationalist movement since MUSTAFA KEMAL took command of the remnant of the Ottoman Army in the early summer of 1919. ALI PASA PASHA represented Angora at Moscow for two eventful years; KIAMET KARABEKIR PASHA, the leader of the Opposition, commanded the army which devastated the Armenian Republic and reconquered Kars for the Crescent in 1920; RAZMI PASHA, a soldier whose meritorious British troops learnt to respect at Gall, is an ex-Prime Minister and was the first of the Nationalist chiefs to enter Constantinople. Some of the former members of the Committee of Union and Progress have also been hailed to Smyrna, and with these mass arrests the Constitutional Opposition disappears, at least temporarily, from the foreground of Turkish politics. Whether it will reappear or be driven underground cannot yet be foreseen. It is certainly regrettable that the question of the guilt or innocence of so many of its leaders should have to be decided by a Court composed entirely of political partisans of the Great. It is even more regrettable that its President, ALI RIZA, who may or may not be identical with the Deputy of that name who was involved in a fatal shooting affray in the precincts of the Angora Assembly, should have already made public his views on the nature of the conspiracy before awaiting fuller evidence than can yet be

available. Conspiracy and action were a painful feature of the history of Turkey in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; there are prophets of evil who maintain that now that the Christian populations whose claims tended to combine their Turkish masters against them have been expelled or reduced to political insignificance, the fierce factionalism and jealousy of the days of the Janissaries will return and will compel the best intentioned Turkish rulers to deal ruthlessly with opposition. But, whatever the truth as to the conspiracy, the new Turkish régime will surely gain prestige by giving its political opponents at least as fair and as public a trial as national sentiment and the laws of the land permit. A calm and sober magnanimity is the condition of the lasting success of a Dictator.

TÜRKİ BASIM 2

Londra'da çıkan *The Times* gazetesinin İzmir nakaratıyla ilgili 23 Haziran 1926 günlü başyazısı.
(Belge 13'ün upkhasını).

27/11/26 Anglo-Turkish Relations.

In an interesting article which was published yesterday our *Muscat Correspondent* described the results of the first meeting of the Permanent Mixed Commission formed in accordance with the Treaty between the United Kingdom and Iraq and Turkey for the maintenance of neighbourly relations on the Iraqi frontier. The representatives of Iraq and Turkey who met at Zohro on October 18 arrived at several valuable decisions, more especially concerning the extradition of brigands who had indulged in depredations on either side of the frontier, the control of political refugees, and the avoidance of misunderstandings with regard to certain villages the political dependence of which must remain doubtful until the boundary has been definitely fixed by the Delimitation Commission. The meetings appear to have been held in a very cordial atmosphere. The friendly nature of the speeches exchanged by the Grand Faqih and the new British Ambassador to Angora, who presented his credentials to the Turkish Ministry last Tuesday, certainly indicates that the confidence of those who foresee an improvement in Anglo-Turkish relations as soon as the Iraqi boundary question had been definitely settled has been justified. The attitude of the Angora Press towards this country has been distinctly more appreciative of late, and there are signs that the Turks are beginning to realise that their fears of British encroachment of Kurdish separatism were groundless and that there is no British hostility to the Turkish State. If certain features of the new Turkish régime have been criticised in this country, such criticisms are animated, not by any hostility to a system of government which concerns the Turks and the Turks only, but by the fear that undue haste or an excess of nationalism might jeopardise the success of the Grand Faqih's bold and comprehensive attempt to modernise an Oriental nation. It would be idle to deny that the economic policy of Angora has at times seemed to be inspired by a narrow and unreflecting hostility to the foreign trader. But allowance must be made both for the economic inexperience of the "new Turks" and for the rather natural antipathy of a people which had long evinced an autarkic contempt for trade at the tardy discovery that this attitude had proved extremely disadvantageous to generations of foreign merchants. In such cases the victim always blames not his own past negligence but the astuteness of the foreigner, and the Turks are no exception to this rule.

But, if British relations with Turkey have shown a distinct and gratifying improvement since the signature of the Iraq Boundary Treaty, it would be unwise to expect the Turkish Government to make any sudden change in the general direction of its foreign policy such as would be involved, for example, in entering the League of Nations. Till now the Government of Angora has made no serious attempt at entry, and the unofficial suggestion which was put forward at Geneva last summer that Turkey, if she joined the League, should simultaneously be granted a seat on the Council, scarcely indicated that the Grand Faqih's Government had definitely made up its mind on the subject. While a section of Turkish opinion is clearly far more favourably disposed to entering the League than was the case till lately, the Turkish Government is obviously unwilling to take any such step without a thorough study of its possible advantages and

disadvantages. That its eventual decision to join the League of Nations would be regarded with the utmost disavour by the Government of Soviet Russia is certain, and there can now be little doubt that the meeting of the Turkish Foreign Ministers with M. TCHITCHERINE at Odessa was mainly inspired by the desire of the Soviets to dissuade the Turks from associating themselves with the Western Powers and by the natural inclination of the Angora Government to ascertain what their neighbour proposed to offer in exchange for their abstention. From the tenor of the speeches delivered by the Soviet Commissioner it would seem that he offered the Turks the support of the scarcely-existent Red Fleet in the Black Sea and of the less nebulous Red Army in return for distinctly hypothetical eventualities, but that the replies of the Turkish Minister were distinctly guarded and that the Government of Angora has not yet decided the future orientation of its foreign policy. No serious concern need be felt in this country if the Turks make up their minds to mark time for a while. Their political chief is a realist and a soldier; he and his advisers undoubtedly understand the importance and the financial value of good relations with the West, but they know, too, that their eastern frontier is exposed; that their resources in man-power are vastly inferior to those of their neighbour, and that an unfriendly Russia, without proceeding to extremities, could stir up disaffection among the turbulent Kurds. If, therefore, the Turkish Government decides to postpone any reversal of the policy of isolation which it has followed since the Treaty of Lausanne, such a decision should not, in itself, be regarded as a proof that it had definitely resolved to turn its back upon the Occident.

TIPKI BASIM 9

The Times gazetesinin Türkiye-İngiltere ilişkilerine ilişkin yazısına, 27.XI.1926
(Bölge 30'tm nıfka basımı).

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 4.)

(No. 334.)

Sir,

Therapia, June 29, 1927.

ON the 23rd June it was suddenly announced that the President of the Republic was at last to gratify the wishes of the inhabitants of Constantinople by visiting this town in the very near future. There have been similar announcements in the last two years, but this time there is no doubt that the Ghazi intends to come. Detachments of the Republican Guard and numbers of detectives have already arrived from Chan Kaya. Dolma Bagheh palace is being prepared and an elaborate programme has been drawn up to enable the inhabitants to offer an appropriate welcome.

2. The Ghazi will embark on the ex-imperial yacht at Ismid on the 1st July, off the Princes Islands specially chosen representatives of various Turkish institutions will go on board to greet him, he will steam past lines of ferry boats containing school children, members of "Turk-ojaks" and other associations, will step ashore at the palace and there receive the congratulations of individuals.

3. The official programme, of which I enclose a copy,* is a typical mixture of elaborate detail and vague generalities which in any other country would lead to hopeless confusion, but here, helped by the simple police method of telling anyone who wants to go anywhere "yasak" ("it is forbidden"), will probably work out all right.

4. For the last few days the press has been almost delirious in its expressions of the popular joy at the Ghazi's visit and, by force of mass suggestion, has possibly worked up a certain amount of enthusiasm, largely inspired by curiosity. No doubt, too, the functionaries, in their *tenue de rouleur* of tail coat, patent leather shoes, white gloves and top hats, and the representatives of the unofficial establishments and associations who cannot rise to such glories and are allowed to appear in a *chapeau melon* will gladly suffer the rays of a July sun on the Bosphorus at mid-day for the sake of a glimpse of the great man, but I am not convinced of any great spontaneous manifestation of popular emotion. It is noteworthy that the programme gives no opportunity to the real Turkish centre of Constantinople, Stamboul, to share in the welcome, though it would have been easy for the presidential yacht to have landed the Ghazi at Seraglio Point, where a brief popular reception could have been arranged with facility and success, while the precautions taken for the President's safety at Dolma Bagheh surpass anything that Abdul Hamid could have devised in his most suspicious mood. When I contrast the way in which, on similar occasions, President Masaryk went among his people, I cannot but feel that while the Ghazi may justly claim the title of Saviour, he has not yet won that of Father, of his Country.

5. The actual reason for the visit at this juncture is a little obscure. There have been alarming rumours lately about the Ghazi's health, and it is certain that two German specialists were sent for. The report passed on confidentially by the German Embassy was that the specialists found nothing organically wrong with the President and considered that

* Not printed.

TIPKI BASIM 4

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Sir G. Clerk'in 29.VI.1927 tarihli raporu. Büyükelçi, Gazi Mustafa Kemal'in 1919 yılından beri ilk defa İstanbul'a ziyaret edeceğini bildiriyor ve bu ziyareti yorumluyor.

(Belge 44'nin 4'üncü basımı)

he had a good expectation of life. It may be assumed that the doctors added the proviso that he should live normally. In any case, it is believed that for the last few weeks he has been very temperate. It is suggested that the doctors may have recommended the Ghazi to try a lower altitude than Angora on account of his heart which, according to some rumours, has been giving him trouble. If it is true that Angora is too high for the Ghazi, various possibilities present themselves for the future of the capital.

6. However, whether the Ghazi is coming here for reasons of health or not, it is possible that other considerations as well have weighed with him. To relieve the monotony of his life at Chan Kaya and to escape the Angora summer, he usually makes a tour somewhere. He has never yet ventured to come here. He may now feel that, with opposition thoroughly repressed, with the policing of Constantinople well in hand, and with the Angora régime firmly established, he can come here without danger for his life and without the risk of losing his individuality among the age-long traditions of Constantinople.

7. The visit has, of course, caused certain preoccupations in the Diplomatic Body. The Turks profess to have no official knowledge of our existence here and, therefore, we are not to be received by the President, nor invited to any of the celebrations. On the other hand, were we to be logical and adopt a corresponding attitude of remaining officially ignorant of the Ghazi's visit, misrepresentation and unnecessary prejudice would arise. We have accordingly decided to take a *via media*, which consists in flying our flags for the three days of official rejoicings and arranging some form of modest illumination of our gateways at night—in my case, chiefly with a view to prevent the windows of His Majesty's Embassy from the stones of exuberant patriots. My German colleague, whose enormous barrack rises sheer above the Bosphorus, will have to pay for the beauty of the site and illuminate the whole façade of his Embassy. We shall further, if the presidential guards allow us to land from our launches, write our names in the presidential book.

8. M. Nadolny, who, as acting doyen, has discussed the question of our position with the Turkish authorities, has, as a riposte to their official ignorance of our existence, given them an unexpected nut to crack. He has not contested their theory that they only know us in the capital, but has pointed out that when the Head of a State makes a tour in the provinces, it is the invariable custom for him to receive the foreign consuls in important towns. If that is not done here, the most important provincial town of Turkey, foreign opinion will not be favourably impressed. At the time of writing, no consequent amendment of the official programme has come to my knowledge, but I hope that the ineffable "*chef du protocole*" is being taken to task for this lamentable oversight.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPRI BASIM 4'ün 2. sayfası

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11)

(No. 355.)

Sir,

Therapia, July 6, 1927.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 344 of the 29th June I have the honour to inform you that the long announced and oft deferred visit of the Ghazi Pasha to Constantinople took place on the 1st July.

2. The President travelled to Ismid by special train accompanied by four or five of his most intimate friends, and was met by a deputation from the town of Constantinople, and, with a happy blending of East and West, by the salute of twenty-one guns and the sacrifice of a number of sheep. He proceeded on board the ex-imperial yacht, which was to convey him to the Palace of Dolma Bagtche on the Bosphorus.

3. For three days Constantinople had been feverishly prepared for the honour that was coming to it. Triumphal arches studded with electric lights were set up across the principal streets—at the cost of the Belgian Electric Light Company—the principal buildings and police stations were illuminated, and every house made to show its flag. From early in the morning all the local passenger boats had been mobilised for the transport of the sightseers and of the deputations which went out to meet the Ghazi in the Marmara, and the walls of the Old Seraglio and the streets along the Bosphorus were lined with sightseers.

4. Two hours late, the presidential yacht appeared off the Princes Islands, followed at a respectful distance by six units of the Turkish fleet. A bugle sounded, a few hands clapped, the sirens wailed, but not a cheer was raised and not a sign of enthusiasm was shown as the Ghazi passed rapidly and at a chilling distance down the line of waiting ferry boats.

5. A procession was slowly formed behind the yacht to escort it in triumph to the palace, but by the time the vessels were fairly emerging from a complicated series of manoeuvres the President was already landing at Dolma Bagtche.

6. The frenzied enthusiasm of the crowds, of which the press for the last four days had been full, existed less in reality than in the minds of the not-uninterested journalists. Constantinople seemed indeed extremely apathetic. A holiday, a warm evening, a natural curiosity and a desire to see the decorations brought many people into the streets, but a two hours' wait, a July sun and an impenetrable cordon of police and guards brought specially brought specially kept the loyal populace at a respectful distance.

7. The President was received at the palace by representatives of the various communities and interests of the town, and himself received the foreign consular corps. The torchlight procession which was to have been a spontaneous expression of the joy and loyalty of every section of the town could not be organised in time for Friday evening, and only made a belated appearance twenty-four hours afterwards. It was remarkable, according to the local press, for unexampled splendour and for an outburst of popular enthusiasm, but those who saw it were more impressed by the pitiful tawdriness of the whole scene and the entire lack of interest which the town as a whole showed in it.

8. I find it difficult to attribute to this visit of the Ghazi the importance given to it by an adulatory and interested press.

TIPRI BASIM 5

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 6 Temmuz 1927 tarihli raporu. Büyükelçi, Gazi'nin nihayet 1 Temmuz 1927 günü İstanbul'da ziyaret ettiğini bildiriyor ve bu tarihi ziyareti yorumluyor.

(Belge 47'nin 4'üncü kısmı)

9. The visit, to my mind, does indeed mark a definite stage in the establishment of public order, and of the security of the present régime. After an absence of eight years the Ghazi finds that he can again revisit the centre of the Sultanate, of the Caliphate and of the opposition which he last year so violently overthrew. His return to the town which he last left to take up the sword against all that it then stood for, marks the highest point in the personal triumph of the President. But I should hesitate to attach to this return any conjectures as to the future of the town, or any supposition that a policy which has for eight years deliberately scorned, if not actively repressed, Constantinople would now be modified, or that Angora and Anatolia would in any way cease to be centre and the strength of the new Turkey.

10. To me the interest lies rather in the effect that this visit will have upon the President himself.

11. I cannot yet believe that anything like a permanent residence in Constantinople is in contemplation, but if, as is currently reported, his doctors have ordered the Ghazi to spend several months at an altitude less trying to the heart than that of Angora, it will be interesting to see the effect that Constantinople with its charm, its climate and its traditions will have upon a resolution which has carried him through eight consecutive years of the Anatolian uplands. Whether the President is sufficiently strong in his idealism to resist the soft enchantment of Stamboul, and sufficiently Western in his mentality to withstand the attraction which increasing comfort and personal wealth must offer to the riper years of every Oriental autocrat, only time can show.

12. What is certain, so far as I can gather from the testimony of competent onlookers, is that the Turk of Stamboul has not unnaturally joined his polyglot brethren from Pera and Galata in showing to the champion of Anatolia, who has slowly been strangling the commerce of this place, a chilly welcome which only imagination and press adulation, coupled with decorations enforced by the police, can transform into a "triumphal return of the Saviour of Turkey."

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No 337)

Sir,

Therapia, July 6, 1927.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 355 of the 6th instant recording the arrival of the President of the Republic at Constantinople, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a memorandum by His Majesty's acting consul-general on the reception of the consular body on that occasion.

2 As I informed you in my despatch No. 334 of the 29th June last, the necessity for this reception had been overlooked by those in charge of the arrangements, and its rather haphazard nature is, therefore, not surprising. Indeed, it is fortunate that there were not even greater complications, as several of the missions here have no separate consulates, but only a section of the mission allotted to consular work, under the general superintendence of the Ambassador or Minister. Some of my diplomatic colleagues were, therefore, in considerable doubt as to whether they should or should not attend the consular reception in their consular capacity. This meant more confusion and quarrels about precedence, and I urged my German colleague to take the line that only regular consular officers should attend the ceremony.

3 As regards the attitude of the Diplomatic Body on this occasion, the question was settled on the lines foreshadowed in my despatch No. 334. On the morning after the Ghazi's arrival the Heads of Missions went separately to Dolma Bagtché and wrote their names in the Presidential Book. In this respect I have heard no criticism of Turkish methods. Speaking for myself, everything was done most punctiliously. My Ambassadorial flag was saluted by each of the guardships in turn as the Embassy launch went by; the place at the Palace landing-stage where the launch should come alongside was clearly indicated, sentries and police saluted as I stepped ashore, and a lieutenant conducted me to the main hall where the book was laid out for signature.

4 I only trust that it will now be considered on both sides that all the requirements of etiquette have been properly met, and that my Ambassadorial colleagues will not set about seeking the honour of entertaining the Ghazi in their summer residences. I fear, however, that it is quite likely that the Soviet Ambassador, who returns from leave in a few days, will make an effort in this direction, an effort which, if successful, will be rather tiresome. Should his reception include the Diplomatic Body or Heads of Missions, I, of course, could not attend—indeed, I presume he would not invite me. But if the Ghazi goes to the Russian, then the German and the French and the Italian will want to score a similar success, and if I do nothing, my attitude will be attributed to displeasure at the Russophil leanings of the Ghazi. On the other hand, I am living in a hired house not suitable for such an entertainment, while the Therapia garden is a wilderness, and not in a condition to be the scene of an official festivity.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKİ BASIMI

Büyük elçi Clerk, Gazinin İstanbul ziyareti sırasında yabancı konsolosları kabul etdiğini rapor ediyor.
(Belge 48'in üçüncü kısmı).

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain - (Received January 9)

(No 4)

Sir,

Constantinople, January 4, 1928.

I HAD hoped that more light might be thrown on the conspiracy led by Merjan Altunian and described in my despatch No. 466 of the 21st September, 1927, but the trial has now ended with the condemnation of certain of his accomplices, Turkish and Armenian, to terms of imprisonment and without any revelation of his real motives. During the trial, some of the accused and of the witnesses stated that Merjan Altunian was in touch with the Soviet consulate-general here, and that he had exhorted them in the name of Bolshevism to make the attack on Yildiz, which was the supposed object of the gang. But these statements, easy to make when Merjan Altunian was dead, do not appear convincing. If Soviet agents had been at work, it would have been for something more serious than an attack on the Yildiz casino. Nor does the theory of an attack on the casino hold water any better, for, at the time when the conspirators were caught, the casino had already been closed and the cash removed.

2 It seems probable that the police believed that they were nipping in the bud some political plot, possibly a project to make an attempt on the Ghazi's life. If this be not so, it is curious that no more plausible explanation of the incident is forthcoming. The only conclusion established with certainty is that the policemen killed were shot by their own colleagues by mistake in the scuffle which ensued in the dark. It was announced during the investigations that there were signs of the complicity of Rahmi Bey, the Committee of Union and Progress leader who was for many years Vali of Smyrna, but all hopes of interesting revelations in this direction were dashed by the examining magistrate's decision of *non-lieu*.

3 In usually well-informed local circles it is freely stated that the whole "plot" was made up by the police at the behest of the Minister of the Interior, who desired to convince the Ghazi of his faithful service at a time when he was in danger of falling out of favour. For this purpose they turned a band of malefactors into a dangerous political gang seeking the Ghazi's life.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TİPKİ BASIM 7

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 4 Ocak 1928 tarihli raporu. Büyükelçi, Cumhurbaşkanı Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e karşı bir Ermeni suikast girişimini Londra'ya rapor ediyor.

(Belge 72'nin tipki basımı).

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 20.)

(No. 270.)

Sir,

Angora, May 22, 1928.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the official translation of the speeches exchanged between the President of the Turkish Republic and the King of Afghanistan at the State dinner on the 20th instant.

2. It has been stated for some time that the Ghazi was attaching particular importance to the speech he was to make on this occasion, as it was to contain, for the benefit of the sister nation, the essence of those principles on which his own political faith was based.

3. What in fact it amounts to is a reminder that Afghanistan must be ready, if need be, to shed her last drop of blood in defence of her independence, and a call to the King to emulate the courage and determination of the Ghazi in forcing his country along the path of progress. But Mustafa Kemal takes care, while dwelling on the brotherhood of Turk and Afghan, to emphasise the fact that Afghanistan is Asiatic and Turkey European.

4. Nor are offers of direct assistance in the struggle upward conspicuous in the Ghazi's speech, and his Excellency is careful to limit them "dans la mesure de ses moyens."

5. The President's allusion to the geographical situation of Afghanistan and the consequent serious and delicate political conditions of the country, and the direct reference to the Hindu Kush, taken in conjunction with recent articles in the "Milliet" on the Egyptian crisis—see my despatch No. 240 of the 16th May—might seem to give a distinctly anti-British tone to the speech. Possibly M. Suritz has read it with pleasure in that sense, but I am not altogether prepared to accept such an interpretation. The Ghazi was stating a truism in pointing out that Afghanistan lies between two great and powerful countries and has therefore a difficult course to steer, and the mention of the Hindu Kush may have been as much for the sake of a rounded period as anything. "Osman" is none too well pleased with the present trend of Turkish policy, and I doubt the Ghazi would avoid saying anything calculated to increase a temporary weakness. Mustafa Kemal is in both cases, in Egypt and Afghanistan alike, saying, in effect, "Look at me. If you want to be free and independent, it is no good talking about it, you must do like me, fight for it." The fact that in one case altogether, and in the other partly, Great Britain is the obstacle, is an accident for which the Ghazi is not responsible. It does not affect his own relations with Great Britain, with whom he has settled his own particular differences, and his attitude and language would be the same were the obstructing Power France or the State of Monaco.

6. I do not mean that the Ghazi is actively pro-British, but I believe that his policy is at present steadily set in that line, if possible, a close and good understanding with us and the Western Powers, as against the rival policy, which has its influential adherents in this country, of accommodation with Russia and Germany.

7. To the student of history, perhaps the most interesting feature of both speeches will lie in the fact that in neither of them is there one word of Islam.

8. I shall have the honour to address to you a general report when the Royal visit is ended, which will not be before the departure of this week's messenger.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 8

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 22 Mayıs 1928 günlü raporu. Büyükelçi, Afganistan Kralı Amanullah Han'ın Ankara'ya ziyaretini değerlendirmiş,

(Belge 82'nin nıplâ başıdır).

No. 8.—ARCHIVES.

TURKEY.

June 4, 1928.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 3.

[E 2877/560/44]

No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 226.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1928.

Sir, ON the 20th instant the Grand National Assembly voted a law making the use of European figures compulsory for all official departments as from the 1st June, 1928, and for private business from June 1931, with the proviso that the Government may, if it sees fit, make the latter date earlier for certain districts.

2. In introducing the Bill, the Minister of Finance said that he anticipated no difficulty in making the change and maintained that its acceptance was essential if Turkey's commercial relations were not to suffer.

3. Other Deputies asked when the Government was going to introduce the long-expected Bill for the adoption of Latin characters, and the Minister for Education explained that if the Government was delaying, it was by no means because it had given up the project, but rather because it wanted the commission entrusted with the examination of the question to make a thorough enquiry into the least disturbing means of effecting the innovation. I understand that the present idea is to make the change gradually, during a period of five years, beginning next winter with a law obliging newspapers to adopt Latin characters progressively. At the end of two years from the entry into force of this proposed law, the use of Latin characters in official and private correspondence would become optional, while after a further three years their general use would be compulsory.

4. No doubt old-fashioned Turks of all classes will be displeased by this abandonment of the characters which are endeared to them by the Koran and all their religious writings and by the use of generations. But now that sermons in mosques are in Turkish, Turkish translations of the Koran freely sold, and Islam disestablished and generally at a discount, the change to Latin characters is a comparatively small one. Scientifically the change is sound. The Arabic alphabet is totally unsuited for the writing of Turkish. The lack of vowels and the minuteness of essential dots baffle many a student. Clothed in the less forbidding garb of European letters the written language may be more easily acquired not only by the foreigner but also by the Turkish infant.

5. This tendency to fall in with the ways of the western world is also shown by the present attitude towards the day of rest. During the high-tide of nationalism Christians and Jews were rigorously prevented from opening their shops and offices on a Friday. Consequently they had perforce to open on Sunday and Saturday, unless they wished to lose their trade. There is now a strong movement among the political leaders at Angora for adopting Sunday as the day of rest.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 9

Türkiye'de Avrupa rakamlarının kabul edilmesine ilişkin İngiliz Büyükelçisinin raporu. 29 Mayıs 1928
(Belge 83'ün upka basımı).

No. 8.—ARCHIVES.

TURKEY.

August 28, 1928.

CONFIDENTIAL.

SECTION 1.

[E 4293/560/44]

No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Lord Cushendun.—(Received August 28.)

(No. 331.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, August 22, 1928.

IN my despatch No. 268 of the 29th May last I reported that the first step towards the introduction of European characters had been taken by the passing of the law which ordained the use of European figures in all Departments of State, though, owing to an error in the press telegram making the announcement, the date of the change was given as this summer instead of 1929. In any case, the press already uses European figures, the Constantinople municipality proposes to bring them into official use next month, and they will be in general official use next summer.

2. It had been supposed that the introduction of European characters would not be accomplished for at least five years. But the leading spirits of Angora, who during this summer weather are all scattered in pleasant haunts at Constantinople, Smyrna and elsewhere, are devoting some of their leisure to a determined effort to speed up the innovation. As one of them said to me the other day, no one is going to bother to learn the new letters if he thinks there are five years ahead before they can be forced on him, but everyone will try to learn them if he thinks he will be obliged to use them at the end of only two years. The word has therefore gone forth that the new alphabet will be in official use in two years.

3. Every kind of publicity is being given to the subject. Every day newspapers publish a few paragraphs in the new alphabet, whether it be a well-known poem or a saying of the Ghazi's. One paper has already started a prize competition in the new writing. Courses have been opened by the university, the Press Association, the training colleges and the Turk oaks. But the greatest impetus has been given to the movement by the Ghazi himself. He describes the new letters not as "European characters," but as "the new Turkish characters." He declares that the Turkish mind has been held by the Arabic characters as in a vice. It is everyone's duty, therefore, he says, to help to speed the new Turkish letters, and the papers publish facsimiles of his own writing in the new style. A class has been started for Cabinet Ministers and others who frequent him at Dolma Bagicheh Palace, and at dances and other gatherings where he appears in public the Ghazi has developed an awkward trick of singling an individual out and asking him how he is getting on with his new lesson. Those who were present at the naval regatta last Friday must have observed that the President's yacht now has her name inscribed thus—"Ertugral"—on her stern, and the more old-fashioned of them may have shuddered to think that that same vessel was built to the order of Abdul Hamid, the originator of pan-Islam.

4. It is characteristic of local methods that, although the new letters are being advertised like this, the precise form of the new alphabet has not yet been finally and officially settled. From the philologist's point of view the work has been pretty well done so far. The general principle is to have one letter for one sound. No new letters have been made, but certain of the usual letters are put to unusual uses or given diacritical signs. The language might have been reproduced not too clumsily by being spelt as if it were French, but, it is interesting to note, one of the reasons for avoiding this procedure was the desire to avoid increasing French cultural influence. No doubt that decision has caused keen disappointment to the French Embassy. For the foreign world in general there is some satisfaction in the thought that it may soon be possible to make out the names of stations and other useful signs which are at present exhibited with the most rigid exclusiveness in Arabic characters only.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 10

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 22 Ağustos 1928 günlü raporu, Bâbükelvâ, Türkiye'de Lâtin harflerinin kâbulü için bir kampanya başlatıldığını anlatıyor.
(Belge 88'in tipki basımı).

<p>4243/560/44 Mr. G. Clark (Constantinople) 29 90/4/281 22nd Aug. 1928. 28th Aug. 1928 Turkey.</p>	<p>Adoption of European characters in Turkey. Letter to Constantinople September 10, 1928 of 29th May (A 2878/188/44) Press already using European figures, Constantinople Committee proposes to do so in September, and they will be in general use in number of 1929. It has been decided that new alphabet shall be officially introduced in the year instead of five years and accordingly great publicity is being given to matter. Reports taken by press, various associations and by President.</p>
<p>Last Paper. 28/8</p>	<p>(Mission)</p>
<p>References. (Page) Turkey. New Paper of) 12 (see 22877)</p>	<p>This may be read in Connection with an inter- esting article which appeared in yesterday's Times on the same subject. The transliteration scheme there given, however, has no symbol for the slightly softened sounds <i>ç</i> and <i>ğ</i>. Which are usually expressed as <i>ch</i> and <i>gh</i>. Also no distinction is made between <i>ö</i> and <i>ü</i> (<i>ö</i> and <i>ü</i>) which are pronounced very differently. But it will be seen from para. 4 of this docu- ment that the original and official form of the alphabet has not yet been decided.</p>
<p>(Index) 24/8/28 Text Paper. 2447</p>	<p>1 attach</p>

TIPKI BASIM 10'un 2. sayfası
İngiltere Dışleri görevlileri Türkiye'de Latin harflerinin kabulünü yorumluyorlar. Kısa kısa not
düşüyorlar.

I attach two samples
of the 'new Turkish letters';
one in conjunction with the
Arabic equivalents. Taken from
the Constantinople 'Milliet'
of August 22.

One result of the new
system will be to stereotyped
pronunciation, among the edu-
cated classes at least, ac-
cording to the Constantinople
model. The old alphabet allowed
a good deal of latitude in
this respect.

By: (1) Distribution, in
print, as on E2877, ref.

(2) Also copy to Board
of Pensions, with E2877.

W. H. K. Hays

Aug. 29, 1928.

By: (1) Distribution, in
print, as on E2877, ref.

(2) Also copy to Board
of Pensions, with E2877.

W. H. K. Hays

TRUTHY

October 1, 1928.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Section 1.

[E 4750/560/44]

No. 1.

Mr. Edmunds to Lord Cusborne.—(Received October 1.)

(No. 437.)

Constantinople, September 27, 1928.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that, leaving behind him a precious message of farewell for the inhabitants of Constantinople, the Ghazi, accompanied by his particular friends, set out on the 14th instant by way of the Black Sea for Angora. He chose this route in order to add a fillip to the propagation of the new letters. After touching at Samsun he was met at Samsun by Ismet Pasha, Tokat, Sivas and Caesarea to Angora, where the customary ovation had been prepared. At each place the Ghazi's black-board was set up in the market-places, and he lectured the people about the new alphabet. At Sivas, it is reported, the mayor's 6-year-old son wrote without a mistake, while the Ghazi taught a totally illiterate butcher to write his name in ten minutes, thereupon adjuring him to teach all the other butchers in the town; 1928 is, therefore, likely to be regarded as an annus mirabilis.

2. The authorities state that 50,000 adults learnt to read and write the old Arabic characters in 1927. They are convinced—and rightly—that the new alphabet will make the rate of progress very much quicker. Fifteen thousand teachers are being trained to teach the new letters. Text-books are being printed for immediate use. A new dictionary, it is confidently announced, will be turned out in a few weeks. In Constantinople alone 400 class-rooms have been opened for teaching the new alphabet. At a word from the committee of the Popular party Deputies have left the comfort of their homes in Constantinople and Smyrna and, in imitation of their chief, are scouring their unfamiliar constituencies in order to stimulate the new movement. The Ghazi is being still more closely identified with it. The new letters are called the Ghazi's alphabet. He replies in person—by telegram—to someone who suggests that the prescribed use of the letters "a" and "k" is less perfect than it might be, that the alphabet is fixed for ever. A few days previously he has himself decreed the abolition of the newly prescribed hyphen as a help to the unlearned. No accessible part of the country feels secure from a visit of examination by the Ghazi, and so intense has been the propaganda in general that official departments are now announcing the introduction of the new writing for the first of next month.

3. Amongst other departments the Directorate of Religious Affairs has made this announcement, presumably with a certain malicious glee, for it is easy to imagine the consternation of the priests, who depend on this Directorate for their monthly pittance. The public in general has come to realise that the introduction of the new alphabet is a much more serious affair than the imposition of the hat. The Turkish parent sees that his child will grow up unable to read the Koran unless it be translated into Turkish and transcribed into the new characters. He sees also that the priests who are still authorized to officiate are, as a class, likely to take unkindly to the new alphabet. It is plain that in the result there will be a further diminution of religious influence. The children who grow up unable to read Arabic characters will be subject at most to the influence of such religious books as the Government may permit to be put into the new writing, and of such priests as may be modern enough to qualify for teaching the books approved. It is small wonder that among the uneducated there are abroad rumours about the Ghazi intending to convert the whole country to Christianity.

4. It is not generally known, but it appears to be a fact, that some time ago the Ghazi thought of building a mosque near his house at Chan Kaya, where a modernised form of worship could be practised. He was dissuaded from the project by his friends, who felt it to be premature. But some idea of what he had in mind can be gained from the recommendations of a commission which sat at the university here this summer to consider adapting the forms of Moslem worship to modern conditions. Pews and music were to be introduced, altars dispensed with, boots and shoes admitted, and the liturgical language was to be Turkish. The commission even ventured into the domain of dogma, and suggested that the whole interpretation of Moslem scriptures should be overhauled in the light of modern science and philosophy.

TIPKİ BASIM 11

İngiliz Maslahatgüzarı Edmunds'ın 27 Eylül 1928 günlü raporu. Maslahatgüzar, Türkiye'de yeni harflerin kalıcılığını anlatıyor ve 1928 planı Türkiye'de bir "mucize yılı" olduğunu söylüyor.

(Belge 535'in upla basımı).

Suddenly the rector of the university issued an official denial that any such scheme was under consideration, and no more has been heard of the matter. It cannot, however, have been forgotten by the people, and no doubt the official intention is to proceed with it whenever the moment is felt to have come. It is to be ascribed not so much to a silly desire to make Turkey appear modern as to an honest conviction that religion as practised in Turkey has been a bar to the country's progress.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

TIPRI BASIM 117in 2. sayfası

1 OCT 1928

4750/550/44

Mr. Edwards

(Constantinople)

25/10/28

7th Sept. 1928.

1st Oct. 1928.

By
S. Turkey.

new Turkish alphabet and proposed modernization of
script. of modern reforms.

Reports on Ministry's efforts to further use of new
Alphabet. Official Departments, including Directorate
of Religious Affairs, have announced introduction of new
writing for 1st October. Further diminution of religious
influence will result.

There appears to be official intention to
modernize forms of mosque worship, due to conviction
that religion as practiced in Turkey has hampered
country's progress.

Last Paper.

4471

References.

The King.
Caliph's Dominions

The last part of this despatch is particularly
interesting. It seems probable however
that there is any chance for a "modernized"
Islam, even in Turkey, or the eventual
result will presumably be Turkey's
complete secularization.

Copy - sent to
C.O.
I.O.
to be

to Cairo, - S. S. S. S.
to Beirut.

An interesting despatch. Montagu 2/10.

20. 3. Oct

Next Paper.

See Clerk to Lord Cushendun. — Received November 12.)

(N. 182)

Ms. 1-4-1.

Angora, October 30, 1928.

I HAVE the honour to report that yesterday, together with four members of my staff, I duly attended the official celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Turkish Republic.

As was the case last year, the presidential receptions were held in the building of the Grand National Assembly, where the Ghazi received the President of the Assembly, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, former Deputies and all the high naval and military officers, judges and other officials in Angora, and, finally, the heads of foreign missions in full uniform, accompanied by their staffs. The time-table went a little wrong and we had to wait in a small overheated reception room for three-quarters of an hour beyond the time set down for our reception; but I think this was only normal inefficiency, while the fact that foreign missions were the last to be received was really a kindness, inasmuch as it meant we were not obliged to hang about waiting for the ceremonial parade while other receptions were being held.

This parade consisted of the troops of the division stationed at Angora, boy scouts, girl guides, students of the primary and secondary schools, and representatives of various societies and guilds, all, with the exception of the naval cadets and of two specially favoured companies of boy scouts from Smyrna and Konia, drawn from Angora itself. The features that impressed me most were the homogeneity and sturdiness of the Anatolian peasants in the various regiments, the improvement in the physique and appearance of the boy scouts, and the performance of the military band just across the narrow street where the parade was held, which for two hours with drum and trumpet reiterated the same twenty bars without a pause. A similar celebration is held on the same day in every town of importance in Turkey and what I saw was only what Angora itself could produce, but if the youth of the other districts is of the same quality the Turks have every reason to be hopeful for the future.

In the evening the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave a State banquet at the new hotel, at which the Ghazi, the heads of missions, the Cabinet Ministers and other high Turkish dignitaries were present. The dinner was followed by a ball given by the "Turk-Ojaghi" which was enlivened and hot bed decorous. At least it was so up to 5 a.m., which was the hour when I retired, the Ghazi having caught hold of me as I was slipping away at a more reasonable time and kept me in conversation for over two hours. I should add that this conversation, though most friendly both to myself and to the country which I have the honour to represent, was of no special political importance.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 12

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 30 Ekim 1928 tarihli raporu. Büyükelçi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin beşinci yıl kutlanmasını anlatıyor.
(Belge 95'in nplı basımı).

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 20.)

Sir,

Angora, January 13, 1929.

IN my immediately preceding despatch I reported that the Ghazi had been obliged to stay his reforming hand on the question of religion. The progressive energy of his Excellency is, however, such, that if dammed at one point, it must find an outlet at another, and although the information which reaches me is still vague and unconfirmed, he is believed to be contemplating a measure whereby such big estates as still exist in the country shall be cut up into lots of 1,000 deunuma (200 acres) at most, and distributed to the peasants on easy terms. The present owners of large landed property would be compensated, but in view of the condition of Turkish finances, such compensation would probably be even less equivalent to the value of the land than was the case in Czechoslovakia or Roumania.

2 The plan might prove a political success, for the big land-owners may roughly be divided into three categories. First, the few families who still hold large estates acquired by their forebears when Grand Viziers or Ministers or Valia, and in this class may be included one or two wealthy Egyptians, such as the ex-Khedive, the latter may be inclined to make difficulties, but the former will scarcely give the Government any qualms as to the equity of the measure. Secondly, a number of Turks, especially in the Adana region, who have bought up land from Greeks and Armenians at forced prices; the Government would be justified in paying these people a minimum compensation, but the country will suffer a certain economic loss; for some of the more enterprising of these proprietors have started agriculture on a large scale with modern machinery, and that would all go by the board. Lastly, there are the Kurdish chiefs in the east: apart from any considerations of equity, it would possibly be politically wise for the Government to divide these lands among the members of the various tribes, for such a measure might, by its appeal to self-interest, do more than anything else to weaken the feudal allegiance of the tribesmen to their chiefs and keep them settled and peaceful.

3 Turkey is pre-eminently an agricultural country, and any measure that promotes the wealth and prosperity of the smallholders, and to increase their numbers, tends to increase the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 13

İngiliz Büyükelçisinin 13 Ocak 1929 tarihli yazısı. Büyükelçi, Gazî'nin şimdi toprak reformu yapmayı düşündüğünü rapor ediyor.
(Belge 110'un toprak bölümü).

Sir to Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received May 6.)

(No. 191)

Sir,

Constantinople, April 30, 1929.

TURKEY'S first children's week ended yesterday. Such an event in a Western country would not be worth while recording, but here the event is far from insignificant, and may, indeed, be regarded as one more step taken by Turkey on the path of development and progress.

2 On the 23rd April, 1929, the National Assembly met at Angora. This date, more so even than the 29th October, 1923, when the republic was proclaimed, is perhaps the most important in the history of modern Turkey. It is from it that the elementary school histories make their beginning, and henceforth it is to be known in Turkey as the Children's Day. Even if memory is so short that the Turkish newspapers seem to be uncertain whether the 23rd April, 1929, was eight, nine or ten years ago, the intention to devote this and the following days to the youth of the country shows, in spite of all the muddling of the past few years, what anxiety there is to make the new spirit in this country something more than a flash in the pan. The workers of the revolution are still young, and should have many years of usefulness before them, but, even so, their policy has always shown that they realise that the future is not so much with them as with those who are to follow them. A generation will soon be growing up which never knew and possibly never heard of the Sultan, which will be untouched by the old religious influences, and which will only know the new language and characters. But something more was required, for, with all its drastic changes, the revolution has only touched the outer fringe of the family life of the Turkish people. For centuries the women and children of Turkey have been left to their own devices. Ignorance and superstition have ruled in the home, illness and disease have been rampant among those who in this sadly underpopulated country should have been the first objects of care, and infant and child mortality have been appalling. This was why Mustafa Kemal's efforts to deal summarily with the harem gave him his first serious check. It was then that he showed that there is something of greatness in him, for, perceiving his mistake, he for once abandoned his direct methods and set about finding a way round this mountain of difficulty. The encouragement of women to appear in public, the

TIPKI BASIM 14

İngiliz Büyükelçisi Clerk'in 30 Nisan 1929 tarihli raporu, Büyükelçi Türkiye'de ilk defa 23 Nisan 1929 gününün "Çocuk Bayramı" olarak kutlandığını rapor ediyor. Bu üstelede çocuklar ve kadınlar yüzyıllarca ilmal edilmişlerdi, Mustafa Kemal büyüklüğünü gösterecek çocuklara eğiliyor diye yazıyor. (Belge 119'un upki basımı).

active health campaign waged by the Minister of Health, the establishment of clinics in every provincial town, the development of education, and now the emphasis thrown on the interests of the children—all these have as their object the future generation.

3. But all this is not the work either of the Ghazi or of his Government, though both have been closely identified with it. More than to anyone else perhaps the credit is due to Hamdullah Subhi Bey, the president almost since its inception (its first president was Ahmed Ferit Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in London) of the Association of Turk Ojaks. Of late years these clubs have sent off a strong shoot in the Society for the Protection of Children. Perhaps nothing can better convey the new spirit that has been created than an incident which occurred at the Angora Hotel on the eve of Children's Day. Some of my staff had been lunching with Hamdullah Subhi Bey. As he entered the saloon the children, who were rehearsing for a performance to be given the following day, rushed up to the organiser of the Turk Ojaks, whom they obviously regarded as their leader and playmate. This simple incident, which even five years ago would have been impossible in Turkey, is to me symptomatic of the change which has taken place, and, what is more important, a symbol of the new Turkey which is in process of being born.

4. As regards the celebrations themselves, little need be said. They were organised in every town and village, but were probably on the grandest scale at Angora and Constantinople. To the capital children's delegates came from all parts of the country, and on the morning of the 23rd some hundreds of children were conveyed to the residences of the Ghazi, Ismet Pasha and the President of the Assembly, whom they all saluted in turn. In the afternoon a large children's party was given at the Palace Hotel, at which the President of the Republic and all the Ministers were present. The Ghazi, who appeared to be in excellent health, was in his happiest vein, made friends with the children, and sat out, with apparent enjoyment, the long programme of twenty-five items given by the children, none of whom was more than 12 years of age, and who included the 6 year old son of Ismet Pasha. In Constantinople there were fêtes, baby competitions, lectures for mothers, processions of boy scouts and girl guides, decisions to start boys' clubs and addresses in which the stress was thrown upon the need for the young to grow up good citizens of the republic.

5. By the State schools, by organisations like the boy scouts, the girl guides and the Society for the Protection of Children and by hospital reform the Government is trying to bring up the rising generation on modern lines. The rising generation, for their part, are mostly keen supporters of a régime which gives them such modernism. They know well enough that, instead of having football and dances and picnics, their parents were tied to apron-strings in the harem. But, when all this has been said and done, there remains a grave question. The attack on the harem and the gradual dissipation of the spirit of intrigue nurtured there which permeated Turkish life and character is all to the good. So is the introduction of notions of hygiene. But the harem, besides containing so much that was bad, also enshrined most that was best in Turkish life. It remains to be seen whether a people which is rapidly throwing away its religion and family traditions will find moral support enough in a half-baked westernism.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM Hâm son sayfası.

TURKEY.

July 14, 1926.

CONFIDENTIAL.

Section 1.

[E 3456, 92/44]

No. 1.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received July 11.)

(No. 237.)

Angora, June 4, 1926.

Sir,

A SHORT time ago the President of the Republic issued formal invitations to the heads of missions and the senior members of the Embassies and Legations in Turkey to a garden party in the late afternoon of the 1st June at his recently-finished villa outside Angora.

2. The invitation placed me in a position of some perplexity. It was obviously impossible to refuse, while, on the other hand, acceptance made it equally impossible for me to be at Constantinople for the usual garden party in celebration of His Majesty's birthday on the 3rd June, without great disconcert, as there was no express on the evening of the 2nd June, and I could only do so by leaving the President's party early and going straight on board the train. There was the further consideration that to do this would be to hurt Turkish susceptibilities in their tenderest point, for I could not more markedly emphasise my disregard of Angora as the capital of the country.

3. I therefore reluctantly decided that I must break with the practice of many years, and hold my official reception on the occasion of His Majesty's birthday at Angora instead of Constantinople, at which place I arranged that the British community should be received in the Embassy garden by His Majesty's consul-general and Mrs. Waugh.

4. The still somewhat primitive conditions at Angora, and more especially the lack of space in the Embassy house there and the rocky and uncultivated condition of the ground, entailed elaborate and expensive arrangements beforehand which were only carried through by the devotion and strenuous work of my staff. These preparations were in full swing and the invitations to the Turkish authorities and my diplomatic colleagues had been issued, when a heavy rain-storm washed away the terrace of the Ghazi's newly-laid-out garden and his party was called off, too late, however, for it to be possible for me to alter my arrangements.

5. I accordingly came up to Angora on the 1st June and held my reception yesterday. Fortunately, the weather, which had been threatening, proved kind and, whatever the shortcomings of the entertainment, the view in the evening light from the little terrace across the plateau to the citadel in Angora and the mountains beyond made a setting whose beauty was worthy of the occasion.

6. It is also satisfactory to me to be able to record that the Turkish authorities did everything possible to show their appreciation of my action. The Director of the Protocol called upon me officially in the morning to express the congratulations of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, while the President of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the leading Turkish Deputies and official authorities attended the party and were almost demonstrative in their expressions of friendliness. The President of the Republic not only lent me his hand, but also sent his aide-de-camp general to the party to convey his personal congratulations to His Majesty and his best wishes for His Majesty's complete restoration to health.

7. The only notable absentees from the reception were the high officers of the General Staff, and their want of their way this morning to express to my military attaché their great regret, since they had every intention of attending, but they had been working against time until late in the evening completing all the papers, maps, &c. required for the signature of the Franco-Turkish Agreement which has just been concluded, and I have no reason to consider that this explanation is not genuine.

8. In short, the Turkish Government took the party as a marked demonstration of our genuine goodwill and were correspondingly pleased.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

TIPKI BASIM 15

Büyükelçi Clerk, bu yıl ilk defa Kralın doğum günü davetini Ankara'da verdiği rapor ediyor. (Belge 122'nin nüshasıdır.)

(İngiltere artık Ankara'yı başkent olarak tanımak durumundadır.)

1000 3486/92/44.
FROM Sir G. Clerk
(AL-GRM)
257(209/1/29)
Duplicate.
4th June 1929
11th July 1929
Turkey.

Celebration of His Majesty's Birthday at Angora.
Owing to invitation received from President of Republic to attend garden party at Angora on June 1st (subsequently cancelled), Sir G. Clerk arranged to hold official reception at Angora instead of, as in previous years, at Constantinople. Reports on proceedings and records appreciation of Turkish authorities at Sir G. Clerk's action.
(See also within letter of June 5th from Sir G. Clerk to Mr. Oliphant giving additional details regarding preparations for, and events at the reception).

Last Paper.

(Mention)

References.

Original letter T 6726/3617/379

The King. ✓

[See also Sir G. Clerk's good letter within. C-3] L.e.

Sir G. Clerk appears to have taken the only course open to him in the circumstances.

W. instruct him to express to the President and others who offered their congratulations His Majesty's appreciation of these in suitable terms and approve H.M.'s action.

(Initd.) W.L.C.M.
17/6
Eastern Dept.

(Signed) E.V. Light.
14/6.

(Signed) F.E.M. Allen.
16/6.

This despatch is of some political importance as it marks a further and definite stage in the recognition of Angora as the capital of Turkey, and shows that our position in Turkey generally is steadily improving.

I think the despatch should be printed in the "Turkey" series, and a copy might perhaps also be entered "Eastern" for reference and record.

(Signed) G.R. Lendel.
17.vi.29.

(Signed) Montague.
19/6.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

Next Paper.

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Copy sent F.O.

TIPKI BASIM 15'ın sonu

Foreign office görevlileri Büyükelçi'nin raporunu yorumluyorlar. İngiltere'nin artık Ankara şehrini Türkiye'nin başkenti olarak tanıdığını belirtiyorlar.

05.06.Y.0152.852

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Levent Şahverdi Arşivi
leventsahverdi@gmail.com

